Collection of the Qur'ān:
A Critical and Historical Study of Al-Farāhī's View

'A thesis submitted to the University of Wales Lampeter
in fulfilment of the requirement for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy'

2010

Shehzad Saleem

Abstract

According to Muslim history, the Qur'ān was revealed piecemeal. It is also known that it was not collected and arranged in its chronological sequence. The question then arises: When was the text of the Qur'ān collected and given its final shape and who was responsible for this task? The answer to this question has been given by many scholars and researchers of the past and present. In recent times, Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Farāhī (1863-1930), a scholar, thinker and exegete of the Indian sub-continent has examined this issue in the light of some specific verses of the Qur'ān, and, contrary to the stance of most Muslim scholars, has concluded that the Qur'ān was collected and arranged in its current sequence in the lifetime of the Prophet Muhammad under divine supervision.

This thesis conducts a critical and historical study of his view on the collection of the Qur'ān with the help of some recent critiques by both Muslim and Non-Muslim scholars on the traditional Muslim accounts of this collection. This historical study includes a critical evaluation of the *matn* and *isnād* of the collection reports attributed to each of the first four caliphs of Islam: Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī as well as of reports which mention the details of the codices of two close companions of the Prophet: 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd and Ubayy ibn Ka'b. A report on the placement of two *sūrahs* of the Qur'ān: Sūrah al-Anfāl (8) and Sūrah al-Tawbah (9) is also analyzed. All these reports are shown to stand at variance with the account of the collection of the Qur'ān related by the Qur'ān itself.

Acknowledgements

DECLARATION

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed .... (candidate)

Date ....

STATEMENT 1

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Where correction services have been used, the extent and nature of the correction is clearly marked in a footnote(s).
Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

Signed .... (candidate)

Date ....

STATEMENT 2

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and for the title and abstract to be made available to outside organisations.

Signed .... (candidate)

Date ....

Contents

word count = 116519

Transliteration Table

ءٔ medial	:	’	ع	:	‘	بﻬ	:	bh
ءٔ final	:	’	غ	:	gh	پﻬ	:	ph
ءٔ initial	:	not	ف	:	f	تﻬ	:	<u>th</u>
		expressed	ق	:	q	ٹﻬ	:	<u>th</u>
ا	:	a	ک	:	k	جﻬ	:	jh
ب	:	b	گ	:	g	چﻬ	:	<u>ch</u>
پ	:	p	ل	:	l	دﻩ	:	<u>dh</u>
ت	:	t	م	:	m	ڈﻩ	:	<u>dh</u>
ٹ	:	t	ن	:	n	کﻬ	:	<u>kh</u>
ث	:	th	ں	:	ṇ	گﻬ	:	<u>gh</u>
ج	:	j	و	:	w			
چ	:	ch	ه	:	h			
ح	:	ḥ	ة	:	ah (e.g .sunnah)			
خ	:	kh	ـﺔ	:	at (in construct form			
د	:	d			e.g. sunnat al-Rasūl)			
ڈ	:	d	ی	:	y			
ذ	:	dh	ـﻞ	:	al- (’l in construct form			
ر	:	r			e.g. Abū’l)			
ڑ	:	ṛ						
ز	:	z						
ژ	:	z						
س	:	s						
ش	:	sh						
ص	:	ṣ						
ض	:	ḍ						
ط	:	ṭ						
ظ	:	ẓ						

VOWELS			DIPTHONGS		
Short —َ : a			ـَو	:	aw
—ِ : i			ـَی	:	ay
ـُ : u			ـَــے	:	ae
Long ⊥ : ā			Double		
ـِی : ī			ـُوّ	:	uwwa
ـُو : ū			ـِيّ	:	iyya
و : ō			ـَنّ	:	anna
اے : ē					
عطف -o- (اردو / فارسی)	:				
اضافت -i- (اردو / فارسی)	:				

General Introduction

Contents

I. Objective of the Study

II. Historical Perspective

III. Literature Review

IV. Research Methodology

V. Brief Summary of the Chapters

I. Objective of the Study

To the Muslims, the Qur'ān is the final of the series of divine scriptures revealed by the Almighty; after the Old and New Testaments, it is the Final Testament. As the *ipsissima verbum* of God, they believe that they have with them its *urtext* without the slightest of alteration.

It is known that the Qur'ān was not revealed in one go. It was revealed over a period of about twenty three years. It is also known that it was not collected and arranged in its chronological sequence. The question then arises: When was the text of the Qur'ān collected and given its final shape and who was responsible for this task? The answer to this question has been given by many scholars and researchers of the past and present. In recent times, Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Farāhī (d. 1930),[1] a scholar, thinker and exegete of the Indian sub-continent has examined this issue in the light of some specific Qur'ānic verses and concluded that the Qur'ān was collected and arranged in its current sequence in the lifetime of the Prophet Muḥammad under divine supervision.[2] This thesis critically analyzes his

---

1. For a brief biographical note on al-Farāhī, see Appendix A.

2. There are other scholars besides him like Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456 AH), 'Abd al-Laṭīf Raḥmānī (d. 1959), Tamannā 'Imādī (d. 1972), Abū al-Qāsim al-Khū'ī (d. 1992) and John Burton (d. 2001), who have also concluded that the text of the Qur'ān was finalized in the lifetime of the Prophet Muḥammad. However, their arguments are different from those presented by al-Farāhī and need a separate study for their in-depth analysis. For these arguments, see: Abū Muḥammad 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥazm, *Al-Iḥkām fi uṣul al-aḥkām*, 1st ed., vol. 6 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 2004), 272; 'Abd al-Laṭīf Raḥmānī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān* (History of the Qur'ān), 1st ed. (Lahore: Ṣuffah Publications, 2001), 24-94; Tamannā 'Imādī, *Jam' al-Qur'ān* (Collection of the Qur'ān), 2nd ed. (Karachi: al-Raḥmān Publishing Trust, 1994), 376-388, 392-393; Muḥammad Abū al-Qāsim al-Khū'ī, *Al-Bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (An Exposition on the Exegesis of the Qur'ān), 5th ed. (Qum: Al-Maṭba'ah al-'ilmiyyah, 1974), 257-278; John Burton, *The*

view and thereafter conducts a critical and historical study of his conclusion. It analyzes some primary historical narratives on the collection of the Qur'ān with the help of some recent critiques on the traditional Muslim accounts of Qur'ān collection.[3]

II. Historical Perspective

Traditional Muslim scholars are of the view that the Qur'ān was preserved both through memorization and in writing as soon as its revelation began. The Prophet Muḥammad himself was the first to commit a revelation to memory after Archangel Gabriel would bring it to him. He would then declare the revelation and instruct his Companions to memorize it. The Qur'ān was memorized by a vast majority of them.[4] This process of memorization remained the primary means of preservation and transmission of the Qur'ān over the centuries.

As far as the written collection of the Qur'ān is concerned, traditional Muslim scholars identify three stages:[5] i) collection under the Prophet Muḥammad, ii) collection under Abū Bakr, iii) collection under 'Uthmān. Some narratives also mention that the first person to collect the Qur'ān was 'Umar; however, they have been regarded to mean that he was the first person who advised that the Qur'ān be collected.[6] Certain other narratives attribute a Qur'ānic collection to 'Alī.[7]

Collection of the Qur'ān, 1st ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 9-240.

3. A critical analysis of some secondary narratives is left to a later study. For details, see: chapter 8.

4. Abū 'Abdullāh Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Bahādur ibn 'Abdullāh al-Zarkashī, *Al-Burhān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 1980), 306.

5. See, for example: Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Kamāl al-Dīn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn Sābiq al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Baydār: Manshūrāt al-raḍī, 1349 AH), 202-211.

6. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 204-205.

7. See, for example: Al-Ḥākim Al-Ḥaskānī, *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*, 1st ed. (Beirut: Mu'assasah al-a'lamī li al-maṭbū'āt, 1974), 26-27; Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Ayyūb ibn Durays, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 1st ed. (Damascus: Dār al-fikr, 1988), 35-36; Abū Bakr 'Abdullāh ibn Abī Dā'ūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ash'ath, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 1st ed.

Some Muslim scholars are of the opinion that it refers to memorization,[8] while there are some others who believe that it was a written collection of a personal nature.[9]

During the time of the Prophet, whenever a portion of the Qur'ān was revealed, it was written down by scribes and read out to him to safeguard against any error.[10] This revelation would be written on various writing surfaces which were available at that time like pieces of saddle-wood (*aqtāb*)), bones (*aktāf*), leather (*adīm*), parchment (*raqq*) as well as on leaves (*sa'af*), trunks (*kirnāf*) and bark (*'usub*), of palm trees.[11] However, till the death of the Prophet, the Qur'ān was not written in book form because there was always a chance of abrogation of some previous verse. So though all of the Qur'ān had been written on various materials, it was not written in one place nor were its *sūrahs* arranged in the final sequence (*ghayra majmū' fī mawḍi' wāḥid wa lā murattab al-suwar*).[12]

In the time of the caliph Abū Bakr, a number of Muslims who had memorized the Qur'ān were killed. It was feared that unless a written copy of the Qur'ān was prepared, a large part of it might be lost. 'Umar succeeded in convincing Abū Bakr to initiate this task and Zayd ibn Thābit was employed for this purpose. Zayd collected the Qur'ān from various materials on which it had been written

---

(Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1985), 16.

8. See, for example: Abū al-Fadā' Ismā'īl ibn 'Umar ibn Kathīr, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Dār al-ḥadīth, n.d.), 51; Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, 4th ed., vol. 9 (Beirut: Dār iḥyā' al-turāth al-'arabī, 1988), 9-10.

9. See for example: Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Aẓīm al-Zurqānī, *Manāhil al-'irfān*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār iḥyā' al-turāth al-'arabī, 1998; Theodore Noeldeke and Friedrich Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans* (Tārīkh al-Qur'ān), trans. Georges Tamer, 1st ed. (Beirut: Konrad-Adenauer-Stitfung, 2004), 278-279.

10. Abū al-Qāsim Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, 2nd ed., vol. 5, (Mawṣil: Maktabah al-zahrā', 1983), 142, (no. 4889). See also Abū Sa'd 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr al-Sam'ānī, *Adab al-imlā' wa istimlā'*, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1981), 77.

11. For details of these writing surfaces, see: Appendix D.

12. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 202; Al-Zarkashī, *Al-Burhān*, vol. 1, 297.

and prepared a complete copy. This copy remained with Abū Bakr till his death, then with ‘Umar till his death and finally it came in the custody of his daughter, Ḥafṣah.[13] Later, the Umayyid caliph Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam (d. 105 AH) had it destroyed thinking that people might start doubting it.[14]

  Then in the time of the caliph ‘Uthmān, disputes arose among the soldiers of the Syrian and ‘Irāqī armies in reciting the Qur’ān. At that time, they were fighting at the battle fronts of Armenia and Azerbaijan.[15] When ‘Uthmān was informed of this state of affairs by his general Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān, he borrowed the *ṣuḥuf* kept with Ḥafṣah which had been prepared in the time of Abū Bakr. He then constituted a committee of four people to prepare copies of these *ṣuḥuf* in the dialect of the Quraysh. Later, he dispatched these copies to important areas of the Muslim empire and collected and destroyed all other *maṣāḥif*.[16] ‘Abdullāh ibn Mas‘ūd, who at that time was residing in Kūfah, however refused to hand over his copy of the Qur’ān.[17]

  During all this time, memorization of the Qur’ān continued.

  Described above is the view of traditional Muslim scholars regarding the collection of the Qur’ān. It may also be noted that they are almost unanimous that

---

  13. See, for example: Abū ‘Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 3rd ed., vol. 4 (Beirut: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1987), 1907, (no. 4701); Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad ibn Shu‘ayb al-Nasā’ī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, 1st ed. vol. 5 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmiyyah, 1991), 7, (no. 7995); Abū ‘Īsā Muḥammad ibn ‘Īsā al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 5 (Beirut: Dār iḥyā’ al-turāth al-‘arabī, n.d.), 283, (no. 3103); Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 1 (Egypt: Mu’assasah al-Qurṭubah, n.d.), 10, (no. 57).
  14. See, for example: Ibn Abī Dā’ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 32; Abū ‘Ubayd Qāsim ibn Sallām, *Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān*, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmiyyah, 1991), 156.
  15. Some alternative accounts (see chapter 3) depict that the disputes in reciting the Qur’ān had arisen right in Madīnah and ‘Uthmān then embarked upon a fresh collection of the Qur’ān.
  16. See for example: Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1908, (no. 4702). Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 4, 284, (no. 3104); Al-Nasā’ī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 5, 6, (no. 7988); ‘Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmiyyah, 1996), 117-118, (no. 1715); ‘Abdullāh ibn Wahb, *Jāmi‘ al-‘ulūm al-Qur’ān*, 1st ed., vol. 3 (Beirut: Dār al-gharb al-islāmī, 2003), 26-27.
  17. See, for example: Abū ‘Ubayd, *Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān*, 157.

the verses within the *sūrahs* were divinely arranged in the lifetime of the Prophet Muḥammad; however, as far as the *sūrahs* themselves are concerned, the majority opinion is that they were arranged by the Companions in the time of 'Uthmān.[18]

Thus according to traditional Muslim scholarship, it was 'Uthmān who was responsible for a *textus receptus ne varietur* of the Qur'ān. It was nothing but the Qur'ān revealed to the Prophet Muḥammad written in the dialect of the Quraysh with the *sūrahs* arranged in their current form by the Companions.

III. Literature Review

The traditional Muslim accounts of Qur'ān collection have been critically reviewed in the past century both from within them and from many western scholars.

Muslim scholars like 'Abd al-Laṭīf Raḥmānī (d. 1959), Tamannā 'Imādī (d. 1972) and Abū al-Qāsim al-Khū'ī (d. 1992) have completely dismissed the accounts of written collections undertaken in the times of Abū Bakr and 'Uthmān.[19] Their criticism deals with flaws which relate to both the *matn* and *isnād* of the narratives.[20] Raḥmānī does not use the tool of *isnād* analysis as rigourously as 'Imādī does. On the other hand, *isnād* analysis rarely features in al-Khū'ī's criticism. The collection reports attributed to 'Alī have not been touched upon by any of these scholars. Scholars like Ibn Kathīr (774 AH) and Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852 AH) have tried to interpret them in a certain way.[21] Reports which mention the

---

18. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 208, 216.

19. See: Raḥmānī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 24-94; 'Imādī, *Jam' al-Qur'ān*, 376-388, 392-393; Al-Khū'ī, *Al-Bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, 257-278..

20. Their major arguments are presented and analyzed in relevant chapters of this dissertation. For their brief biographical accounts, see: Appendix A.

21. As referred to ealier, in their opinion, these reports refer to memorization and not to a written collection. See: *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 9, 9-10; Ibn Kathīr, *Faḍāi'l al-Qur'ān*, 51.

codices of Ubayy ibn Kaʻb and ʻAbdullāh ibn Masʻūd seemed to have escaped any major criticism.

The past two centuries have also witnessed intense research activity by western scholars on the origins, provenance and collection of the Qurʾān. Their views have been subject to various approaches depending upon the *Zeitgeist* concurrent with their period. However, the Western accounts of the collection of the Qurʾān can be primarily divided into two categories. To the first category belong scholars who have formed their views by taking the traditional Muslim accounts of collection as a starting point in some form or the other, while to the second category belong scholars who have completely rejected the traditional Muslim accounts and have in fact come up with alternative accounts on the formation and collection of the Qurʾān.[22] For the sake of simplicity, I will term the former category as traditional Western scholars and the latter as radical Western scholars. Since this dissertation, critically analyzes traditional Muslim accounts of collection, the views of radical Western scholars will not be critically analyzed in this study. However, I have tried to summarize them in Appendix B.

As far as traditional Western scholars are concerned, with the phenomenal German scholar Theodor Noeldeke (d. 1930) began a new era in the study of the history of the Qurʾān. His seminal work *Geschichte des Qorans* (Gottingen 1860) revised first by Friedrich Schwally (d. 1919) (Leipzig 1909-1919) and later by Gottehelf Bergstrasser (d. 1933) and Otto Pretzl (d. 1944) (Leipzig 1909-1919) is an outstanding piece of research. This magisterial work on the history of the

---

22. Prominent scholars who have completely rejected the traditional Muslim account of the collection and formation of the Qurʾān include Alphonso Mingana (d. 1937), Gunther Luling (b. 1928), Christoph Luxenberg, John Wansbrough (d. 2002), Yehuda Nevo (d. 1992) and John Burton (d. 2001).

Qur'ān bears the stamp of vintage thoroughness of German scholarship.[23]

   Noeldeke's student and disciple Friedrich Schwally in the revised edition of *Geschichte des Qorans* expresses the view that parts of the Qur'ān had been written in the time of the Prophet Muḥammad and existed in some rudimentary form; however, it is difficult to ascertain how much was written by him and how much was added by later collectors.[24] He is sceptical of the collection under Abū Bakr[25] but, with some criticism, accepts the account of the collection made under 'Uthmān. He surmises that the reports of the collection attributed to Abū Bakr were later fabrications meant to bestow the honour of a Qur'ān collection to him and to 'Umar and to reduce the stature of the 'Uthmānic collection because people had many complaints against 'Uthmān. According to Schwally, it cannot be denied that Ḥafṣah had a Qur'ān: it was either 'Umar's Qur'ān which she received from him as an inheritance or it was one she personally compiled.[26] According to Schwally, the Qur'ān of 'Uthmān was prepared by copying out the text found in the main codex which was the most important of the texts available in Madīnah. What thus becomes evident, he concludes, is that the word *jam'* (collection) is not appropriate at all for what 'Uthmān actually did and neither does this word appear in the main narrative reported in this regard. It is certain secondary narratives as well as some works on the sciences of the Qur'ān which use this word.[27] However, his conclusion is that interpolation in the final

   23. In 2004, this work was translated from German into Arabic by Dr Georges Tamer who currently holds the M.S. Sofia Chair in Arabic Studies in Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures at the Ohio State University.
   24. Noeldeke and Schwally, *Tārīkh al-Qur'an*, 237-238.
   25. Ibid., 252-256.
   26. Ibid., 254-255. Leone Caetani (1869-1935), like Schwally also thinks that it was 'Uthmān who standardized the text of the Qur'ān in his times by promulgating the un-officially collected Qur'ān of Abū Bakr and destroying all rival texts. See: Leone Caetani, 'Uthmān and the Recension of the Koran,' *The Muslim World* 5 (1915): 180-190.
   27. Noeldeke and Schwally, *Tārīkh al-Qur'an*, 291-292.

compilation cannot be ruled out. His words are:

> Ich stimme aber mit Fischer darin Überein, dass die Möglichkeit von Interpolationen in Qoran unbedingt zugegeben werden muss.[28]

Regis Blachere[29] (d. 1973), more or less follows the same line as Schwally in his views on the collection of the Qur'ān in the times of Abū Bakr and 'Uthmān. He is of the opinion that a personal collection was made by Abū Bakr in his time. Later, in the times of 'Uthmān, he says that this personal collection and other material was used to form an official collection. This official collection was enforced in the empire, and all other *maṣāḥif* of the companions which contained revelations they had directly recorded from Muḥammad in his times were destroyed.

Montgomery Watt (d. 2006), like Noeldeke is also of the opinion that at the death of the Prophet parts of the Qur'ān had been written yet no one completely memorized it because it had not been collected. Muḥammad had 'brought together many revealed passages and given them a definite order, and that this order was known to and adhered to by his Companions.' After raising various questions on the collection attributed to Abū Bakr, he concludes that no 'complete collection of the Qur'ān was officially made during the caliphate of Abū Bakr.' Watt says that the leaves of the Qur'ān in possession of Ḥafṣah can hardly be regarded as the main or sole basis of the 'Uthmānic text, which was prepared by available pieces of revelation at that time. He finally concludes that what we have today is 'essentially the 'Uthmānic Qur'ān; 'Uthmān's commission

---

28. 'I agree however with Fischer that the possibility of interpolations in the Koran absolutely must be admitted.' See: Alphonse Mingana, 'The Transmission of the Qur'ān' *The Muslim World* 7 (1917): 223. Noeldeke, on the other hand, as cited by Mingana in this article (with reference to Noeldeke's *Orientalische Skizzen*), seems to have held the opinión that the Qur'ān was wholly authentic: Keine Fälschung; der Korân enhält nur echte Stücke (no falsifications; the Koran contains only genuine pieces).

29. Blachere, Regis, *Introduction au Coran* (Al-Madkhal ilā al-Qur'ān), trans. Riḍā Sa'ādah, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-Lubnānī, 1974), 30-31.

decided what was to be included and what was excluded; it fixed the number and order of the *sūrahs* and the outline of the consonantal text.'[30]

Arthur Jeffrey (d. 1959) is of the opinion that at the death of the Prophet 'there was no collected, arranged, collated body of revelations.' Various Companions had personally collected the Qur'ān in a codex. Like others, the collection of Abū Bakr was 'a private affair'. All these collections differed from one another and some of them became popular in various territories. Disputes and controversies sprung forth in the time of 'Uthmān as people wanted to adhere to the codex of their own area. In order to resolve these disputes, 'Uthmān actually canonized the Madīnan codex, assuming that there was one. He also says that contrary to this fact, some accounts mention that Madīnah 'depended largely on oral tradition' and that 'Uthmān actually embarked upon collecting the Qur'ān afresh.[31]

Nabia Abbott (d. 1981) agrees with the views of Schwally regarding the canonization of the text in the times of 'Uthmān with one qualification which in her own words is: 'However, we do not accept the completeness and authenticity of 'Uthmān's edition to the extent Noeldeke and Schwally do,[32] for we admit with Hirschfeld not only omissions but interpolations of textual matter and even go so far as to admit with 'Abd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī, Casanova and Mingana possible changes introduced by Ḥajjāj, though both the nature and extent of these are not to be readily determined.'[33]

---

30. William Montgommery Watt and Richard Bell, *Introduction to the Qur'ān*, 1st ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970), 41-44.

31. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, ed. Arthur Jeffery (Egypt: Al-Maṭba'ah al-raḥmāniyyah, 1936), 5-9.

32. Abbot is not entirely correct here. As observed earlier, though Noeldeke did believe that the Qur'ān was wholly authentic, Schwally admitted the possibility of interpolations in it.

33. Nabia Abbot, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script and its Kur'ānic Development with a Full Description of the Kur'ānic Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute*, 1st ed. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1939), 49. For the views of Hirschfeld, see: Hartwig

The view of the traditional western scholars can perhaps be summed up by saying that it was 'Uthmān in whose time the consonantal text of the Qur'ān was finalized, either by merely copying out Ḥafṣah's collection (Schwally), or by using Ḥafṣah's collection and other sources as well (Watt and Blachere) or by collecting the Qur'ān totally afresh (as per one view mentioned by Jeffrey). This *prima facie* might seem similar to the traditional Muslim accounts of collection. However, there is a world of difference. According to most Western scholars, the text finalized by 'Uthmān was not a true copy of what was revealed to the Prophet.[34]

The views of all the scholars cited above are primarily based on a critical review of the collection reports as well as some related reports found in *ḥadīth* and history books. However, being a human endeavour, the criticism has its strengths and weaknesses: some of the criticism is indeed weighty, some lacks substance and some has failed to find mention. This is precisely where the need of the present research arises. It seeks to add to the studies of the past scholars while at the same time critically reviewing their findings.

IV. Research Methodology

In this thesis, the interpretations of some primary Islamic texts related to the collection of the Qurān are critically analyzed. These texts are the Qur'ān and historical narratives. It may be noted that the latter forms the bulk of the texts analyzed.

The research methodology in critically evaluating the interpretation of a Qur'ānic text is *primarily* based on two statutes:

Hirschfeld, *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Qur'ān*, London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1902.

34. It may be pertinent to mention here that Schwally has also critically reviewed the reports which mention the codices of Ubayy ibn Ka'b and 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd. See: See: Noeldeke and Schwally, *Tarīkh al-Qur'an*, 262-278.

i. Preference is given to an interpretation in which the meaning construed is more akin and appropriate to the words used and in which the coherence and context is given due consideration. Imām al-Rāzī (d. 606 AH), while highlighting this all important principle of exegesis, writes in his explanation of the third verse of Sūrah Āl-i ʿImrān:

> This is my opinion in the explanation of this verse. Suppose none of the exegetes has mentioned it; however, by interpreting the divine discourse in this manner the meaning of the verse carries more weight, words light up and the coherence and sequence of the discourse become correctly understood even though the explanations of the exegetes run contrary to it; so, for this reason, my explanation [of this verse] is better.[35]

ii. An interpretation which is in harmony and conformity with the rest of the Qur'ān and, in fact, in which a part of the Qur'ān is explained by another part has been given preference. Imām Ibn Taymiyah (d. 772 AH), while referring to this primary tool of interpretation, writes:

> So if someone asks: 'What is the best methodology of doing *tafsīr*?' The answer is that the most correct methodology is to explain a part of the Qur'ān through another. For what is concise at one place is comprehensive at another, and what is briefly discussed at one place is dwelt upon in detail at another.[36]

The critical analysis of historical narratives relates to the *matn* (text) of these narratives as well as to their *isnād* (chain of narration). In most of the narratives analyzed, I have first summarized the main points of the critique presented on them by previous scholars. I have then analyzed it and later gone on to present any additional criticisms on these narratives.

---

35. Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-Rāzī, *Al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, 1st ed., vol. 7 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyyah, 2000 AD), 140.
36. Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm ibn ʿAbd al-Salām ibn Taymiyah, *Muqaddimah fī uṣūl al-tafsīr*, 1st ed. (Lahore: Maktabah al-ʿilmiyyah, 1388 AH), 29.

The research methodology I have followed in the critical evaluation of historical narratives can be summed up as follows:

i. The decisive element in judging the authenticity of a narrative has been criticism on its *matn* and not criticism on its *isnād*. In cases when a *matn* is questionable, weakness in the *isnād* is presented primarily as a supportive cause of rejection. It only serves to show that narratives which have questionable *matns* have flaws in their *insāds* too. The same is true for narrators of a questionable *matn* which have been regarded trustworthy by some authorities and untrustworthy by others. In such cases, generally only the negative information on them is cited to show how weak is the nature of transmission of a report whose content is questionable. It follows from this principle of primacy of *matn* that if there are narratives whose *matns* are supported with weak *isnāds*, yet these *matns* are in conformity with the *matn* criteria spelled out in the next point, then these *matns* have been entertained disregarding the weakness in their *isnāds*.

This all-important statute of primacy of *matn* criticism is based on the view of the celebrated founder of philosophy of History, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808 AH). In the very first chapter of the *Muqaddimah*, he has pointed out how a *khabar* (historical information) can be ridden with untruth because of some inherent flaws in its nature (*lammā kāna al-kadhibu tuṭarriqaṇ li al-khabar bi tabī'atihī*).[37] Among others, these include biases for opinions, reliance on the reporters and ignorance of a reporter about the objective of an event. Further down in the chapter, while referring to the importance and primacy of *matn* criticism on a historical narrative, he writes:

---

37. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, 5th ed. (Beirut: Dār al-qalam, 1984), 235-36.

As far as reports regarding incidents and happenings are concerned, it is essential for their veracity that these reports should be in accordance with facts. For this reason, it is essential that we reflect whether the occurrence of an incident is possible or not and this aspect is more important and should precede *ta'dīl* (judgements on narrators) because in cases of a statement of *inshā'*[38] the benefit of a statement is derived merely from *ta'dīl* but in case of a report the benefit can only be derived from both *ta'dīl* and from the fact that this reporting is in conformity with extraneous facts.[39]

ii. Both the *matn* and *isnād* evaluation are based on criteria ascertained by traditional Muslim scholars. The factors which I have kept in consideration while conducting *matn* analysis are the ones which the celebrated authority on Ḥadīth, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463 AH) has spelled out thus:

When a trustworthy and reliable narrator reports a narrative whose chain is also continuous, it will be rejected on the basis of the following points: **Firstly**, if it is against what sense and reason entail. This will show that it is baseless because the *sharī'ah* is in accordance with what sense and reason entail and not against them. **Secondly**, if it is against the injunctions (*naṣṣ*) of the Book of God or against *sunnah al-mutawātirah*; this would show that it has no basis or that it is abrogated. **Thirdly**, if it is against consensus; this would show that it has no basis or that it is abrogated because it is not possible that it be correct and not be abrogated and still there comes into being the consensus of the *ummah* against it … **Fourthly**, something which had to be known by everyone is just narrated through one narrator; this would mean that it has no basis because it is not possible that something have a basis and among all the people only one person reports it. **Fifthly**, something is reported by one person which naturally should be reported through *tawātur*; such a thing also will not be accepted because it is not possible that such an incident be reported by only one person.[40]

At another place, al-Khaṭīb writes:

And a *khabar al-wāḥid* cannot be accepted which is against sense and reason,

---

38. As a term, this signifies statements which express a desire, directive or condition.
39. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, 37.
40. Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Al-Faqīh wa al-mutafaqqih*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Sa'ūdia: Dār Ibn al-Jawzī, 1421 AH), 354. It is evident that these criteria are described viz a viz a sound report; it is obvious that they are all the more applicable for reports which are otherwise.

is against an established and explicit directive of the Qur'ān, is against a known Sunnah or is against a practice which is observed like the Sunnah or its conflict with some conclusive argument becomes absolutely evident.[41]

Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 AH) has recorded the following words of Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597 AH):

What a beautiful thing has been said by someone: 'When you see that a narrative is against sense and reason or contradicts an established text or is against established principles, then you should know that it is concocted.'[42]

While examining the *isnād* of a narrative, I have followed the criteria which have been formulated by authorities of the science of *rijāl* regarding narratives classified as *ṣaḥīḥ*. These five criteria are: **firstly**, the chain of narration should be uninterrupted (*muttaṣil*), **secondly**, the narrators should be trustworthy (*'ādil*), **thirdly**, they should have a sound memory (*ḍābiṭ*), **fourthly**, there should not be any hidden defect (*'illāh*) in the narrative and **fifthly**, the narrative should also be free from deviancy (*shudhūdh*) such that a trustworthy narrator opposes the report of a more trustworthy narrator.[43]

Since in case of most of the narratives analyzed, these criteria have already been applied by the *muḥaddithūn* to record these narratives in their anthologies, those who have criticized these narratives including myself have re-applied these criteria. The reason for this re-application of course is that such application is a human endeavour and as such can never be considered final because of human limitations.

iii. While analyzing a report, all its variants (*mutābi'āt* and *shawāhid*) have

---

41. Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Al-Kifāyah fī 'ilm al-riwāyah* (Madīnah: Al-Maktabah al-'ilmiyyah, n.d.), 432.

42. Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Kamāl al-Dīn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn Sābiq al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, vol. 1 (Riyāḍ: Maktabah al-riyāḍ al-ḥadīthah, n.d.), 277.

43. See, for example: Abū 'Amr ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī, *Muqaddimah* (Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 1977), 11-12.

been studied so that as much information can be gathered on the background of an incident and a happening as is possible.

iv. If narratives of equal level of authenticity contradict one another, an effort is made to bring them into harmony. If this effort failed, then they have not been relied upon as far as what they report is concerned.

Methodologies of Western Scholars in Ḥadīth Analysis

The influence exercised by Ignaz Goldziher (d. 1921) and Joseph Schacht (d. 1969) on Western scholars regarding the authenticity of Ḥadīth has been quite overwhelming.[44] By regarding them to be unreliable and spurious, both these scholars have virtually driven most western scholars to not place any trust in what the Ḥadīth reflect about the early period of Islam. Perhaps the most outstanding living exponent of these two scholars is the Dutch scholar GHA Juynboll (b. 1935). He has developed a methodology to study Ḥadīth variants on the basis of *isnād* analysis. He has coined various terms to investigate all the textual variants that can be enlisted in a schematic illustration called 'the *isnād*-bundle'. According to Juynboll, most narratives begin with the Prophet Muḥammad as single strands of 'fulāns' branching out in the third or fourth tier (invariably depicting a successor) to many *fulāns* are the handiwork of this *knot-person* called cl (common link),[45] a term first coined by Joseph Schacht recognized in

---

44. For a detailed introduction to western views on dating Ḥadīth, see: Harald Motzki, 'Dating Muslim Traditions: A Survey,' *Arabica* 52 (2) (2005): 204-253.

45. Both Schacht and Juynboll agree that the narrative has been fabricated by this common link (or in the opinión of Schacht by someone later who used his name). See Joseph Schacht, *Origins of Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, 1st ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), 171-172; G.H.A. Juynboll, 'Some Isnad Analytical Methods Illustrate on the Basis of Several Women Demeaning Sayings from Ḥadīth Literature,' in *Studies on the Origins and Uses of Islamic Ḥadīth*, 1st ed. (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1996), 353. The only difference between the two is the historical era of the person who could be a possible cl. According to Motzki: 'since Schacht was convinced that the Ḥadīth originated in the second century AH at the earliest, older Successors, the

Muslim scholarship as *madār* (pivot).[46]

  Harald Motzki on the other hand, thinks that there is no sufficient evidence to draw this sweeping conclusion and that each narrative must be studied on a case-to-case basis. The common link could be a fabricator and he could represent a genuine transmitter.[47] Motzki and Gregor Schoeler are the exponents of the 'tradition-historical' approach ('*Uberlieferungsgeschichtlich*') and advocate an *isnād-cum-matn* or a *matn-cum-isnād* analysis of Ḥadīth narratives depending upon 'the starting point of the investigation or the intensity which the two items are used for conclusions.'[48]

  By applying this technique to the two narratives of the collection of the Qur'ān in the times of Abū Bakr and 'Uthmān, Motzki thinks that cl which in both cases comes out to be Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124 AH) presents a true path of transmission from his informants ('Ubayd ibn al-Sabbāq in first case and Anas ibn Mālik (d. 91/92/93/95 AH) in the second case). In his words: 'The date of Zuhrī's death is then a *terminus post quem*.'[49] His final conclusion is: 'We are not able to prove that the accounts on the history of the Qur'ān go back to eye

---

Companions and the Prophet were ruled out as genuine common links,' and 'for Juynboll, by contrast, who dates the beginning of the *isnād* a generation earlier than Schacht, a Successor, even an old one, may also be a genuine common link.' See Harald Motzki, ed., *Ḥadīth: Origins and Developments*, The Formation of the Classical Islamic World, vol. 28 (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004), xxxviii. For a general introduction to the nomenclature of Juynboll's approach see: G.H.A. Juynboll, 'Early Islamic Society as Reflected in its use of Isnāds,' in *Studies on the Origins and Uses of Islamic Ḥadīth*, 1st ed. (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1996), 152-159; G.H.A. Juynboll, ed., *Encyclopedia of Canonical Ḥadīth*, 1st ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2007), xvii-xxviii.

  46. Halit Ozkan has argued that the term *madār* used in Muslim historiographic literature is different from what Schacht and Juynboll regard it to imply by equating it with their term 'common link'. See: Halit Ozkan, 'The Common Link and its Relation to the Madār,' *The Islāmic Law Quarterly* 11 (2004): 42-77.

  47. For a critique on the common link as a fabricator, see: Harald Motzki, 'Dating Muslim Traditions: A Survey,' *Arabica* 52 (2) (2005): 228-229; Harald Motzki, 'The Collection of the Qur'ān: A Reconsideration of Western Views in the Light of Recent Methodological Developments,' *Der Islam* 78 (2001): 27-28.

  48. Harald Motzki, 'The Collection of the Qur'ān: A Reconsideration of Western Views in the Light of Recent Methodological Developments,' *Der Islam* 78 (2001): 28.

  49. Ibid., 29.

witnesses of the events which are alleged to have occurred. We cannot be sure that things really happened as is reported in these traditions. However, Muslim accounts are much earlier and thus much nearer to the time of the alleged events than hitherto assumed in Western scholarship.'[50]

It would be pertinent to mention here that since Motzki's criticism of Juynboll is convincing to me, I have not adopted the latter's methodology in judging narratives.

V. Brief Summary of the Chapters

The first chapter of this dissertation presents al-Farāhī's view on the collection of the Qur'ān, and compares the source of his view with the traditional view on that source.

The second chapter critically examines historical narratives of the Qur'ān collection made by Abū Bakr.[51]

The third chapter critically examines historical narratives of the Qur'ān collection made by 'Uthmān.

The fourth chapter critically examines historical narratives of the Qur'ān collection made by 'Alī.

The fifth chapter critically examines historical narratives which record the arrangement of the codices of the Qur'ān attributed to two famous Companions: Ubayy ibn Ka'b and 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd.

The sixth chapter continues the inquiry into one aspect of 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd's codex: it critically examines historical narratives which say that he did not regard the last two *sūrahs* of the Qur'ān (called the *mu'awwidhatayn*) as part

---

50. Ibid., 31.
51. Because of its very close link to the collection attributed to Abū Bakr, the collection attributed to 'Umar is discussed in a supplementary section of the same chapter.

of the Qur'ān.

The seventh chapter critically examines a historical narrative on the arrangement of the Qur'ān. This narrative says that the placement of Sūrah al-Anfāl and Sūrah al-Tawbah was not known and they were arbitrarily placed together after the Prophet's death by the caliph 'Uthmān in his times.

The eighth and final chapter concludes the discussion, and also suggests areas of further study.

Some appendices and a bibliography of cited works are given at the end.

_____

Chapter 1

Al-Farāhī's View: Presentation and Analysis

Contents

I. Introduction

II. Al-Farāhī's View

III. The General Interpretation

IV. Critical Analysis

V. Conclusion

VI. Shape of the Qur'ān at the Prophet's Death

I. Introduction

In his exegesis of Sūrah al-Qiyāmah,[52] Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Farāhī (d. 1930) has pointed out that in certain verses of this *sūrah* the Almighty has informed us about the final formation of the Qur'ānic text. In this chapter, al-Farāhī's interpretation of the relevant verses will be critically analyzed and a comparative study will be conducted of how these verses have generally been interpreted.

The sequence of discussion is as follows:

First, al-Farāhī's view will be presented.

Second, the view of traditional scholars on the relevant verses will be put forth.

Third, an analysis of both views will be undertaken.

Fourth, the discussion will culminate on a conclusion regarding the tenability of al-Farāhī's view.

Finally, an attempt will be made to determine the shape of the Qur'ān at the demise of the Prophet in the light of this conclusion.

The subsequent chapters of this thesis will then critically examine some historical narratives on the collection of the Qur'ān to ascertain whether they are in conformity with the conclusion drawn in this chapter on this collection.

II. Al-Farāhī's View

In the opinion of al-Farāhī, the following verses of Sūrah al-Qiyāmah portray the Qur'ānic view on its own collection and final arrangement:

---

52. Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Farāhī, *Tafsīr Sūrah al-Qiyāmah min niẓām al-Qur'ān wa ta'wīl al-Furqān bi al-Furqān*, 2nd ed. (Azamgarh: Dāi'rah ḥamīdiyyah, 1403 AH), 10-16.

لاَ تُحَرِّكْ بِهِ لِسَانَكَ لِتَعْجَلَ بِهِ إِنَّ عَلَيْنَا جَمْعَهُ وَقُرْآنَهُ فَإِذَا قَرَأْنَاهُ فَاتَّبِعْ قُرْآنَهُ ثُمَّ إِنَّ عَلَيْنَا بَيَانَهُ

(٧٥ :١٦-١٩)

[O Prophet!] Do not move your tongue to hastily acquire this [Qur'ān]. Indeed, upon Us is its collection and recital. So when We have recited it, follow this recital. Then upon Us is to explain it. (75:16-19)

The key word in the above quoted verses is *jam'* (translated as: collection). According to al-Farāhī, it means bringing together in a unified whole all the parts of the Qur'ān revealed in various episodes at various instances in the life of the Prophet; according to him, the verses state that the Almighty would Himself have the *whole of* the Qur'ān collected and arranged in a new sequence after its revelation was completed. The Almighty would then read out to him this assembled Qur'ān from the beginning to the end. Once the Almighty had read out the Qur'ān in this final form and sequence, the Prophet would be bound to follow this new recital and would be required to abandon the previous one. During this final recital if an explanation was required of any part of the text, it would also be furnished.

An elaboration of al-Farāhī's view now follows.

While explaining these verses in his exegesis, he first stresses that these verses are deeply related to the context of the *sūrah* and are not independent of it as contended by some scholars. The piecemeal revelation of the Qur'ān would make the Prophet anxious. An obvious reason for this was that the Qur'ān was the primary source of faith, motivation and inspiration for him; if a delay occurred in the coming of a revelation, it would make him anxious. Moreover, the Qur'ān itself has also alluded to various other reasons due to which the Prophet would be anxious to receive the whole of the Qur'ān. One of these reasons was that the Qur'ān might become a source of guidance for his opponents. So anxious was he

that the Almighty had to tell him that he could not provide guidance to whomever he willed:

You cannot guide people whom you desire; it is only God who gives guidance to whom He wishes; only God knows those worthy of being guided. (28:56)

Similarly, another thing which made the Prophet impatient was the objection of his opponents mentioned in the Qur'ān (25:32) as to why it was not revealed in one episode:

And the disbelievers said: 'Why is not the Qur'ān revealed to him in one go.' (25:32)

Furthermore, the Prophet also wanted the completion of revelation to be accomplished as soon as possible so that he was relieved of his responsibility.

All these factors made him anxious and he would fondly wait for a new revelation and would hasten to acquire it whenever it came so that he was able to preserve it and become entitled for a new episode.

According to al-Farāhī, this anxiety and impatience of the Prophet to receive the Qur'ān is evident from various other verses of the Qur'ān also. At various instances, he is told to exercise patience by seeking refuge in the prayer and in remembering God as much as he could. In Sūrah al-Dahr, the words are:

We alone have revealed this Qur'ān to you in an elaborate manner. So with perseverance wait for the judgement of your Lord and pay no heed to any sinner or ingrate among them. And remember the name of your Lord from dawn to dusk and prostrate yourselves before Him in the night and glorify Him till late at night. (76:23-26)

This patience was necessary because the Almighty was following the piecemeal scheme of revelation for a purpose: it was essential for the training of the

Prophet's opponents as well as that of his followers that the Qur'ān be revealed

piecemeal and at intervals deemed appropriate by the Almighty.

According to al-Farāhī, following is another instance when this assurance is

given:

> And be not in haste in acquiring the Qur'ān before its revelation is completed
> to you and pray: 'O Lord! Advance me in knowledge.' And before this, We
> took a pledge from Adam but he forgot and We did not find determination in
> him. (20:113-4)

This verse, opines al-Farāhī, states that man is weak in his pledges and resolve

and if the whole *sharī'ah* is given to him in one go, he will not be able to bear it.

Hence the Prophet should not ask for all the Qur'ān be soon revealed to him. In

other words, it is man's own frail and feeble nature that calls for a piecemeal

revelation.

The following verse, in the opinion of al-Farāhī, also depicts this reason:

> And the disbelievers said: 'Why is not the Qur'ān revealed to him in one go.'
> Thus shall We reveal it [piecemeal] to strengthen your heart, and We have
> revealed it painstakingly. (25:32)

It is evident from this verse according to al-Farāhī that a single-episode

revelation of the Qur'ān would adversely effect its reception by the Prophet.

Piecemeal revelation was necessary so that the burden of the Qur'ān could be

borne with ease and facility.

Al-Farāhī also cites the following verse which according to him also sounds the

same assurance to the Prophet in this regard:

> Soon We shall recite it to you; then you will not forget except what Allah
> pleases. (87:8)

In the opinion of al-Farāhī, this state of the Prophet being in haste and impatient had become a permanent feature of his life, and that is why he was assured by the Qur'ān from various aspects. In other words, this state of the Prophet was not something which surfaced at the revelation of these verses of Sūrah Qiyāmah under discussion; however, at this instance, the Almighty stopped him forthwith from showing haste and to assure him, spelled out the whole scheme of Qur'ānic revelation. As per this scheme, the various portions of the Qur'ān would be arranged in a sequence by the Almighty once its revelation was complete. Then the whole of the arranged Qur'ān would be read out to him. He would be required to follow this new recital and abandon the previous one. Any portion requiring an explanation would be further elaborated at this instance. Once this scheme was delineated, the Prophet was further assured in subsequent verses (twenty and twenty one) that if his addressees were not accepting his message, it was not because of the piecemeal revelation of the Qur'ān; it was because they had become slaves of this world and had become indifferent to the Hereafter.[53]

Thus, according to al-Farāhī, the verses under discussion are deeply related to the context of the verses.

He expresses the view that the exegetes have limited the scope of this verse by saying that the haste showed by the Prophet was due to his fear of losing any part of the revelation brought to him. He says that though what the exegetes have surmised is true, yet the verse has much broader implications.

In al-Farāhī's opinion, if all the implications and insinuations found in these verses are unfolded, the verses would mean something like this:

---

53. These verses read: 'By no means! In fact you people only love this world and are heedless of the life to come.' (75:20-21)

Why are you burdening yourself [O Prophet!] with such hard work in acquiring the revelation? The responsibility of preserving the Qur'ān and its collection rests with Us. As far as the guidance of your people is concerned, your people are engrossed in the love of this world. Whether you recite a small or a large quantity of revelation to them, it will make no difference to them.[54]

Al-Farāhī subsequently goes on to state the conclusions he has drawn from the above quoted verses of Sūrah al-Qiyāmah:

First, the Qur'ān was collected and arranged in the lifetime of the Prophet and recited out to him in a specific sequence. If this promise was to be fulfilled after his death, he would not have been asked to follow this new recital [referred to by the words: 'so when We have recited it out, follow this recital']. **Second**, the Prophet was directed to read according to this second recital that took place after this arrangement of the Qur'ān [in its new final sequence]. It is against sense and reason that he be divinely revealed something and then he not communicate it to the *ummah*. And also when the following words of the Qur'ān: '[O Prophet!] Communicate what has been revealed to you; if you do not do so, you would not have discharged your responsibility as a prophet,' (5:67) constitute a general directive, it is essential that the Prophet must have communicated the final recital of the Qur'ān in the way it was found in the guarded tablet (the *lawḥ al-maḥfūz*). This is because the final recital had to match the original recital [found in the tablet]. **Third**, after this collection and arrangement, the Almighty explained whatever He intended to from among specifying a general directive or vice versa (*al-ta'mīm wa al-takhṣīṣ*), furnishing supplementary directives (*al-takmīl*) and reducing the extent of application of some directives (*al-takhfīf*).[55]

Al-Farāhī also presents some corroboration of this whole scheme of Qur'ānic collection and arrangement from various historical narratives.[56] Thus for example:

i. The Prophet would read out whole *sūrahs* of the Qur'ān to people[57] and this could not have been possible unless they had been read out to him in their specific sequences. The Companions would listen to and preserve the Qur'ān in accordance with this arrangement.

---

54. Al-Farāhī, *Tafsīr Sūrah al-Qiyāmah*, 14.
55. Ibid., 15.
56. Al-Farāhī has not cited the source books of these narratives. I have tried to furnish the exact references of the historical material he seems to be referring to.
57. See, for example: Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ,* 3rd ed., vol. 1, 265, (no. 731); Ibid., vol. 4, 1611, (no. 4166); Abū al-Ḥusayn Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār iḥyā' al-turāth al-'arabī, n.d.), 447, (no. 647).

ii. The Prophet directed his Companions to place the revealed verses of the Qur'ān at specific places of specific *sūrahs* and the Companions would obey this directive.[58]

iii. When some explanatory verse was revealed, the Prophet would have it written at either the place immediately following the verses which needed this explanation or at the end of the *sūrah* in case these verses related to the whole theme of the *sūrah*. Deliberation reveals another distinct feature of these explanatory verses: they themselves contained words which would show that these verses have in fact been revealed as an explanation. For example, the words in Sūrah al-Baqarah are: كَذَالِكَ يُبَيِّنُ اللَّهُ أياته لِلنَّاسِ (٢: ١٨٧) (thus does Almighty explain His verses for people, (2:187)).[59]

iv. It is known from authentic and agreed upon narratives that once the complete the Qur'ān had been revealed, Gabriel recited out the complete Qur'ān to the Prophet in its real sequence and the Prophet taught it to the *ummah* the way he had received it from Gabriel.[60]

The aforementioned discussion summarizes al-Farāhī's view on the collection and arrangement of the Qur'ān. This view is based on his interpretation of certain Qur'ānic verses. In the next section, it shall be discussed how other scholars and exegetes have generally interpreted these verses.

III. The General Interpretation

A vast majority of scholars[61] interpret these verses in the light of a narrative

---

58. Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 5, 10, (no. 8007). See also: Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, vol. 1, 208, (no. 786); Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 5, 272, (no. 3086).

59. The following verses describe some of these instances of Qur'ānic *tabyīn* (explanation): 2:187, 2:219. 2:266, 3:103, 24:58, 24:61.

60. See, for example: Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ,* vol. 4, 1911, (no. 4712).

61. See, for example: Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān 'an tā'wīl āy al-Qur'ān*, 1st ed., vol. 29 (Beirut Dār iḥyā' al-turāth al-'arabī, 2001), 222-227;

attributed to a famous Companion of the Prophet, 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās (d. 68

AH). Variants of this narrative are recorded in various anthologies of Ḥadīth.

Following is a typical text:

Ibn 'Abbās narrates regarding the verse: لَا تُحَرِّكْ بِه لِسَانَكَ (do not move your tongue ...]: 'When Gabriel would descend with a revelation to the Prophet, he would move his lips and tongue[62] and this would distress him and his anguish would be apparent from him. At this, the Almighty revealed the verse of Sūrah al-Qiyāmah: لَا تُحَرِّكْ بِه لِسَانَكَ لِتَعْجَلَ بِه [Ibn 'Abbās explained this and the subsequent verses thus:] do not move your tongue to acquire it; إِنَّ عَلَيْنَا جَمْعَهُ وَقُرْآنَهُ (it is upon Us to collect it in your heart (najma'ahu fī ṣadrika)) and so you can read it. فَإِذَا قَرَأْنَاهُ فَاتَّبِعْ قُرْآنَهُ (so when We reveal it, listen to it carefully). إِنَّ عَلَيْنَا بَيَانَهُ (it is our responsibility to recite it through your tongue).[63] The Prophet would then be silent when Gabriel came and would recite later as promised by the Almighty.'[64]

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Al-Tibyān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, 1st ed., vol. 10 (Qum: Maktab al-a'lām al-islāmī, 1409 AH), 195-197; Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī, *Al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq al-tanzīl wa 'uyūn al-aqāwīl fī wujūh al-ta'wīl*, vol. 4 (Beirut: Dār iḥyā' al-turāth al-'arabī, n.d.), 662; Al-Rāzī, *Al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, vol. 30, 197-199; Abū al-Fadā' Ismā'īl ibn 'Umar ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm*, vol. 4 (Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 1401 AH), 450.

62. Some variants say that the reason that he moved his lips was the fear that he might forget the revelation brought down to him. See, for example: Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1876, (no. 4644); Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 6, 503, (no. 11635).

63. I have translated the explanatory words of Ibn 'Abbās أَنْ نُبَيِّنَهُ بِلِسَانكَ in the light of other variants which have the words ثُمَّ إِنَّ عَلَيْنَا أَنْ تَقْرَأَهُ. See, for example: Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 6, 2736, (no. 7086); Muslim, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, 330, (no. 448).

64. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1877, (no. 4644); See, for example, also: Ibid., vol. 4, 1877, (no. 4645); Muslim, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, 330, (no. 448); Abū Nu'aym Aḥmad ibn 'Abdullah ibn Aḥmad ibn Isḥāq ibn Mūsā ibn Mihrān al-Aṣbahānī., *Al-Musnad al-mustakhraj 'alā Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 1st ed., vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1996), 67, (992); Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 5, 430, (3329); Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 1, 324, (no. 1007); Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad ibn Shu'ayb al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Sunan al-mujtabā*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Ḥalab: Maktab al-maṭbū'āt al-islāmiyyah, 1986), 149, (no. 935); Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 220, (no. 1910); Abū Dā'ūd Sulaymān ibn Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī, *Musnad*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-ma'rifah, n.d.), 342, (2628); Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Sa'd al-Zuhrī. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.), 198; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al-nubuwwah*, 2nd ed., vol. 7 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 2002), 56-57; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Ma'rifah al-sunan wa al-āthār*, vol. 7 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, n.d.), 582, (no. 6167); Abū al-Faraj 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Jawzī, *Kashf al-mushkil min ḥadīth al-ṣaḥiḥayn*, vol. 2 (Riyāḍ: Dār al-waṭan, 1997), 362, (no. 871); Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Yaḥyā ibn Mandah, *Al-Īmān*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Beirut: Mu'assasah al-risālah, 1406 AH), 697, (no. 689); Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, *Khalq af'āl al-'ibād*, vol. 1 (Riyāḍ: Dār al-ma'rifah, 1978), 83; Abū al-Qāsim al-Taymī, *Al-Ḥujjah fī bayān al-maḥajjah wa sharḥ 'aqīdah*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Riyāḍ: Dār al-rāyah, 1999), 301-302, (no. 139); 'Abd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām al-Ṣan'ānī, *Tafsīr*, 1st ed., vol. 3 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1999),

While summarizing the purport of the variants of this narrative which explain

these verses, Ibn Ḥajar writes:

In the beginning, when the Prophet would be imparted the Qur'ān, he would try to immediately receive the Qur'ān from Gabriel and would not wait until Gabriel had finished reciting it out to him. This was because he was enthusiastic to preserve it lest any part of it be lost. This is reported by al-Ḥasan[65] and some others. It is mentioned in the narrative recorded by al-Tirmidhī[66] that he would move his tongue wanting to memorize it; Al-Nasā'ī[67] mentions that he would show haste in reading it in order to preserve it; Ibn Abī Ḥātim[68] records that he would acquire the first part of the revelation and would move his lips fearing that he might forget it before he acquired the last part. In a narrative recorded by al-Ṭabarī[69] from al-Shaʻbī, it is mentioned that he would show haste in reading it [after Gabriel] because of his love for it. And both these reasons are implied as there is no contradiction between [he reading it because of] his love for it and the distress he would feel in reading it on which he was directed to remain silent until all of it has been revealed to him and was assured that he would not lose it from his memory because of forgetfulness or because of any other reason. And the [following] verse also is of similar meaning: وَلَا تَعْجَلْ بِالْقُرْآن مِن قَبْلِ أَن يُقْضَى إِلَيْكَ وَحْيُهُ (١١٤:٢٠) (and be not in haste in acquiring the Qur'ān before its revelation is completed to you , (20:114)).[70]

If the ascription of this explanation to Ibn ʻAbbās is correct, it would mean that

these verses were primarily revealed to sound an assurance to the Prophet to not

be anxious about memorizing the Qur'ān. He is told that he will not lose any part

---

370; Jalāl al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Kamāl al-Dīn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn Sābiq al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Durr al-manthūr*, vol. 8 (Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 1993), 348; Al-Ḥusayn ibn Masʻūd al-Baghawī, *Tafsīr*, vol 4 (Beirut: Dār al-maʻrifah, n.d.), 423; ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Tafsīr*, vol. 10 (Ṣaydā': Al-Maktabah al-ʻaṣriyyah, n.d.), 3387, Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār fī āthār al-a'immah al-aṭhār*, 1st ed., vol. 9 (Beirut: Mu'assasah al-wafā, 1404 AH), 168; Ibid., vol. 18, 248; Ibid., vol. 40, 155; Muḥammad ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Manāqib Āl-i Abī Ṭālib*, vol. 2 (Qum: Mu'assasah intishārāt ʻallāmah, 1379 AH), 40-41.

65. This reference, in all probability, is to al-Ḥasan ibn Yūsuf al-Ṭarā'ifī the informant of Ibn Mandah who has recorded this narrative in his *Al-Īmān*. See: Ibn Mandah, *Al-Īmān*, vol. 2, 698, (no. 691).

66. Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 5, 230, (no. 3329).

67. Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 6, 503, (no. 11636).

68. Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Tafsīr*, vol. 10, 3387.

69. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 29, 223.

70. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 1, 25.

of it and that the Almighty would collect a portion of the Qur'ān brought down by Gabriel with other portions found in the heart of the Prophet.

IV. Critical Analysis

As mentioned earlier, al-Farāhī is of the opinion that the word *jam'* in these verses refers to the final sequential arrangement of various portions of the Qur'ān revealed piecemeal. This was done once its revelation was complete. On the other hand, the general, view which originates from a narrative attributed to Ibn 'Abbās is that the word *jam'* refers to the collection of an episode of the Qur'ān at the time of its revelation in the heart of Prophet with other episodes already present in it.

A more detailed look at al-Farāhī's interpretation shows that it is very faithful to the words of the Arabic text. The word 'collection' is used in the very meaning it conventionally has: 'collection of what is not in one place.'[71] The verb *jama'a* and its various inflections have been used abundantly in the Qur'ān itself in this sense.[72] When used with reference to a text, it can only mean to bring its parts together.

However, an objection arises on his interpretation of the verse prior to the *jam'* (collection) verse which is in fact the background verse on which the *jam'* verse sounds an assurance. Before this question is stated, here in a nutshell is what al-Farāhī says about the verse prior to the *jam'* verse:

In his opinion, if the set of verses under discussion are analyzed in the light of parallel verses, it becomes evident that the Prophet's impatience and haste in

---

71. Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Durayd, *Jamhurah al-lughah*, 1ˢᵗ ed., vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1426 AH), 550; Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ismā'īl ibn Sīdah, *Al-Muḥkam wa al-muḥīṭ al-a'zam*, 1ˢᵗ ed., vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 2000), 347; Muḥammad ibn Mukarram ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'arab*, 1ˢᵗ ed., vol. 8 (Beirut: Dār ṣadir, n.d.), 53; Muḥammad Murtaḍa al-Zubaydī, *Tāj al-'arūs*, vol. 20 (n.p.: Dār al-hidāyah, n.d.), 451; Sa'īd al-Khūrī al-Shartūnī, *Aqrab al-mawārid fī fuṣaḥi al-'arabiyyah wa al-shawārid*, 1ˢᵗ ed., vol. 1 (Tehrān: Dār al-uswah, 1416 AH), 462.

72. See, for example: 3:25, 5:109, 10:58, 18:70, 45:16, 75:3, 104:2.

receiving the Qur'ān was due to two reasons: first, in order to carefully preserve it, and second, so that he was able to acquire the complete Qur'ān as soon as possible so that the Qur'ān may become a source of guidance for his people.[73] Thus the subsequent verses give assurance to the Prophet on both these apprehensions by spelling out the whole scheme of the revelation and collection of the Qur'ān.

Now, the objection:

If all the parallel verses of the Qur'ān are analyzed, the issue of revelation being faithfully preserved in the memory of the Prophet and his eagerness to receive the whole Qur'ān as soon as possible so that it could become a source of guidance for his people are two issues discussed separately in the Qur'ān. The Prophet is assured separately in the Qur'ān on both of them. Al-Farāhī has erroneously combined both issues while interpreting the verses of Sūrah al-Qiyāmah under discussion.

Thus, the above-quoted verse of Sūrah al-A'lā (87:8) which assures him of the preservation of the Qur'ān in his memory relates to the first issue, and it does not seem correct to relate it to the second issue (eagerness to receive the whole Qur'ān) as al-Farāhī has done. In contrast, other verses referred to by him specifically relate to the second issue.

Moreover, there are many other verses which corroborate the second of these issues thus strengthening al-Farāhī's view on this particular issue: the Prophet was very anxious to receive the whole Qur'ān so that it could be a source for his

---

73. These two reasons have been stated by al-Farāhī while summing up the whole discussión. It may be noted that earlier on he had cited some others as well (for example, the demand of the opponents that the Qur'ān be revealed in one go). This discrepancy can apparently be reconciled if it is inferred that in his opinión the two reasons stated here are the primary ones.

people to embrace faith:

You will perhaps fret yourself to death that they are not embracing faith. (26:3)

It is similarly stated:

There has now come to you a Messenger from amongst yourselves, one who is distressed at your doom, who is greedy for [your faith]; one who is benevolent and merciful to true believers. (9:28)

The wisdom behind the piecemeal revelation is mentioned thus:

And We have revealed the Qur'ān in parts so that you can gradually recite it out to people and We have elaborately and painstakingly revealed it [thus]. (17:106)

At another place in the Qur'ān, the angels have presented an excuse to the

Prophet that they only come to him at God's command and do not have the

authority to come when they want to. In other words, they cannot do anything

on their own to allay the impatience of the Prophet by bringing the revelation

at short intervals. In this regard, they are bound by the command of God:

We descend only at the bidding of your Lord. To Him belongs what is before us and behind us, and all that lies between. And Your Lord does not forget. (19:64)

It can thus be said that if this distinction is made between the issues on which

the assurance is sounded, al-Farāhī's view indeed is very well grounded: the *jam'*

verse and the subsequent ones assure the Prophet because of his impatience and

anxiety on its piecemeal revelation only; they do not assure him because he was

anxious on an episode of revelation getting lost.

Thus, in technical parlance, as per this distinction and as per the words of 25:32

quoted earlier (specifically the word *kadhālika* translated as 'thus shall We reveal it [piecemeal]') there is an ellipses after verse sixteen of Sūrah al-Qiyāmah of a part of the discourse to the effect: *kadhālika anzalnāhū. falammā yatimmu tanzīluhū …* (thus shall We reveal it [piecemeal]. So when We have revealed all of it …). These implied words then dovetail with the next verse: 'It is upon Us to collect it and to recite it.'

I now turn to an analysis of the general view. The following questions arise on the *matn* and *isnād* of the narrative which forms the basis of this view:

A. Critical Analysis of the *Matn*

i. The word *jam'* used by the Qur'ān does not readily accept its explanation offered by the narrative. If the issue, as the narrative says, was to assure the Prophet that no part of the revelation would be lost, why has the Qur'ān used the word *jam'* (collection) for this purpose; why has it not employed a word commonly used to convey this meaning. In Arabic, words such as *ḥafaẓa*, *qara'a*,[74] *thabata* are much more appropriate for this purpose.

ii. According to the narrative, the translation of the verse إِنَّ عَلَيْنَا جَمْعَهُ وَقُرْآنَهُ is: 'It is Our responsibility to collect it in your heart and [it is Our responsibility that] *you* read it.' The translation of the second part of the verse is not accurate. It should be translated as: 'Its recital is upon Us.' In other words, the verbal noun قُرْآنَهُ (recital)[75] should relate to the Almighty and not, as the narrative says, to the

---

74. Thus for example, when at another place (87:8), assurance was sounded to the Prophet to allay his fears of forgetting the Qur'ān, the word *qara'a* is used: 'We will recite it to you so that you will not be able to forget it, (*sanuqri'uka fa lā tansā*).'

75. It is attributed to some authorities like Qatādah that the word قُرْآنَهُ means 'collection' (*ta'līf*). See: Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, vol. 29, 225. This meaning cannot be accepted: Lexicons of Arabic clearly state that the latter is the meaning of the verb *qara'a* only when the object of this verb is a thing (*shay'*); if the object is a book, then the verb *qara'a* always means 'to recite'. See, for example: Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'arab*, vol. 1, 128; Sa'īd al-Khūrī al-Shartūnī, *Aqrab al-mawārid*, vol. 4, 296.

Prophet reading it.

iii. The verse فَإِذَا قَرَأْنَاهُ فَاتَّبِعْ قُرْآنَهُ is interpreted as: 'when We reveal it, listen carefully to it,' by relating it to the verse لَا تُحَرِّكْ بِهِ لِسَانَكَ. Thus what is meant is that when Gabriel recites out the revelation to the Prophet, he should not move his tongue to acquire it in haste. However, the sequence of the discourse naturally relates the verse فَإِذَا قَرَأْنَاهُ فَاتَّبِعْ قُرْآنَهُ to the verse immediately preceding it: إِنَّ عَلَيْنَا حَمْعَهُ وَقُرْآنَهُ. This is evident from the way فَإِذَا قَرَأْنَاهُ has come after the last part of the previous verse: قُرْآنَهُ.

iv. The explanation of the words فَاتَّبِعْ قُرْآنَهُ (follow this recital) by the word فَاسْتَمِعْ له (to listen intently) is also inappropriate.

v. The explanation of the verse ثُمَّ إِنَّ عَلَيْنَا بَيَانَهُ by the words ثُمَّ إِنَّ عَلَيْنَا أَنْ تَقْرَأَهُ (it is upon Us that you read it) is just a repetition. The narrative already has explained a part of the verse before this to have this meaning: إِنَّ عَلَيْنَا قُرْآنَهُ (it is Our responsibility that you read it).

On the other hand, each and every word of this group of verses becomes very appropriate for the purpose it has been used if the interpretation of al-Farāhī is adopted with the distinction stated earlier.

A comment has already been made about the word *jam'* (collection). When used with reference to a text, it can only mean to bring its parts together.[76]

Similarly, the second part of the verse: إِنَّ عَلَيْنَا قُرْآنَهُ becomes very meaningful if the word قُرْآنَهُ refers to the recital of the Qur'ān by the Almighty in its final sequence through the archangel Gabriel.

Moreover, the word فَاتَّبِعْ is used in its conventional meaning in al-Farāhī's interpretation. The implication is that the Prophet is directed to follow this final

---

76. It can be argued that there are many instances in Ḥadīth literature where the word *jam'* obviously refers to memorization. It neeeds to be appreciated that in all such instances, it is the context and some other concomitant factors which incorporate this sense in the word. Thus 'memorization' is never the denotation of the word *jam'*; it, however, can be its connotation. As examples of such instances, see: Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 4, 591-592, (no. 2381); Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 5, 24, (no. 8064).

recital and abandon the previous one.

Finally, the verse ثُمَّ إِنَّ عَلَيْنَا بَيَانَهُ according to al-Farāhī's interpretation refers to the Almighty's further explanation of any directive that was needed. The Qur'ān itself refers to this promise of the Almighty by certain generic verses which are placed at the end of the explanatory directive. Thus, for example, this generic verse in Sūrah al-Baqarah is: (١٨٧ :٢) كَذَالِكَ يُبَيِّنُ اللهُ أَياتِهِ لِلنَّاسِ (thus does Almighty explain His verses for people, (2:187)).

B. Critical Analysis of the *Isnād*

Shabbīr Aḥmad Azhar Mayrathī[77] has criticized the ascription of this narrative to Ibn 'Abbās (rta) and shown that the narrative in all probability is *munqaṭi'* (broken). Following is a summary of his arguments.

This narrative is from Ibn 'Abbās who was not even born at the time of revelation of Sūrah al-Qiyāmah which belongs to the Makkan period. So how can the content of this narrative be trusted. Thus, for example, the variant[78] reported by Abū 'Awānah Waḍḍāḥ ibn 'Abdullāh Yashkurī from Mūsā ibn Abī 'Ā'ishah mentions that Ibn 'Abbās told Sa'īd ibn Jubayr that he would move his lips to show him how the Prophet (sws) moved his lips.[79] If Ibn 'Abbās was not even born at the time of revelation of this *sūrah*, how could he have said these words at all? In all probability, these words as well as the rest of the content have been wrongly ascribed to him.[80]

---

77. Shabbīr Aḥmad Azhar Mayrathī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī kā muṭala'ah*, 1st ed. (Lahore: Dār al-tazkīr, 2005), 18-24.

78. See, for example: Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, 6, (no. 5); Muslim, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, 330 (no. 448).

79. It may be noted here that the question raised by Mayrathī is not new. Ibn Ḥajar, already aware of this anomaly, says that either the Prophet (sws) himself or some of his Companions (rta) must have later informed Ibn 'Abbās (rta) of this state. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 8, 554.

80. To this may be added the fact that some variants in which Abū 'Awānah Waḍḍāḥ

A very clear indication of this wrong ascription can be seen in the *isnād* of the narrative. It may first be noted that in the corpus of Ḥadīth literature there are many narratives which Saʿīd ibn Jubayr has directly heard from Ibn ʿAbbās, and others which he has not directly heard from him and has in fact heard them from people who heard them from Ibn ʿAbbās. Whenever Saʿīd narrates directly from Ibn ʿAbbās, he always specifies this by saying: *ḥaddathanī Ibn ʿAbbās* (Ibn ʿAbbās narrated to me) or *samiʿtu Ibn ʿAbbās* (I heard from Ibn ʿAbbās) or *akhbaranī Ibn ʿAbbās* (Ibn ʿAbbās informed me). When he narrates indirectly from Ibn ʿAbbās, he either names the person in between eg. *ḥaddathanī Mujāhid ʿan Ibn ʿAbbās* (Mujahid narrated to me from Ibn ʿAbbās) and *ḥaddathanī ʿIkramah ʿan Ibn ʿAbbās* (ʿIkramah narrated to me from Ibn ʿAbbās) or does not name anyone at all and just says *ʿan Ibn ʿAbbās* (from Ibn ʿAbbās). Now as far as the narrative under discussion is concerned, if all its variants are analyzed it will be found that in all of them the words without any exception are *ʿan Ibn ʿAbbās* (from Ibn ʿAbbās) which means that Saʿīd never heard this narrative directly from Ibn ʿAbbās. In all probability, Saʿīd heard it from someone who had attributed it to Ibn ʿAbbās and trusting this person, Saʿīd ascribed it to Ibn ʿAbbās.

The above criticism by Mayrathī seems to be very well-grounded. A recourse to all the variants of the narratives corroborates his statement that in none of them does Saʿīd ibn Jubayr specify that he heard this report directly from Ibn ʿAbbās. Hence Mayrathī is right in concluding that this narrative in all probability is broken and cannot be safely ascribed to Ibn ʿAbbās.

---

ibn ʿAbdullāh Yashkurī from Mūsā ibn Abī ʿĀʾishah also say that Ibn ʿAbbās (rta) would move his lips the way he saw the Prophet (sws) moving his lips. See, for example: Abū Nuʿaym, *Al-Musnad al-mustakhraj ʿalā Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 2, 68, (no. 994).

V. Conclusion

The interpretation of al-Farāhī of this group of verses is in harmony with the conventional meaning of the words of these verses. It is also supported by other verses of the Qur'ān. The general interpretation based on the narrative of Ibn 'Abbās on the other hand does not do justice to the words of the verse and to the sequence of the discourse. Moreover, its ascription to Ibn 'Abbās also stands on flimsy grounds.

Now if al-Farāhī's interpretation is correct, then it carries great significance as it sheds new light on the issue of the collection and arrangement of the Qur'ān *in the light of the Qur'ān itself*. It would mean that according to the Qur'ān itself the Qur'ān would be given its final arrangement by the Almighty through the Prophet, who would then be bound to follow this new arrangement. How this happened in history has been alluded to by al-Farāhī to some extent.

However, this view apparently seems to stand against certain historical narratives which ascribe a collection of the Qur'ān to each of the first four caliphs of Islam. It also conflicts with the general view regarding the collection of the Qur'ān as per which the Qur'ānic text was finalized at the time of the third caliph 'Uthmān.

In the remaining part of this thesis, I will critically analyze each of these narratives and some related material to see if they can be regarded as historically reliable or not. However, before this analysis is attempted in the sequence referred to in the previous chapter, it would first be worthwhile to bring to light historical data which stands in conformity with al-Farāhī's view (some of it has already been presented by him, as referred to earlier in this chapter). This will help in determining the exact shape of the Qur'ān the way it existed at the death of the Prophet. This data forms the content of the next section.

VI. Shape of the Qur'ān at the Prophet's Death

It is known that the Prophet did not leave behind a written codex of the Qur'ān compiled under his supervision. Some narratives record this established fact:

> Zayd ibn Thābit reported: 'The Prophet died and the Qur'ān had not been collected. It was written on the bark, trunks, branches and leaves of palm-trees.'[81]

It is opined by classical scholars such as al-Khaṭṭābī and al-Zarkashī that the Prophet did not have the Qur'ān written in book form because there was always a chance of abrogation of some previous verse.[82] Al-Zarkashī says that this could cause confusion in the authenticity of the written text. Al-Khaṭṭābī says that though all of the Qur'ān had been written, yet it was not written in one place nor were its *sūrahs* arranged (*ghayra majmū' fī mawḍi' wāḥid wa lā murattab al-suwar*).

The question which arises on this view is that there are at least two incidents which strongly suggest that the Qur'ānic revelation must have reached its culmination well before the Prophet's death. If this is so, then in case he wanted to leave an officially compiled codex of the Qur'ān, he was afforded ample time for this.

These two incidents are:

Firstly, in the Ramaḍān of 10 AH, Gabriel twice recited out the Qur'ān to the Prophet in contrast to the previous years in which it was recited once in every Ramaḍān.[83] This strongly suggests that the Qur'ān's revelation was completed by

---

81. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, 390 (no. 591). See also Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutaybah, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, 1st ed., vol. 3, (Baghdad: Maṭba'ah al-'ānī, 1397 AH), 668,

82. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 202; Al-Zarkashī, *Al-Burhān*, vol. 1, 297.

83. See, for example: Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1911, (no. 4712).

this time, as this recital is called *al-arḍah al-akhīrah*[84] (the final review). It is known that the Prophet died in Rabī' al-Awwal of 11 AH which means that he lived for five months after the Qur'ān had been completed.

Secondly, in the sermon of the *ḥajj* offered by the Prophet in Dhū al-Ḥajj of 10 AH the way he addressed the people in the gathering shows that he was leaving a distinct text of the Qur'ān with them and that if they adhered to it they would never go astray. While recording various details of the last sermon, Jābir ibn 'Abdullāh has reported from the Prophet: 'I leave behind you that which if you adhere to, you will never go astray: the Book of God ...'[85] After this, the Prophet was alive for another three months. Had he wanted, he could have completed or even initiated the task of assembling all the revelations in a codex.

These instances show that the text of the Qur'ān was a well-known thing in the times of the Prophet, even though it was perhaps never the intention of the Prophet to leave an officially written codex of the Qur'ān.

It is also known that the Prophet did not leave behind any officially written record of revelations even though it was not in the form of a codex. History does record that revelations were written down by various scribes. However, never did any of these written revelations bear any formal official status.

It is also known that the Prophet did not nominate any Companion(s) to be an official repository of revelation. He did not pinpoint any Companion(s) whose memorized Qur'ān should be regarded as the official text of the Qur'ān.

We are thus faced with a unique scenario: it seems that there was no need for both these arrangements to be officially made. The Prophet communicated the

---

84. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 177.
85. Muslim, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥiḥ*, vol. 2, 886-891, (no. 1218). See also Abū Bakr 'Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*, 1st ed, vol. 6 (Riyāḍ: Maktabah al-rushd, 1409 AH), 133, (no. 30077).

Qur'ān to his Companions orally. These Companions learnt the Qur'ān by heart and also wrote it down for themselves and then communicated its text far and wide. Such was the extent of these endeavours that the Qur'ān formed an integral part of the Muslim society in those times.

Thus it can be said that the shape of the Qur'ān at the Prophet's demise was that it was found as a distinct text both in the oral and in the written forms in the living tradition of Muslims. The following details bear testimony to this conclusion. It may be noted that these references are neither comprehensive nor exhaustive. They only serve to highlight some instances to show how the text of the Qur'ān was found in the living tradition of Muslims.

A. The Prophet's Living Relationship with the Qur'ān

1. Reading the Qur'ān during the Prayers

There exist numerous references of the Prophet reciting the memorized Qur'ān in the five daily prayers and in the *tahajjud* prayer as well.

Abū Barzah al-Aslamī says that the Prophet would read from sixty to a hundred verses in the *fajr* prayer.[86]

'Abdullāh ibn al-Sā'ib said that once when the Prophet led them in the *fajr* prayer in Makkah, he began reading Sūrah al-Mu'minūn until he reached the portion where the episode of Moses and Aaron is mentioned.[87]

Jābir ibn Samurah says that the Prophet would read Sūrah Qāf in the *fajr* prayer.[88]

Abū Hurayrah narrates that the Prophet would read Sūrah Sajdah and Sūrah

---

86. Muslim, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, 447, (no. 647).
87. Ibid., vol. 1, 336, (no. 455). This would mean that he read the first forty four verses.
88. Ibid., vol. 1, 337, (no. 458).

Dahr in the *fajr* prayer offered on Fridays.[89]

Jābir says that he heard the Prophet read Sūrah Qāf and Sūrah Yāsīn in the *fajr* prayer.[90]

'Amr ibn Ḥurayth reports that he heard the Prophet read Sūrah al-Takwīr in the *fajr* prayer.[91]

Jābir ibn Samurah‘ says that the Prophet would read *sūrahs* like Sūrah al-Wāqi‘ah in the *fajr* prayer.[92]

'Uqbah ibn 'Āmir reports that the Prophet read Sūrah Ḥamīm al-Sajdah in the morning prayer.[93]

'Ā'ishah reports that the Prophet read Sūrah al-A‘rāf in the *maghrib* prayer.[94]

'Utbah ibn Mas‘ūd reports that the Prophet read Sūrah al-Dukhān in the *maghrib* prayer.[95]

Muḥammad ibn Jubayr ibn Muṭ‘im reports from his father who heard the Prophet recite Sūrah al-Ṭūr in the *maghrib* prayer.[96]

Umm Faḍl bint al-Ḥārith heard the Prophet recite Sūrah al-Mursalāt in the *maghrib* prayer.[97]

Ibn 'Umar reports that the Prophet [once] read Sūrah Muḥammad in the *maghrib* prayer.[98]

---

89. Ibid., vol. 2, 599, (no. 880).
90. Al-Ṭabaranī, *Al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr*, vol. 2, 251, (no. 2052).
91. Muslim, *Al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, 336, (no. 456).
92. Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdullāh al-Ḥākim, *Al-Mustadrak ‘alā al-ṣaḥīḥayn*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmiyyah, 1990), 366, (no. 875).
93. Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 4, 440, (no. 7850).
94. Ibid., vol. 1, 340, (no. 1063).
95. Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Sunan al-mujtabā*, vol. 1, 339, (no. 1060).
96. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, 265, (no. 731).
97. Ibid., vol. 4, 1611, (no. 4166).
98. 'Alī ibn Abī Bakr al-Haythamī, *Mawārid al-ẓam’ān*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmiyyah, n.d.), 127, (no. 464).

Barā' reports that he heard the Prophet read Sūrah al-Tīn in the *'ishā* prayer.[99]

Abū Hurayrah reports that the Prophet would read Sūrah al-Burūj and Sūrah al-Tāriq in the *'ishā* prayer.[100]

Nu'mān ibn Bashīr says that the Prophet would read Sūrah al-A'lā and Sūrah al-Ghāshiyah in the Eid and the Friday prayers.[101]

Umm Hishām bint al-Ḥārithah said that she learnt Sūrah Qāf from the Prophet as he used to recite it in the Friday sermon.[102]

2. Personal Reading

'Ā'ishah says that the Prophet would read the Qur'ān while his head would be in her lap and she would be passing through her menstrual cycle.[103]

When Anas was once asked by Qatādah about the recital of the Prophet, he replied: 'while reciting, he would recite each word in a clear and distinct manner.'[104]

'Abdullāh ibn Mughaffal said that he saw the Prophet reading Sūrah al-Fath on his camel over and over again.[105]

Anas ibn Mālik reports that the Prophet said that he was asked to read out Sūrah Bayyinah to Ubayy ibn Ka'b.[106]

Ibn 'Umar reports that the Prophet would read out a *sūrah* to them and if the *sūrah* would have a verse of prostration in it, he would say the *takbīr* and offer

---

99. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, 266, (no. 735).
100. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, 326, (no. 8314).
101. Muslim, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 2, 598, (no. 878).
102. Abū Nu'aym, *Al-Musnad al-mustakhraj*, vol. 2, 458, (no. 1960).
103. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 6, 2744, (no. 7110).
104. Ibid., vol. 4, 1924, (no. 4758).
105. Ibid., vol. 4, 1560, (no. 4031).
106. Ibid., vol. 4, 1896, (no. 4676).

the prostrations and people would also follow him and offer the prostrations.[107]

Ibn 'Umar reports from the Prophet that he who wants to see what will happen on the Day of Judgement should read Sūrah al-Takwīr, Sūrah al-Infiṭār and Sūrah al-Inshiqāq.[108]

3. Listening to Others' Recital

Ibn Mas'ūd reports that the Prophet once asked him to read out the Qur'ān to him. He recited Sūrah al-Nisā' and when he reached the forty first verse, the Prophet's eyes became tearful.[109]

The Prophet praised Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī for his melodious voice in reciting the Qur'ān.[110]

4. Responding to the Qur'ān

Ibn 'Umar says that while teaching them the Qur'ān the Prophet would pass by a verse of prostration, he would prostrate and they would also prostrate with him.[111]

Abū al-Dardā' reports that they offered prostrations at eleven places in the Qur'ān and none among the *mufaṣṣal sūrahs*. These were in Sūrahs al-A'rāf, al-Ra'd, al-Naḥl, Banī Isrā'īl, Maryam, al-Ḥajj, al-Furqān, al-Naml, al-Sajdah, Ṣu'ād, and a prostration in the *hawāmīm*.[112]

Zayd ibn Thābit says that he read Sūrah al-Najm to the Prophet and he did not offer the prostration in it.[113]

Abū Hurayrah says that he offered the prostration with the Prophet in Sūrah al-

107. Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, vol. 2 (n.p.: Dār al-fikr, n.d.), 60, (no. 1413).
108. Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 5, 433, (no. 3333).
109. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1925, (no. 4763).
110. Ibid., vol. 4, 1925, (no. 4761).
111. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, 157, (no. 6461).
112. Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mājah al-Qazwīnī, *Sunan*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-fikr, n.d.), 335, (no. 1056).
113. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, 364, (no. 1023).

Inshiqāq and Sūrah al-Iqrā'.[114]

5. Reaction to the Qur'ānic Recital

The Prophet recited out the Qur'ān both to the believers and to the disbelievers. The Qur'ān itself is replete with words which ask the Prophet to read out the book to his addressees. On numerous occasions, the Qur'ān asks him to read out a certain set of verses or directives before his addressees.[115]

The Qur'ān says that true believers are those whose hearts are filled with awe at the mention of God, and whose faith grows stronger as they listen to His revelations (8:2); when they hear His revelations, they fall down on their knees in tears and adoration (19:58).

The Qur'ān also depicts the reaction of the disbelievers when they would hear the Qur'ān. They would say that it was a tale of the ancients (8:31; 68:15); they would ask that a different Qur'ān be brought to them or that the existing one be changed (10:15); their faces would reflect anger and they would almost pounce on the believers (22:72); they would turn their backs scornfully (31:7; 45:8); they would regard the Qur'ān as sorcery (34:43; 46:7).

B. Teaching the Qur'ān

'Uthmān reports from the Prophet: 'The best among Muslims are those who learn and teach the Qur'ān.'[116]

'Abdullāh ibn Abī 'Awfā said that the Prophet urged people to adopt the Book of God after him.[117]

---

114. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, 249, (no. 7390).
115. See, for example: The Qur'ān, 5:27; 7:175; 10:71; 18:27; 26: 69; 29:45.
116. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1919, (no. 4739).
117. Ibid., vol. 3, 1006, (no. 2589).

Ibn 'Abbās says that the Prophet would teach them the *tashahhud* the way he would teach them a *sūrah* of the Qur'ān.[118]

'Alī says that the Prophet would teach them the Qur'ān at all times except when he was ceremonially unclean.[119]

Ibn 'Umar says that once a person came to the Prophet and asked him to recite a portion of the Qur'ān to him. The Prophet asked him to recite any three *sūrahs* from the *alif lām rā* category.[120] When he expressed his inability to read such long *sūrahs*, the Prophet asked him to read any three from the *ḥāmīm* category[121] and when he again expressed his inability to read these *sūrahs*, the Prophet then asked him to read any three from the *musabbiḥāt*.[122] Once again, that person expressed his inability. Later that person was happy to learn just Sūrah al-Zilzāl.[123]

'Abdullāh ibn 'Amr says that he heard the Prophet say that the Qur'ān should be learnt from four people: 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd, Sālim mawlā of Abū Ḥudhayfah, Ubayy ibn Ka'b and Mu'ādh.[124]

'Abdullāh ibn 'Amr reports that the Prophet said that he who read the Qur'ān in less than three days did not understand what he read.[125]

'Uqbah ibn 'Āmir al-Juhanī once asked the Prophet to read out to him Sūrah Hūd or Sūrah Yūsuf. The Prophet replied that 'Uqbah will never read something

---

118. Muslim, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, 303, (no. 403). This not only shows his diligence in teaching people the *tashahhud*, it is also indicative of the rigorous manner in which he would teach the Qur'ān to his Companions.

119. Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 1, 273-274, (no. 146).

120. The *alif lām rā sūrahs* are Sūrah Yūnus (10), Sūrah Hūd (11), Sūrah Yūsuf (12), Sūrah Ibrāhīm (14) and Sūrah al-Ḥijr (15).

121. The *hawāmīm sūrahs* are Sūrah al-Mu'min (40), Sūrah Ḥāmīm al-Sajdah (41), Sūrah al-Zukhruf (43), Sūrah al-Dukhān (44), Sūrah al-Jāthiyah (45) and Sūrah al-Aḥqāf (46).

122. The *musabbiḥāt sūrahs* are: Sūrah al-Ḥadīd (57), Sūrah al-Ḥashr (59), Sūrah al-Ṣaff (61), Sūrah al-Jumu'ah (62) and Sūrah al-Taghābun (64).

123. Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, vol. 2, 57, (no. 1399).

124. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 3, 1372, (no. 3548).

125. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 2, 189, (no. 6775).

more eloquent to God than Sūrah al-Falaq.[126]

Once the Prophet corrected 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd who read *hal min mudhdhakir*. The Prophet said that it was *hal min muddakir*.[127]

'Uthmān ibn Abī al-'Āṣ said that the Prophet asked him to read shorter *sūrahs* of the Qur'ān in the prayer for the convenience of people and even prescribed Sūrah al-Iqrā' for this purpose.[128]

'Umar reports that the Prophet said that he who wants to read the Qur'ān in the way it was recited to him should read it the way Ibn Mas'ūd reads it.[129]

The Prophet sent Abū Mūsā and Mu'ādh to Yemen and asked them to teach the Qur'ān to people.[130]

'Ubādah ibn Ṣāmit reports that when a person would migrate to the Prophet, he would entrust him to one of the Companions who would teach him the Qur'ān.[131]

When 'Amr ibn 'Abd Qays accepted Islam at the hands of the Prophet, he was taught Sūrah al-Fātiḥah and Sūrah al-Iqrā' by him.[132]

'Uthmān ibn Abī al-'Āṣ was among the delegation of the Thaqīf when it came to the Prophet to accept Islam. He was the youngest and the Prophet taught him the Qur'ān and he spent time with Ubayy who also taught him the Qur'ān. Later, when the delegation returned, he was made its leader by the Prophet. He would lead them in the prayer and also teach them the Qur'ān.[133]

Buraydah ibn al-Ḥuṣayb ibn 'Abdullāh was taught the initial verses of Sūrah

---

126. Ibid., vol. 4, 159, (no. 17491).
127. Ibid., vol. 1, 431, (no. 4105).
128. Ibid., vol. 4, 218, (no. 17943).
129. Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 5, 71, (no. 8256).
130. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 4, 397, (no. 19562).
131. Ibid., vol. 5. 324, (no. 22818).
132. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 5. 564.
133. Ibid., vol. 7, 40.

Maryam by the Prophet.[134]

Farwah ibn Musayk ibn al-Ḥārith would often attend the gatherings of the Prophet and learn the Qur'ān and obligations and injunctions of Islam.[135]

The Prophet left behind Mu'ādh ibn Jabal in Makkah when he left for the campaign of Ḥunayn so that Mu'ādh could teach them the Qur'ān.[136]

In Madīnah, the house of Makhramah ibn Nawfal was called the house of Qur'ān memorizers (*dār al-qurrā'*). It was here that Ibn Umm Maktūm, the blind resided.[137]

According to al-Wāqidī, the Prophet entrusted Wardān, an ancestor of al-Furāt ibn Yazīd to Sa'īd ibn Abān ibn al-'Āṣ so that he could teach him the Qur'ān.[138]

It is evident from a report by Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī that the Companions would sit around a person who would read out the Qur'ān to them. In one such instance, the Prophet came over to such a gathering and praised them for this noble act.[139]

Amongst the members of the delegation from the Banū Ḥanīfah who came to the Prophet to embrace Islam was Raḥḥāl ibn 'Anfawah to whom Ubayy ibn Ka'b would teach the Qur'ān.[140]

'Abdullāh ibn 'Awf al-Ashajj was a member of the delegation of Rabī'ah 'Abd al-Qays which came over to the Prophet after the conquest of Makkah to embrace Islam. It is recorded by Ibn Sa'd that he would ask questions from the Prophet about the Qur'ān.[141]

When Abū Ḥarb ibn Khuwaylad ibn 'Āmir ibn 'Uqayl came to the Prophet, he

---

134. Ibid., vol. 7, 365.
135. Ibid., vol. 5, 524.
136. Ibid., vol. 2, 384.
137. Ibid., vol. 4, 205.
138. Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Al-Iṣābah fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥābah*, 1ˢᵗ ed., vol. 6 (Beirut: Dār al-jīl, 1992), 606.
139. Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, vol. 3, 323, (no. 3666).
140. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 1, 316.
141. Ibid., vol. 1, 315.

recited the Qur'ān before him and presented Islam to him.[142]

The Prophet once recited out the Qur'ān to a Christian delegation that came from Najrān.[143]

In the tenth year of *hijrah*, fifteen people from the al-Rahāwiyyīn, a sub-tribe of the Mudhḥij tribe came over to the Prophet. They embraced Islam and learnt the Qur'ān.[144]

When the tribes of 'Āḍl and al-Qārah embraced Islam, the Prophet sent six of his Companions to inculcate in them a deep understanding of religion and to teach them the Qur'ān.[145]

In the tenth year of *hijrah*, when a delegation of Banū Ḥārith in Najrān came over to the Prophet and embraced Islam, the Prophet sent 'Amr ibn Ḥazm with them to teach them the Qur'ān.[146]

The Prophet sent Mu'ādh ibn Jabal as a judge to one area of Yemen to teach them the Qur'ān and the directives of Islam.[147]

Abū Rafā'ah al-'Adawī learnt the whole of Sūrah al-Baqarah from the Prophet.[148]

'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās says that he had learnt the *muḥkam sūrahs* of the Qur'ān in the time of the Prophet.[149]

At the behest of the Prophet, 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd taught whatever Qur'ān he knew to Mu'ādh. Both would often go the Prophet before whom Mu'ādh would recite the Qur'ān. And Mu'ādh was one of the teachers of the Qur'ān in the times

---

142. Ibid., vol. 1, 302.
143. Ibid., vol. 1, 357.
144. Ibid., vol. 1, 344.
145. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb*, vol. 3, 1384.
146. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, n.d.), 195.
147. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, vol. 3, 1403.
148. Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 7, 223, (no. 35517).
149. Ibid., vol. 6, 132, (no. 30064).

of the Prophet.[150]

Before migration, the Prophet sent Muṣ'ab ibn 'Umayr and Ibn Umm Maktūm to teach the Qur'ān to the people of Madīnah.[151]

The Prophet once read the Qur'ān before Abū Bakr who embraced Islam.[152]

The Prophet presented Islam and read out the Qur'ān before al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubaydullāh, Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ and 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf. All of them embraced Islam.[153]

Abū 'Ubaydah ibn al-Ḥārith, Abū Salamah ibn al-Asad 'Abdullāh ibn al-'Arqam and 'Uthmān ibn Maẓ'ūn visited the Prophet. He presented Islam before them and read out the Qur'ān to them. At this they embraced Islam.[154]

The Prophet recited the Qur'ān before a delegation of Christians which had come over from Ethiopia as a result of which all of them accepted Islam.[155]

The first person to openly communicate the Qur'ān in Makkah from the mouth of the Prophet was 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd.[156]

Khabbāb ibn al-Art taught the Qur'ān to 'Umar's sister Fāṭimah and to her husband Sa'īd ibn Zayd.[157]

Abū al-Walīd 'Utbah ibn Rabī'ah once came over to the Prophet and offered him various things in return for giving up his mission. The Prophet responded by reciting the initial verses of Sūrah Ḥamīm al-sajdah.[158]

Iyās ibn Mu'ādh accepted Islam at the hands of the Prophet when he read out

---

150. Ibid., vol. 1, 271, (no. 406).
151. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 1, 234.
152. Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Yasār, *Al-Sīrah al-nabawiyyah*, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 2004), 183.
153. Ibid., 184.
154. Ibid., 186.
155. Ibid., 252.
156. Ibid., 225.
157. Ibid., 221-222.
158. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Malik ibn Hishām ibn Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, *Al-Sīrah al-nabawiyyah*, 1st ed., vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-jīl, 1411 AH), 131.

the Qur'ān to him.[159]

The students of the Companions too taught the Qur'ān. It is narrated that amongst Ibn Mas'ūd's companions who taught the Qur'ān were 'Alqamah, al-Aswad, 'Abīdah, Masrūq, 'Amr ibn Shuraḥbīl and al-Ḥārith ibn Qays.[160] 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī taught the Qur'ān for forty years.[161]

C. Memorization by the Companions

1. Urging the Companions

The Prophet instructed his Companions to learn the Qur'ān by heart. He told them that a memorizer needs to constantly revise the text for a lapse in this regard would make him forget the Qur'ān. 'Abdullāh reports from the Prophet: 'Keep revising the Qur'ān for it will vanish from your hearts sooner than a camel which is set loose.'[162]

'Ā'ishah reports that a person who is fluent in reading the Qur'ān will be with noble and honourable scribes and he who reads the Qur'ān with difficulty will receive double reward.[163]

Barā' ibn 'Āzib reports that the Prophet asked Muslims to decorate the Qur'ān with their voices.[164]

The memorization of the Qur'ān was so strong a measure for its preservation that it is referred to by the words *kitābuṇ lā yaghsiluhū al-mā'* (a book that will

---

159. Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-nabawiyyah*, vol. 2, 275.
160. Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 6, 155, (no. 30300).
161. Ibid., vol. 6, 155, (no. 30302).
162. Muslim, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, 544, (no. 790); See also: Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1921, (no. 4744).
163. Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, vol. 2, 70, (no. 1454).
164. Ibid., vol. 2, 74, (no. 1468).

not be washed away by water) attributed to the Almighty in a narrative.[165] The

words *anājīluhum fī ṣudurihim* (their gospels are in their hearts)[166] attributed to

the Prophet in another narrative also refers to this preservation by memorization.

2. Incentives for Memorization

Incentives were given to people to memorize the Qur'ān – incentives which

consisted of a promise of great reward in the Hereafter.

'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar reports from the Prophet: 'On the Day of Judgement], it shall be said to the memorizer of the Qur'ān: "Read the Qur'ān and climb [a step] and read it in measured tones the way you used to read it in the world; your destiny [in this Paradise] will be the step you reach when you have read the last verse."'[167]

'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar reports that he heard the Prophet say: 'One can be envious of two persons only: a person who has been bestowed the Qur'ān by the Almighty and he reads it at night and a person who has been blessed with wealth by the Almighty and he spends it in the way of Allah morning and evening.'[168]

The more a person had the Qur'ān committed to memory, the more he was

deemed desirable to lead Muslims in the prayer:

Abū Mas'ūd al-Anṣārī reports that the Prophet said: 'People who know the Book of God more should be made the *imāms* [in the prayer].'[169]

Even posthumously, the memorizers were honoured more:

Hishām ibn 'Āmir Anṣārī reports that when on the day of the battle of Uḥud, people were wounded and encountered a lot of hardships, the Prophet said: 'Dig large graves and bury two to three people in one grave.' The people asked: 'Whom should we bury first.' The Prophet replied: 'One who knows more of the Qur'ān.'[170]

---

165. Muslim, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥiḥ*, vol. 4, 2197, (no. 2865).
166. Al-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, vol. 10, 89, (no. 10046).
167. Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, vol. 2, 73, (no. 1464).
168. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1919, (no. 4737).
169. Muslim, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, 465, (no. 673).
170. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 4, 19, (no. 16296).

3. Some Manifestations of Memorization

a). Reading in the Prayer

'Urwah reports from his father that Abū Bakr read Sūrah al-Baqarah in the two *rak'āt* of *fajr*.[171]

'Abdullāh ibn 'Āmir ibn Rabī'ah says that 'Umar read Sūrah Yūsuf and Sūrah al-Ḥajj slowly in the morning prayer.[172]

Furāfiṣah ibn 'Umayr says that he learnt Sūrah Yūsuf from 'Uthmān because he would often read it in the morning prayer.[173]

b) Reciting the Complete Qur'ān

Like the Prophet himself, the Companions too had a deep relationship with the

Qur'ān:

Aws ibn Ḥudhayfah said: ' … I asked the Companions of the Prophet in what portions did they divide the Qur'ān. They replied: "[We divide it into seven portions thus:] three, five, seven, nine, eleven, thirteen and then the last portion of the *mufaṣṣal* [*sūrahs*]."'[174]

'Abdullāh ibn 'Amr said: 'I had memorized the Qur'ān and I read it every night. This news reached the Prophet who said: "Read it in one month." I said: "O Prophet! Let me make use of my youth and vigour." He replied: "Read it then in every twenty days." I continued: "O Prophet! Let me make use of my youth and vigour." He then said: "Read it in every ten days." I insisted: "O Prophet! Let me make use of my youth and vigour." He responded: "Read it in every seven days." I again said: "O Prophet! Let me make use of my youth and vigour." At this, he refused [to say any further].'[175]

Ibn Mas'ūd finished the Qur'ān in three days during the Ramaḍān and in eight days in other months starting from Friday and ending on the next Friday. Ubayy ibn Ka'b finished the Qur'ān in eight days and Tamīm al-Dārī finished it in seven days and 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān even finished it in one night.[176]

---

171. Mālik ibn Anas, *Al-Mu'aṭṭa'*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Dār ihyā' al-turāth al-'arabī, n.d.), 82, (no. 182).

172. Ibid., vol. 1, 82, (no. 183).

173. Ibid., vol. 1, 82, (no. 184). .

174. Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, vol. 2, 55, (1393). See also: Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 93; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, vol. 1, 427, (no. 1345); Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 4, 9, (no. 16211); Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 5, 510.

175. Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 5, 24, (no. 8064). See also: Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, vol. 2, 54, (no. 1390).

176. Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 2 (Makkah: Maktabah Dār al-Bāz, 1994), 396, (no. 3865).

Mujāhid said: 'I recited out the Qur'ān before Ibn 'Abbās three times.'[177]

Abū Thawr al-Tamīmī said: ' … I had memorized the Qur'ān in the time of the Prophet.'[178]

Ubayy would complete the Qur'ān in eight days.[179]

Mu'ādh ibn al-Ḥārith al-Qārī who was the Prophet's Companion in his last six years was asked by 'Umar, when he was the caliph, to lead the *tarāwīḥ* prayer in Ramaḍān.[180] 'Abdullāh ibn al-Sā'ib al-Makhzūmī, another Companion of the Prophet was a famous reciter of Makkah.[181] Abū al-'Āliyah read out the Qur'ān to 'Umar three times.[182] Shihāb al-Qurshī read out the whole of the Qur'ān to the Prophet.[183]

c) Memorizers of the Qur'ān

Whilst referring to Abū 'Ubayd's *Kitāb al-qirā'āt*, Ibn Ḥajar[184] has enumerated the following names of the Companions who had memorized the Qur'ān:

Among the Muhājirūn, there were:

i. Abū Bakr

ii. 'Umar

iii. 'Uthmān

---

177. Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-kitāb al-'arabī, 1407 AH), 273, (no. 1120).

178. 'Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol. 2, 213, (no. 2011).

179. Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 88.

180. Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn al-Zakī al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 1st ed., vol. 28 (Beirut: Mu'assasah al-risālah, 1980), 117.

181. Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 1st ed. (Syria: Dār al-rashīd, 1986), 304.

182. Abū 'Abdullāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Uthmān ibn Qāyamaz ibn 'Abdullāh al-Dhahabī, *Ma'rifah al-qurrā' al-kibār*, 1st vol. 1 (Istanbul: Manshūrāt markaz al-buḥūth al-islāmiyyah, 1995), 156.

183. Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 3, 366.

184. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 9, 42-43. To the best of my knowledge, Abū 'Ubayd's *Kitāb al-Qirā'āt* has not been published as yet. Alternatively, it may not have survived.

iv. 'Alī

v. Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubaydullah

vi. Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqās

vii. 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd

viii. Sālim, mawlā Abū Ḥudhayfah

ix. Hudhayfah ibn al-Yamān

x. 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās

xi. 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar

xii. 'Abdullāh ibn 'Amr

xiii. 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ

xiv. Abū Hurayrah

xv. Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān

xvi. 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr

xvii. 'Abdullāh ibn al-Sā'ib

Among women:

i. 'Ā'ishah

ii. Ḥafṣah

iii. Umm Salamah

To this list, while quoting from Ibn Abī Dā'ūd's[185] *Kitāb al-sharī'ah*, Ibn Ḥajar adds the following from among the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār and has specified that some of them completed memorizing the Qur'ān after the death of the Prophet:

i. Tamīm ibn Aws al-Dārī

ii. 'Uqbah ibn 'Āmir

---

185. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 9, 42.

    iii. 'Ubādah ibn Ṣāmit

    iv. Abū Ḥalīmah Mu'ādh

    v. Mujammi' ibn al-Ḥārithah

    vi. Fuḍālah ibn 'Ubayd

    vii. Maslamah ibn Makhlad

Ibn Ḥajar says that al-Dānī has also counted Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī among the memorizers whilst some later authorities also regard 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ, Sa'd ibn 'Ubādah and Umm Waraqah among the memorizers.

Al-Dhahabī has specified that most of the names of the Companions which are mentioned in history as memorizers of the Qur'ān are those who recited it out to the Prophet and their chains of narration reached us. As far as the Companions are concerned, who memorized the Qur'ān but whose chains of narration did not reach us, their number is much more.[186]

---

186. Al-Zarkashī, *Al-Burhān*, vol. 1, 306. It may be noted that there are some narratives which explicitly or implicitly limit the number of memorizers in the time of the Prophet to four. See for example: Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 3rd ed., vol. 4, 1913, (no. 4717); Ibid., vol. 4, 1913, (no. 4718). Firstly, as pointed out by Ma'zarī (d. 536 AH) how can the narrators of these narratives have known that there were none other than these four who had memorized the Qur'ān and how could they have been thorough in their count because the Companions of the Prophet had spread out to various areas. It was only if these narrators had met each of these Companions and gathered data from them that this count could have been correct. And such a happening is obviously improbable. See: Shihāb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm Abū Shāmmah, *Al-Murshid al-wajīz ilā 'ulūmiṇ tata'allaqu bi al-Kitāb al-'Azīz*, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 2002), 53. Secondly, as pointed out by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, some other background narratives are helpful in understanding these narratives which restrict the memorizers to four. It is evident from these background narratives that the tribes of Aws and Khazraj from the time of *jāhiliyyah* would often indulge in expressing their superiority to each other and this trait seems to have continued even after they had embraced faith. The restrictive narratives are nothing but an expression of this mutual debate over superiority. The background narratives clearly show that whatever was said regarding the number of the memorizers was said by some people from the Khazraj tribe in response to some other claims of superiority by the Aws tribe. See: Yūsuf ibn 'Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb fī ma'rifah al-aṣḥāb*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-jīl, 1412 AH), 382.

D. Dictation and Correction

Just as the Qur'ān was preserved in the memories of people, it was also preserved in writing. About this feature of preservation, the Qur'ān itself alludes in the following words:

Read out to them and the fact is that your Lord is the most Bounteous who taught [this Qur'ān] by the pen. (96:3-4)

The written Qur'ān is referred to in the following words by its adversaries:

And they say: 'Fables of the ancients he has had written: they are written and taught to him morning and evening.' (25:5)

It is evident from the following verse that the Prophet himself did not know how to read or write:

Never have you read a book before this, nor have you ever transcribed one with your right hand, otherwise the rejecters would have had reason to harbour doubts. (29:48)

Narratives show that the Prophet would call for his Companions when a revelation would come down to him. Similarly, he would have what was written read out to him to safeguard any error:

Barā' says: 'When the verse: لَا يَسْتَوِي الْقَاعِدُونَ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَالْمُجَاهِدُونَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّه (those among the believers who sat [and did not go for *jihād*] and those who fought in the way of God are not equal) was revealed, the Prophet said: "Call for Zayd and let him bring tablets and shoulder bones and the ink-pot or shoulder bones and the ink-pot." He then said: "Write down [O Zayd!] لَا يَسْتَوِي الْقَاعِدُونَ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ (not equal are those among the believers who sat [and did not go for *jihād*] …)." Standing right behind the Prophet's back was 'Amr ibn Umm Maktūm, the blind. He said: "O Prophet! What is your directive about me for I am blind." At this, the following verse was revealed in place of the previous one: لاً يَسْتَوِي الْقَاعِدُونَ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ غَيْرُ أُوْلِي الضَّرَر (٤:٩٥) وَالْمُجَاهِدُونَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّه (those among the believers who are not handicapped and who sat [and did not go for *jihād*] and those who fought in

the way of God are not equal, (4:95))."'[187]

Zayd ibn Thābit said: 'I used to write down the revelations in the presence of the Messenger of God. When a revelation would descend, he would be in great distress and would profusely sweat as if pearls [were scattered about]; then when the revelation would end, I would come over to him with a piece or portion of saddle wood. Then I would write and he would dictate to me. As soon as this would finish, I would feel that my legs were going to break with the weight of the Qur'ān and I would say [to myself that] I would never be able to walk on my legs. When I would finish he [–the Messenger–] would say: "Read it out [to me]." Then if there would be any mistake he would correct it and then I would take it to the people.'[188]

Sharīk ibn 'Abdullāh reported from 'Aṭā' ibn Yasār that a person wrote in the presence of the Prophet. The Prophet asked: 'Have you written.' He replied: 'Yes.' The Prophet said: 'Have you presented it [for correction].' He said: 'No.' The Prophet said: 'Why was it not written so that you had presented it and it was corrected.'[189]

E. Arrangement of the Qur'ān

Ibn 'Abbās told us: '… Uthmān said: "When something would be revealed to the Prophet, he would call to his presence a person who could write and tell him: 'Place these verses in the *sūrah* in which is mentioned such and such a thing.'"'[190]

'Uthmān ibn Abī al-'Āṣ said: 'I was sitting in the company of the Prophet. He raised his gaze and then lowered it until it was as if it was glued to the ground. Then he raised his gaze and said: "Gabriel came to me and ordered me that I insert this verse at its place in its *sūrah*: إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَأْمُرُ بِالْعَدْلِ وَالإِحْسَانِ God (٩٠:١٦) وَإِيتَاءِ ذِي الْقُرْبَى وَيَنْهَى عَنِ الْفَحْشَاءِ وَالْمُنْكَرِ والبغي يَعِظُكُمْ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَذَكَّرُونَ enjoins you to justice, goodness and spending on the kindred, and forbids lewdness, evil and arrogance. He admonishes you so that you may take heed, (16:90))."'[191]

Ibn Zubayr said: 'I told 'Uthmān: "The verse وَالَّذِينَ يُتَوَفَّوْنَ مِنْكُمْ وَيَذَرُونَ أَزْوَاجًا (٢٤٠:٢) (and those of you who die and leave behind wives (2:240)) has been abrogated by another verse. So why have you still written or left it in the Qur'ān." At this 'Uthmān replied: "O nephew! I cannot change anything from

187. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1909, (no. 4704); See also: Ibid., vol. 4, 1677, (no. 4318); Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 4, 191, (no. 1670); Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, vol. 3, 11, (no. 2507); Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 4, 301, (no. 18701).

188. Al-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, vol. 5, 142, (no. 4889). See also Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī, *Adab al-imlā wa istimlā*, 77.

189. Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī, *Adab al-imlā wa istimlā*, 77.

190. Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 5, 10, (no. 8007). See also: Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, vol. 1, 208, (no. 786); Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 5, 272, (no. 3086)

191. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 4, 218, (no. 17947).

its place in the Qur'ān.'"[192]

Ma'dān ibn Abī Ṭalḥah said that [once] 'Umar delivered a Friday sermon: '… The thing I asked the Prophet most was [the explanation of the word] *kalālah* and nothing was as heavy on me as this until he poked his finger into my chest and said: "Is not the verse [revealed] in the summers and placed at the end of Sūrah al-Nisā' sufficient for you [in this regard]."'[193]

Ubayy ibn Ka'b said: 'At times, the beginning of *sūrahs* would be revealed to the Prophet and I would right them down; then some more portion would be revealed and he would say: "Write this in the *sūrah* in which such and such a thing is mentioned." And at times, something would be revealed and I would wait for what he would say until he would say: "Place these verses in such and such a *sūrah*."'[194]

F. Writing the Qur'ān Distinct from Aḥādīth

Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī reports that the Prophet said: 'Do not write anything from me except the Qur'ān. Whoever did so should erase it.'[195]

So strong was this tradition that it even continued afterwards: once, when one of the companions of Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī asked him if he, for the sake of accuracy, could write down many interesting things said by Abū Sa'īd. At this, the latter asked him to not write them down and make them the Qur'ān; on the contrary, he should learn these utterances the way in which he (Abū Sa'īd) learnt them from the Prophet.[196]

G. The Companions writing out their Codices

Zayd ibn Thābit said: 'We would compile the Qur'ān in the presence of the Prophet.'[197]

Ibn 'Abbās said: '*Maṣāḥif* [in this time] were not sold. A person would come with his pages in the presence of the Prophet; another person would stand up

---

192. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1646, (no. 4256).

193. Muslim, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, 396, (no. 567).

194. Qāḍī Abū Bakr ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Bāqilānī, *Al-Intiṣār li al-Qur'ān*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2001), 291.

195. Muslim, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 2298, (no. 3004).

196. Al-Ḥākim, *Al-Mustadrak*, vol. 3, 651, (no. 6393).

197. Ibid., vol. 2, 249, (no. 2900).

and write on his pages without charging him; then another would stand up and write and this continued till the *muṣḥaf* had been written.'[198]

H. Scribes of Revelation

Al-Balādhurī (d. 297 AH) records that at the advent of Islam only the following seventeen people knew how to write:[199]

i. Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb

ii. 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib

iii.. 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān

iv. Abū 'Ubaydah ibn Jarrāḥ

v. Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubaydullāh

vi. al-'Ulā ibn al-Ḥaḍramī

vii. Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān

viii. Abū Ḥudayfah ibn 'Utbah

ix. Ḥāṭib ibn 'Amr ibn 'Abd al-Shams

x. Abū Salamah ibn 'Abd al-Asad

xi. Abān ibn Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ

xii. Khālid ibn Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ

xiii. 'Abdullāh ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Saraḥ

xiv. Ḥuwaytib ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā

xv. Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb

xvi. Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān

xvii. Juhaym ibn al-Ṣalat ibn Makhramah

Amongst the allies of the Quraysh al-'Ulā ibn al-Ḥaḍramī knew how to write.

---

198. Al-Bayhaqī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 6, 16, (no. 10848).

199. Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Jābir al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān* (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1978), 457-458.

He records that Ḥafṣah bint 'Umar, Umm Kulthūm bint 'Uqbah also knew how to write. The former was taught by a lady called Shifā' bint 'Abdullāh al-'Adawiyyah. 'Ā'ishah and 'Umm Salamah could read but not write.

Ibn 'Abd Rabbih[200] records that 'Uthmān and 'Alī would write the Qur'ān and in their absence Ubayy ibn Ka'b and Zayd ibn Thābit and if they too were absent, there were others he does not name.

Al-Ya'qūbī[201] has recorded the following list as scribes of revelation:

i. 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib

ii. 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān

iii. 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ

iv. Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān

v. Shuraḥbīl ibn Abī Ḥasanah

vi. 'Abdullāh ibn Abī Saraḥ

vii. Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah

viii. Mu'ādh ibn Jabal

ix. Zayd ibn Thābit

x. Ḥanẓalah ibn Rabī' al-Kātib

xi. Ubayy ibn Ka'b

xii. Juhaym ibn al-Ṣalat

xiii. Ḥuṣayn al-Numayrī

Dr Rāmyar[202] says that there exists a great difference of opinion in the number of scribes of revelation. Ibn 'Asākir in his *Tārikh Madīnah Dimashq* mentions 23,

---

200. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Al-'Iqd al-farīd*, 3rd ed., vol. 4 (Beirut: Dār iḥyā' al-turāth al-arabī, 1999), 147-148.

201. Aḥmad ibn Abī Ya'qūb ibn Ja'far ibn Wahb ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār ṣādir, n.p.), 80.

202. Maḥmūd Rāmyār, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, trans. Sayyid Anwār Aḥmad Bilgarāmī, 1st ed. (Lahore: Misbāḥ al-Qur'ān Trust, 1421 AH), 242-243.

while Abū Shāmmah while summarizing this book lists 25. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (d. 463 AH) in *al-Istī'āb* also mentions 25. Shabrāmalsī (b. 1087 AH) names 40 and 'Irāqī (b. 806 AH) names 42 and Burhān Ḥalbī in his annotation to the book *al-Shifā* lists 43. Al-Zanjānī also mentions 43.

The most recent addition to this topic is Muḥammad Muṣṭafā A'ẓamī's[203] recently published book *Kuttāb al-nabī* (Scribes of the Prophet). He has named 65 scribes who remained at the disposal of the Prophet at various periods of time. The list he has come up with pertains to scribes in general and he has not specified the scribes specifically used for revelation.

It may be noted that all these scribes wrote out the Qur'ān in their personal capacity. No doubt, the Prophet too called to his presence a scribe when a revelation would be received, but this was much like the way a teacher wants his students to have a record of his notes. None of these scribes were officially appointed and designated for this purpose. Had this been the case, an officially prepared record of revelations should have been left behind by the Prophet, which he did not.

---

203. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā A'ẓamī, *Kuttāb al-nabī*, 6th ed. (Beirut: Al-Maktab al-islāmī, 2003), 12. It may be noted in this regard that it is reported by al-Wāqidī (d. 207 AH) that a scribe 'Abdullāh ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Saraḥ would deliberately alter the revelations. See: Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, 1st ed., vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 2004), 279. A'ẓamī has convincingly shown that narratives which record this are weak and unreliable. See: A'ẓamī, *Kuttāb al-nabī*, 115-116. It is also mentioned that a scribe by the name of 'Abdullāh ibn Khaṭal also used to alter revelations. Ibn Sayyid al-Nās after mentioning his name writes that the narrative has been misreported and that the person in question is actually 'Abdullāh ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Saraḥ. See: Muḥammad ibn 'Abdullāh ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *'Uyūn al-athr fī al-maghāzī wa al-shamā'il wa al-siyar*, 1st ed., vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-qalam, 1993), 383. A'ẓamī has referred to some more details about him in line with the view expressed by Ibn Sayyid al-Nās. He finally concludes on the basis of Ibn Isḥāq that Ibn Khaṭal was never a scribe; he was made a tax-collector by the Prophet (sws) and was guilty of killing his innocent servant and he later recanted Islam. See: A'ẓamī, *Kuttāb al-nabī*, 106.

Chapter 2

Narrative on the Collection of the Qur'ān by Abū Bakr

Contents

I. Introduction

II. A Typical Text

III. Criticism and its Analysis

    A. *Matn*

        1. Improbable Cause of Collection

        2. Unofficial Status of the Collection

        3. Questionable Methodology of Collection

        4. Rarity of the Missing Verses

        5. Khuzaymah or Abū Khuzaymah or …

        6. Lack of Authoritative Record of Muḥammad's Revelation

        7. The Narrative is *Gharīb*

        8. Absence of the Narrative in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* and in *al-Mu'aṭṭa'*

        9. Absence of the Narrative in some Major Works on Muslim HistoryF

    B. *Isnād*

        1. The *Isnād* is Broken (*Munqaṭiʿ*)

        2. Narrators in the *Isnād*

            a) ʿUbayd ibn al-Sabbāq

            b) Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī

            c) Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī's Pupils

IV. Further Criticism

        1. Improbability of the Event

        2. Critical Analysis of some Collection-Methodology Narratives

        3. Contradiction with Other Accounts of First Collection

V. Summary

VI. Conclusion

I. Introduction

A narrative says that in the battle of Yamāmah during the time of the caliph Abū Bakr, a number of Muslims who had memorized the Qur'ān were killed. It was feared that unless a written copy of the Qur'ān was prepared, a large part of it might be lost. 'Umar succeeded in convincing Abū Bakr to initiate this task, who then employed Zayd ibn Thābit to accomplish it. Zayd collected the Qur'ān from various materials on which it had been written and from the memories of men, and prepared a complete copy. This copy remained with Abū Bakr till his death, then with 'Umar till he too died and finally it came in the custody of his daughter, Ḥafṣah.

Some other narratives depict a certain methodology which was adopted in this collection made in the times of Abū Bakr.

In this chapter, an analysis of the *matn* and *isnād* of this narrative and its textual variants together with the methodology narratives shall be attempted.

II. A Typical Text

Zayd ibn Thābit -al-Anṣārī narrated: 'Abū Bakr sent for me at the time of the casualties among the warriors [of the battle] of Yamāmah. 'Umar was present with Abū Bakr who said: " 'Umar has come to me and said: 'The *qurrā'* have suffered heavy casualties during the battle [with the people] of Yamāmah, and I am afraid that there will be some casualties among the *qurrā'* at other places, whereby a large part of the Qur'ān may be lost. And I am of the opinion that you should order for its collection.' I asked 'Umar: 'How can I do something which Allah's Messenger has not done?' 'Umar said [to me]: 'By God! It is [really] a good thing.' So 'Umar kept on trying to persuade me to accept his proposal till Allah opened my bosom for it and I had the same opinion as 'Umar's." Abū Bakr said [to me]: "You are a wise young man and we do not

suspect you [of any bad trait in your character] and you used to write the Divine Revelation for Allah's Messenger; therefore, look for the Qur'ān and collect it." By Allah! If he [Abū Bakr] had ordered me to shift one of the mountains [from its place], it would not have been harder for me than what he had ordered me concerning the collection of the Qur'ān. I said to both of them: "How can you do a thing which the Prophet has not done?" Abū Bakr said: "By Allah, it is [really] a good thing." So he kept on pressing me about it till Allah opened my bosom for that for which He had opened the bosoms of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. Then I started locating the Qur'ānic material collecting it from the bark of palm trees, scapula bones and from the memories of men. I found with Abū Khuzaymah al-Anṣārī the last part of Sūrah al-Tawbah which I had not found with anybody else [and it was]: لَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مِنْ أَنْفُسِكُمْ عَزِيــزٌ عَلَيْهِ مَا عَنِتُّمْ (٩: ١٢٨) (indeed, there has come to you a Messenger from among yourselves; it grieves him that you should be in difficulty, (9:128)) to the end of the *sūrah*. These *ṣuḥuf* remained with Abū Bakr till his death; then with 'Umar till his death and then with Ḥafṣah, 'Umar's daughter.'[204]

---

204. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1907, (no. 4701). See also: Ibid., vol. 4, 1720, (no. 4402); Ibid., vol. 4, 1907, (no. 4701); Ibid., vol. 4, 1908, (no. 4703); Ibid., vol. 6, 2629, (no. 6768); Ibid., vol. 6, 2700, (no. 6989); Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 5, 7, (no. 7995); Ibid., vol. 5, 9, (no. 8002); Ibid., vol. 5, 78, (no. 8288); Al-Nasā'ī, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1, 74-75, (no. 20); Ibid., vol. 1, 81, (no. 27); Al-Nasā'ī, *Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, 55, (no. 183); Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 5, 283, (3103); Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 10, (no. 57); Ibid., vol. 1, 13, (no. 76); Ibid., vol. 5, 188, (no. 21687); Aḥmad ibn 'Alī Abū Ya'lā, *Musnad*, vol. 1 (Damascus: Dār al-mā'mūn li al-turāth, 1984), 64, (no. 63); Ibid., vol. 1, 66, (no. 64); Ibid., vol. 1, 67, (no. 65); Ibid., vol. 1, 72, (no. 71); Ibid., vol. 1, 91, (no. 91);); 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, 249-251; Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 152-153; Ibid., 155; Ibid. 156; Al-Ṭayālisī, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 3, (no. 3); Abū al-Qāsim Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *Musnad Shāmiyyīn*, vol. 4 (Beirut: Mu'assisah al-risālah, 1984), 242, (no. 3190); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, vol. 5, 146, (no. 4901); Ibid., vol. 5, 147, (no. 4902); Ibid., vol. 5, 148, (no. 4903); Ibid., vol. 5, 149, (no. 4904); Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 12-13; Ibid., 13-14; Ibid., 14; Ibid., 14-15; Ibid., 27-28; Al-Ḥusayn ibn Mas'ūd al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-sunnah*, vol. 4 (Beirut: Al-Maktab al-islāmī, 1983), 513-515, (no. 1230); Al-Ḥusayn ibn Mas'ūd al-Baghawī, *Mu'jam al-ṣaḥābah*, 1st ed., vol. 2 (Kuwait: Dār al-bayān, 1421 AH), 466-468; Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Marwazī, *Musnad Abī Bakr*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Al-Maktab al-islāmī, n.d.), 96-99, (no. 45); Ibid., vol. 1, 102-104, (no. 46); Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ṣaydāwī, *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Beirut: Mu'assasah al-risālah, 1405 AH), 297, (no. 258); Al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā al-Baghdādī, *Juz' ashyab*, vol. 1 (al-Fujayrah: Dār 'ulūm al-ḥadīth, 1990), 70, (no. 47); Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 112, (no. 142); Ibid., vol. 5, 260, (no. 25877); Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 10, 359-362, (no. 4506); Ibid., vol. 10, 364, (no. 4507); Al-Bayhaqī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 2, 40, (no. 2202); Ibid., vol. 2, 41, (no. 2203); Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Shu'ab al-īmān*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār-al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1410 AH), 195, (no. 171); Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al-nubuwwah*, vol. 7, 148-150; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Amr al-Bazzār, *Musnad*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Maktabah al-'ulūm wa al-ḥikam, 1409 AH), 88, (no. 31); Ibid., vol. 1, 206, (no. 31); Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Amr ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Shaybānī, *Al-Aḥād wa al-mathānī*, 1st ed., vol. 4 (Riyāḍ: Dār al-rāyah, 1991), 87, (no. 2047); Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Sufyān al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifah wa al-tārīkh*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1999), 213; Ibid., vol. 1, 261; Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 2002), 39; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*, vol. 19, 306-308; Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 19, 208; Abū Nu'aym al-Aṣbahānī, *Al-Imāmah wa al-radd 'alā al-rāfiḍah*, vol. 1 (Madīnah:

Following are some notable textual variations of this narrative:

i. Some variants[205] contain the words *jālisuṇ lā yatakallamu* (he sat there not talking) viz a viz 'Umar, while Abū Bakr was conversing with Zayd.

ii. Some variants mention that the missing verses of Sūrah al-Tawbah were found with Abū Khuzaymah;[206] some mention that they were found with Khuzaymah ibn Thābit[207] and some mention that the narrator is not sure whether

---

Maktabah al-'ulūm wa al-ḥikam, 1994), 309, (no. 115); Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb,* vol. 2, 538; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, 215; Abū al-Ḥasan 'Izz al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī, *Usud al-ghābah*, 1ˢᵗ ed., vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār ihyā' al-turāth al-'arabī, 1996), 477; Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Al-Faṣl li al-waṣl al-mudraj*, 1ˢᵗ ed., vol. 1 (Riyāḍ: Dār al-hijrah, 1418 AH), 393-412; Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Isḥāq al-Ḥarbī, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, 1ˢᵗ ed., vol. 1 (Makkah: Jāmi'ah Umm al-Qurā, 1405 AH), 290; Abū al-Qāsim Khalaf ibn 'Abd al-Mālik ibn Bashkawāl, *Ghawāmiḍ al-asmā' al-mubhamah al-wāqi'ah fī mutūn al-aḥādīth al-musnadah*, 1ˢᵗ ed., vol. 1 (Beirut: 'Ālam al-kutub, 1407 AH), 494-495; Aslam ibn Sahl al-Wāsiṭ, *Tārīkh Wāsiṭ*, 1ˢᵗ ed., vol. 1 (Beirut: 'Ālam al-kitāb, 1406 AH), 250-251; Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Salāmah al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, vol. 5 (Beirut: Mu'assasah al-risālah, 1987), 305; Arthur Jeffery, ed., *Muqaddimatān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Maktabah khanjī, 1954), 17-18; Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān ibn Sa'īd al-Dānī, *Al-Muqni' fī ma'rifah maṣāḥif ahl al-amṣār*, 2ⁿᵈ ed. (Damascus: Dār al-fikr, 1983), 2-4. (For a complete schematic illustration of this narrative, see: Appendix E).

205. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ,* vol. 4, 1720, (no. 4402); Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 13, (no. 76); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, vol. 5, 147, (no. 4902); Ibid., vol. 5, 146, (no. 4901); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn*, vol. 4, 242, (no. 3190); Abū Ya'lā, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 72, (no. 71); Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 10, 364, (no. 4507); Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Marwazī, *Musnad Abī Bakr*, vol. 1, 102-104, (no. 46); Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 14-15; Ibid., 27-28; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*, vol. 19, 306-308; Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Faṣl li al-waṣl al-mudraj*, vol. 1, 409-412; Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, vol. 5, 305; Al-Wāsiṭī, *Tārīkh Wāsiṭ*, vol. 1, 250-251.

206. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1907, (no. 4701); Ibid., vol. 4, 1908, (4703); Ibid., vol. 6, 2700, (no. 6989); Ibn Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 39; Al-Bayhaqī, *Shu'ab al-īmān*, vol. 1, 195, (no. 171); Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Faṣl li al-waṣl al-mudraj*, vol. 1, 411; Al-Wāsiṭī, *Tārīkh Wāsiṭ*, vol. 1, 250-251.

207. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1720, (no. 4402); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn*, vol. 4, 242, (no. 3190); Abū Ya'lā, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 66, (no. 64); Ibid., vol. 1, 72, (no. 71); Ibid., vol. 1, 91, (no. 91); Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 10, 359-362, (no. 4506); Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 5, 283, (3103); Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-ghābah*, vol. 1, 477; Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 152-156; Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 12-13; Ibid., 13-14; Ibid., 14-15; Ibid., 27-28; Al-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, vol. 5, 146, (no. 4901); Ibid., vol. 5, 147, (no. 4902); Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Marwazī, *Musnad Abī Bakr*, vol. 1, 102-103, (no. 46); Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 10, 364, (no. 4507); Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*, vol. 19, 306-308; Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Faṣl li al-waṣl al-mudraj*, vol. 1, 411; Ibid., vol. 1, 411-412; Ibn Bashkawāl, *Ghawāmiḍ al-asmā' al-mubhamah*, vol. 1, 494-495; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, 215.

it was Abū Khuzaymah or Khuzaymah ibn Thābit;[208] still others do not name anyone and merely say that the verses were found with a person from among the Anṣār.[209]

iii. Some variants[210] do not contain the incident of the missing verses.

iv. Some variants[211] are extremely short containing the first few sentences of the account.

v. A variant[212] mentions that the missing verse was actually that of Sūrah al-Aḥzāb and not the last two verses of Sūrah al-Tawbah as most narratives mention.

III. Criticism and its Analysis[213]

The narrative has invited criticism from some scholars both on its *matn* and on its *isnād*. It shall be presented and analyzed in this section.

---

208. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 6, 2629, (no. 6768); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, vol. 5, 148, (no. 4903); Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Marwazī, *Musnad Abī Bakr*, vol. 1, 96-99, (no. 45); Al-Bayhaqī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 2, 40, (no. 2202); Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 19, 208; Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Faṣl li al-waṣl al-mudraj*, vol. 1, 401-402; Al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-sunnah*, vol. 4, 513-515, (no. 1230); Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwah*, vol. 7, 148-150; ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, 249-251.

209. Al-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, vol. 5, 149, (no. 4904); Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 112, (no. 142); Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Faṣl li al-waṣl al-mudraj*, vol. 1, 393-394; Ibn Abī Dāʾūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 14; Al-Dānī, *Al-Muqniʿ*, 2-4.

210. Al-Nasāʾī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 5, 7, (no. 7995); Ibid., vol. 5, 9, (no. 8002); Ibid., vol. 5, 78, (no. 8288); Al-Nasāʾī, *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān*, vol. 1, 74-75, (no. 20); Ibid., vol. 1, 81, (no. 27); Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 5, 188, (no. 21687); Abū Yaʿlā, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 64, (no. 63); Al-Fasawī, *Al-Maʿrifah wa al-tārīkh*, vol. 1, 213; Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Faṣl li al-waṣl al-mudraj*, vol. 1, 409-410; Ibid., vol. 1, 393-395; Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, vol. 5, 305. Al-Baghawī, *Muʿjam al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 2, 466.

211. Al-Nasāʾī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 5, 78, (no. 8288); Al-Nasāʾī, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, 55, (no. 183); Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 10, (no. 57); Al-Ṭayālisī, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 3, (no. 3); Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ṣaydāwī, *Muʿjam al-shuyūkh*, vol. 1, 297, (no. 258); Ḥasan ibn Mūsā al-Baghdādī, *Juzʾ Ashyab*, vol. 1, 70, (no. 47); Abū Bakr al-Shaybānī, *Al-Aḥād wa al-mathānī*, vol. 4, 87, (no. 2047); Al-Bazzār, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 88, (no. 31); Ibid., vol. 1, 206, (no. 31); Abū Nuʿaym al-Aṣbahānī, *Al-Imāmah wa al-radd ʿalā al-rāfiḍah*, vol. 1, 309, (no. 115); Al-Ḥarbī, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, vol. 1, 290; Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Musnad*, vol. 5, 260, (no. 25877); Al-Fasawī, *Al-Maʿrifah wa al-tārīkh*, vol. 1, 261.

212. Ibn Abī Dāʾūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 14; Al-Dānī, *Al-Muqniʿ*, 2-4; Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Faṣl li al-waṣl al-mudraj*, vol. 1, 394.

213. My analysis of the criticism follows after each shortened dividing line in each of the points discussed. This same format has generally been adopted in the rest of the thesis as well. However, in certain cases, the headings specify my criticism.

A. *Matn*

1. Improbable Cause of Collection

Most scholars who have criticized this narrative express the view that the battle of Yamāmah could not have been a cause of this collection because only one or two memorizers of the Qur'ān were actually killed in this battle. This is in stark contrast with the fact that the narrative states that a large number of them had been killed.

While 'Imādī[214] with reference to Ibn al-Athīr's[215] list of the Companions who

---

214. 'Imādī, *Jam' al-Qur'ān*, 128-130.

215. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī, *Al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1415 AH), 223-224. Following are the names he gives together with some supplementary notes. I have added where possible some more notes given in brackets to give an idea of the time they spent as Muslims after converting to Islam.

i. 'Abbād ibn Bishr al-Anṣārī. He took part in the battle of Badr and others.

ii. 'Abbād ibn al-Ḥārith al-Anṣārī. He took part in the battle of Uḥud.

iii. 'Umayr ibn Aws ibn 'Atīk al-Anṣārī. He took part in the battle of Uḥud.

iv. 'Umārah ibn Ḥazm al-Anṣārī. He took part in the battle of Badr.

v. Qays ibn al-Ḥārith al-Anṣārī. According to one opinion, he was martyred in the battle of Uḥud.

vi. 'Āmir ibn Thābit ibn Salamah al-Anṣārī.

vii. 'Alī ibn 'Ubaydullāh ibn al-Ḥārith ibn 'Āmir ibn Mūsā. (He embraced faith on the day Makkah was conquered. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 4, 571).

viii. 'Ā'idh ibn Mā'iṣ ibn Qays al-Anṣārī al-Badrī. One opinion is that he was killed in the battle of Bi'r Ma'ūnah. (He took part in the battle of Badr. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 3, 610).

ix. Farwah ibn al-Ḥārith ibn al-Nu'mān al-Anṣārī. He took part in the battle of Uḥud and later ones.

x. Sa'd ibn Jammāz ibn al-Mālik al-Anṣārī. He took part in the battle of Uḥud (and later ones. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 3, 51).

xi. Abū Dajānah Sammāk ibn Kharashah al-Anṣārī. One opinion is that he was martyred in the battle of Bi'r Ma'ūnah. (He took part in the battle of Badr. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 7, 119).

xii. Salamah ibn Mas'ūd ibn Sinān al-Anṣārī.

xiii. Al-Sā'ib ibn 'Uthmān ibn Maẓ'ūn. He was part of the emigrants to Abyssinia and took part in the battle of Badr (and later ones. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 3, 24).

xiv. Mālik ibn 'Amr al-Sulamī. He took part in the battle of Badr.

xv. al-Sā'ib ibn al-'Awwām. (He took part in the battle of Badr. According to Ibn al-Kalbī, he also took part in the battle of the Trench and some others. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 3, 25).

xvi. 'Abdullāh ibn 'Atīk al-Anṣārī. He fought the battle of Badr. (There is a consensus that

were martyred in the battle says that no famous reciter was killed, Raḥmānī[216] says

that except for Sālim, mawlā of Abū Ḥudhayfah no famous reciter of the Qur'ān

was martyred. Schwally[217] says that only two of the martyred were memorizers of

the Qur'ān: 'Abdullāh ibn Ḥafṣ al-Ghānim and Sālim, the *mawlā* of Abū

Ḥudhayfah. They further contend that if it is true that the following words were

---

he took part in the battle of Uḥud and later ones. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 4, 167).

xvii. Mālik ibn 'Aws ibn 'Atīk al-Anṣārī. He took part in the battle of Uḥud (and also the battles of the Trench and others after them. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 5, 712).

xviii. Ḍirār ibn al-Azwar al-Asadī. (Wāqidī says that he was killed at Yamāmah. Other authorities differ with him. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 3, 482).

xix. Ṭufayl ibn 'Amr al-Dawsī. He fought in the attack on Khaybar. (That he was martyred at Yamāmah is the opinion of Ibn Sa'd. Others differ with him. See: Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb,* vol. 3, 522).

xx. 'Abdullāh ibn Ḥārith ibn Qays. One opinion is that he was martyred at Ṭā'if. (This is the opinion of Ibn Isḥāq and Zubayr ibn Bakkār. He was part of the emigrants to Abyssinia. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 4, 49).

xxi. Zurārah ibn Qays al-Anṣārī.

xxii. 'Abdullāh ibn Makhramah ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā. He fought in the battle of Badr and other ones. (He was among the emigrants to the second Abyssinian migration and to that of Madīnah. He was martyred at the age of thirty. In the opinion of Ibn Isḥāq, he fought Badr. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 4, 226).

xxiii. 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abdullāh ibn Ubayy ibn Salūl. He took part in the battle of Badr (and that of Uḥud and others which followed. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 4, 155).

xxiv. Mālik ibn 'Amr al-Sulamī.

xxv. Ma'an ibn 'Adī ibn al-Jaḥad al-Balawī. He was present at the pledge of 'Aqabah and took part in the battle of Badr and others.

xxvi. Mas'ūd ibn Sinān al-Aswad.

xxvii. Nu'mān ibn 'Aṣr ibn al-Rabī'. He took part in the battle of Badr (and later ones. See: Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb*, vol. 4, 1503).

xxviii. Ṣafwān ibn 'Amr al-Sulamī. He took part in the battle of Badr.

xxix. Shujā' ibn Wahb al-Asadī. He took part in the battle of Badr (and was among those who migrated to Abyssinia. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 3, 316).

xxx. Huraym ibn 'Abdullāh al-Muṭṭalabī.

xxxi. Junādah ibn 'Abdullāh al-Muṭṭalabī.

xxxii. Walīd ibn 'Abd-i Shams ibn Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī. (He embraced faith on the day Makkah was conquered. See: Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb,* vol. 4, 1552).

xxxiii. Waraqah ibn Iyās ibn 'Amr al-Anṣārī. He took part in the battle of Badr.

xxxiv. Yazīd ibn Thābit. (He took part in the battle of Badr. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 6, 649).

xxxv. Yazīd ibn Aws. He embraced faith on the day Makkah was conquered.

xxxvi. Abū Ḥabbah ibn Ghaziyyah. He took part in the battle of Uḥud.

xxxvii. Abū 'Aqīl al-Balawī. He took part in the battle of Badr. (This is the opinion of Ibn Isḥāq and Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 4, 325).

xxxviii. Abū Qays ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Qays ibn 'Adī. He took part in the battle of Uḥud and was among those who migrated to Abyssinia.

216. Raḥmānī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 129.

217. Noeldeke and Schwally, *Tārīkh al-Qur'an*, 253.

uttered by Abū Hudhayfah, then one can conclude that there were many memorizers of the Qur'ān who were alive and present among the Muslims:[218] 'O Memorizers of the Qur'ān! Decorate your Qur'ān through deeds.' Schwally[219] also says that according to Caetani, a total of 151 people were martyred, mostly new Muslims of which few had widely memorized the Qur'ān. He goes on to say that if the conclusions made by Caetani are not correct, even then it is difficult to regard the death of memorizers of the Qur'ān in the battle of Yamāmah as the real cause for this collection. This is because certain narratives specifically state that this collection was primarily made from written material only and no help was sought from memorizers of the Qur'ān. This is but natural, for Muḥammad was very eager to have the Qur'ān collected and compiled. Watt[220] also expresses the same opinion as Schwally and adds that since the narrative itself says that much of the Qur'ān was written in some form or the other, the death of many readers could not be any real cause of alarm. Rāmyār[221] also dismisses this cause by saying that there was such a large number of memorizers and numerous copies of the written Qur'ān that the death of some memorizers in this battle could not have been a cause. However, according to him, the cause of this collection was two-fold:

i. The newly founded Muslim empire needed an official codex for obvious reasons.

ii. It was a matter of great shame for Abū Bakr to not have a codex since most other Companions possessed codices of their own.

––––––––––––

218. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, vol. 2, 280; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh,* vol. 2, 221.
219. Noeldeke and Schwally, *Tārīkh al-Qur'an*, 253-254.
220. W.M. Watt and R. Bell, *Introduction to the Qur'ān*, 41.
221. Rāmyār, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 291-293.

A look at the source books of Islamic history shows different figures for the casualties in the battle of Yamāmah. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ[222] (240 AH), one of the earliest historians of Islam, gives the names of twenty four people from among the Muhājirūn out of which nine took part in the battle of Badr and thirty four from among the Anṣār who died in this battle.

Al-Balādhurī[223] (d. 279 AH) while referring to the death toll says that historians differ in this matter, and their estimates range from seven hundred to seventeen hundred; some say that they were twelve hundred.

According to al-Ṭabarī[224] (d. 310 AH) and Ibn al-Athīr[225] (d. 630 AH), three hundred and sixty people of the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār of Madīnah and three hundred of the Muhājirūn who did not belong to Madīnah were killed. This brings the total tally to six hundred and sixty. According to Ibn al-Athīr,[226] forty of these were Companions of the Prophet.

While quoting an opinion, al-Qurṭubī (d. 671 AH) says that seven hundred *qurrā'* (memorizers) were killed in the battle of Yamāmah.[227] Ibn Kathīr (d. 774 AH) puts the number of *qurrā'* killed to about five hundred.[228] Ibn Ḥajar[229] (d. 852 AH) quotes a similar opinion as well as another one which says that there

---

222. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1995), 55-60. He also quotes two historical narratives which give two different figures. According to Zayd ibn Aslam (d. 136 AH), the total number killed was four hundred and fifty out of which one hundred and forty belonged to the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār. According to Saʻīd ibn al-Musayyib (d. 93 AH), the casualties were five hundred out of which the memorizers were thirty or fifty.

223. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 102.

224. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, vol. 2, 283.

225. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fi al-tārīkh*, vol. 2, 223.

226. For this list of martyred Companions referred to by him see, footnote 208.

227. Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Bakr al-Qurṭubī, *Al-Jāmi' li aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Dār al-shuʻab, n.d.), 50.

228. Ibn Kathīr, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 34. In his *al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, he says that those killed were four hundred and fifty and included memorizers of the Qur'ān, Companions of the Prophet and others. He has named fifty eight of them because they were famous. See: Abū al-Fadā' Ismāʻīl ibn 'Umar ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6 (Beirut: Maktabah al-maʻārif, n.d.), 339.

229. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 9, 9.

were even more than seven hundred. In the opinion of al-Qasṭalānī (d. 923 AH), the *qurrā'* killed were seventy.[230] Leone Caetani (d. 1935 AD) has drawn up a list of one hundred and fifty one people.[231]

Of the above, Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, al-Balādhurī, Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Kathīr give the names of those killed and others just quote the number of casualties.

I have already quoted the names recorded by Ibn al-Athīr. Following are the names of the martyrs which are not enlisted by Ibn al-Athīr but are mentioned by Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ or al-Balādhurī or Ibn Kathīr or either two or all three of them:

i. Abū Ḥudhayfah ibn 'Utbah ibn Rabī'ah[232]

ii. Sālim ibn Ma'qal[233]

iii. Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah[234]

iv. Makhramah ibn Shurayḥ[235]

v. Al-Ḥakam ibn Sa'īd al-'Āṣ[236]

vi. Jubayr ibn Mālik[237]

---

230. Abū al-'Abbās Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Qasṭalānī, *Irshād al-sārī li sharḥi Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī,* vol. 7 (Beirut: Dār iḥyā' al-turāth al-'arabī, n.d.), 163.

231. Noeldeke and Schwally, *Tārīkh al-Qur'an*, 253.

232. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 58; Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 100. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 339. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ has specified that he fought the battle of Badr. He was part of both migrations: Ṭā'if and Madīnah. See: Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb,* vol. 4, 1631.

233. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 58; Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 100; Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ has specified that he fought the battle of Badr. Al-Dhahabī records that he was the leader of the migration party to Madīnah. See: Abū 'Abdullāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Uthmān ibn Qāyamaz ibn 'Abdullāh al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, 9th ed., vol. 1 (Beirut: Mu'assasah al-risālah, 1413 AH), 168. In the opinion of Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, Abū Nu'aym and Ibn Ḥajar, he is Sālim, mawlā Abū Ḥudhayfah (already mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr). However, in the opinion of Ibn Mandah, the two are different personalities. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 3, 13.

234. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 58; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 339. Khalīfah has specified that he fought the battle of Badr.

235. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 58; Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 101.

236. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 58; Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 100; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 339. According to al-Balādhurī, one opinion is that al-Ḥakam was actually killed in the battle of Mūtah.

vii. Ḥayy ibn Jāriyah[238] / Ya'lā ibn Jāriyah[239]

viii. Ḥabīb ibn Usayd ibn Jāriyah[240]

ix. Ḥakīm ibn Ḥazn ibn Abī Wahb / Hazn ibn Abī Wahb and Ḥakīm ibn Abī Wahb[241]

x. Zayd ibn al-Khaṭṭāb ibn Nufayl[242]

xi. 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar ibn Bujrah[243]

xii. 'Āmir ibn Bukayr[244]

xiii. 'Abdullāh ibn Ṣuhayl ibn 'Amr[245]

xiv. Al-Salīṭ ibn al-Salīṭ ibn 'Amr[246]

xv. 'Amr ibn Abī Uways ibn Sa'd[247]

xvi. Rabī'ah ibn Abī Kharshah[248]

---

237. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 58. This is the opinion of Abū Ma'shar.

238. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 58. This is the opinion of Abū Ma'shar. He embraced faith on the day Makkah was conquered. Ibn al-Athīr records his name to be Ḥabiyy ibn Jāriyah. See: Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-ghābah*, vol. 1, 551.

239. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 58. This is the opinion of Ibn Isḥāq.

240. Ibid.

241. Ibid. In the opinion of Ibn Isḥāq, the name is Ḥakīm ibn Ḥazn ibn Abī Wahb, while Abū Ma'shar's opinion is that two independent persons have been mixed up in this name. Their names are: Hazn ibn Abī Wahb and Ḥakīm ibn Abī Wahb. The former embraced faith on the day Makkah was conquered. See: Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 5, 590. In the opinion of Ibn Kathīr, it was actually Hazn ibn Abī Wahb who was martyred along with his two sons, 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Wahb, and a grandson, Ḥakīm ibn Wahb ibn Hazn. See: Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 335-336.

242. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 58; Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 101; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 336.

243. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 58; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 339. He embraced faith on the day Makkah was conquered. See: Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb*, vol. 3, 954.

244. Ibid., 59. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ has specified that he fought the battle of Badr.

245. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 59; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 338. According to Ibn Sa'd, he took part in all the major battles like Badr, Uḥud and Khandaq. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 3, 406.

246. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 59; Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 101; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 340. Khalīfah records that in the opinion of Abū Ma'shar, al-Salīṭ was not killed in the battle.

247. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 59.

248. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 59. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 340. He embraced faith on the day Makkah was conquered. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 2, 463.

xvii. Abū ʿAlī ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn al-Raḥḍah[249]

xviii. Rāfiʿ ibn Sahl[250]

xix. Ḥājib ibn Yazīd[251]

xx. Suhayl ibn ʿAdī[252]

xxi. Ṭalḥah ibn ʿUtbah[253]

xxii. Rabāḥ mawlā al-Ḥārith ibn Mālik[254]

xxiii. Jarwal ibn al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿĀmir ibn Thābit[255]

xxiv. Thābit ibn Qays ibn Shammās[256]

xxv. Bashīr ibn ʿAbdullāh[257]

xxvi. Kulayb ibn Bishr[258]

xxvii. ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿUtbān[259]

xxviii. Thābit ibn Hazzāl[260]

xxix. Asʿad ibn Yarbūʿ[261]

xxx. Saʿd ibn Jāriyah[262]

---

249. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 59. He embraced faith on the day Makkah was conquered. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 7, 285.

250. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 59; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 340. He took part in the battle of Uḥud. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 2, 439.

251. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 59; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 340.

252. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 59; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 340. Ibn Kathīr has Sahl instead of Suhayl.

253. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 59; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 340. He took part in the battle of Uḥud. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 3, 533.

254. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 59; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 340.

255. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 59. This is the opinion of Ibn Isḥāq. However, in the opinion of Abū Maʿshar, the martyred person is ʿĀmir ibn Thābit who is Jarwal's grandfather. Ibn al-Athīr has already referred to ʿĀmir ibn Thābit.

256. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 59; Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 101. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 334-335. He took part in the battle of Uḥud and all the later battles. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 1, 395.

257. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 59.

258. Ibid.

259. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 59; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 340.

260. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 59; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 340. He took part in the battle of Badr. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 1, 397.

261. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 59; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 340. Ibn Kathīr has Usayd instead of Asad.

xxxi. 'Uqbah ibn 'Āmir ibn Nābī[263]

xxxii. Makhkhāsh al-Himyarī[264]

xxxiii. Ḍamurah ibn 'Iyāḍ[265]

xxxiv. Ḥabīb ibn Zayd[266]

xxxv. Ḥabīb ibn 'Amr[267]

xxxvi. Thābit ibn Khālid ibn 'Amr[268]

xxxvii. Khālid ibn Usayd[269]

xxxviii. Yazīd ibn Ruqaysh al-Asadī[270]

xxxix. Iyās ibn al-Bukayr al-Kanānī[271]

xxxx. Surāqah ibn Ka'b[272]

xxxxi. Al-'Āṣī ibn Tha'labah al-Dawsī[273]

xxxxii. Mālik ibn Rabī'ah al-Sā'idī[274]

---

262. Ibid.

263. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 60; Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 102. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 340. He was present at the first pledge of 'Aqabah and took part in all the battles. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 4, 521.

264. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 60.

265. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 60; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 340. He took part in the battle of Uḥud. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 3, 491.

266. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 60.

267. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 60; Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 101; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 340. Ibn Khayyāṭ records that he was killed on the way to the battle.

268. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 60; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 340. He took part in the battles of Badr and Uḥud. See: Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb,* vol. 1, 198. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr records that according to one opinion he was killed in the battle of Bi'r Ma'ūnah.

269. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 100. He embraced faith on the day Makkah was conquered. See: Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb,* vol. 2, 431.

270. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 100; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 339. According to Ibn Sa'd, he took part in all the major battles like Badr and Uḥud. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 3, 91.

271. Ibid., 101. He took part in all the major battles like Badr, Uḥud and Khandaq. See: Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb,* vol. 1, 124. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, he is also called Iyās ibn Abī Bukayr.

272. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 101. He took part in the battle of Badr. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 3, 41. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, he died during the caliphate of Mu'āwiyah. See: Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb*, vol. 2, 580.

273. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 101.

xxxxiii. Usayd ibn al-Ḥuḍayr[275]

xxxxiv. al-Ḥasan ibn Mālik ibn Buhaynah[276]

xxxxv. Ma'lā ibn Hārithah al-Thaqafī[277]

xxxxvi. 'Amr ibn Uways ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Saraḥ[278]

xxxxvii. 'Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Raḥḍah[279]

xxxxviii. Juz' ibn Mālik ibn 'Āmir[280]

xxxxix. Marwān ibn al-'Abbās[281]

xxxxx. Bishr ibn 'Abdullāh al-Khazrajī[282]

xxxxxi. Kulayb ibn Tamīm[283]

xxxxxii. Sa'd ibn Ḥārithah[284]

xxxxxiii. Sahl ibn Ḥammān[285]

xxxxxiv. 'Abdullāh ibn Unays[286]

xxxxxv. Khubāb ibn Zayd[287]

xxxxxvi. Muḥāsin ibn Ḥimyar[288]

It is very difficult from the above sources to ascertain conclusively the number

of those actually killed and even more difficult to say which among them had

---

274. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 102; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 339. He took part in the battle of Badr, See: Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 7, 299.

275. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 337-338. This is reported through Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah from al-Zuhrī.

276. Ibid., 6, 339.

277. Ibid., 6, 339-340.

278. Ibid., 6, 340.

279. Ibid., 6, 340.

280. Ibid., 6, 340.

281. Ibid., 6, 340.

282. Ibid., 6, 340.

283. Ibid., 6, 340. Ibn Ḥajar says that he took part in Uḥud and subsequent battles. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 5, 622.

284. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 340. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr says that he took part in Uḥud and subsequent battles. See: Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb*, vol. 2, 583.

285. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 340.

286. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 340. According to Ibn Ḥajar, however, he died in 54 AH. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 296.

287. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 6, 340.

288. Ibid., vol. 6, 340.

memorized the Qur'ān. If the available biographical accounts of those killed are studied, almost none of them mentions that any of those killed had completely or partially memorized the Qur'ān. However, a lack of mention does not prove the contrary.

It is true that among the memorizers reported in history only Sālim and 'Abdullāh ibn Ḥafṣ ibn Ghānim were killed. But then again history has not handed down the names of all the memorizers of the Qur'ān.

In this regard, Schwally has also expressed the view that since the collection was made from the written record, even if the list drawn by Caetani is not correct, the number of casualties does not matter at all since there are many narratives which explicitly say that the Qur'ān was primarily collected from a written record only. In support of the latter claim, I could only find two historical reports one of which does not have a complete chain of narration and the chain of narration of the other one has flaws. The first of them is recorded by Abū Shāmmah (d. 665 AH).[289] It is attributed to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī. It says that the Qur'ān was collected from the bark of palm trees and from parchment. The other narrative is from Ubayy ibn Ka'b and says that people collected the Qur'ān from the *muṣḥaf* of Ubayy.[290] However, it needs to be appreciated that in all such instances a narrator is not making a comprehensive statement of all the material from which the Qur'ān was collected. He is only stating what came to his knowledge. This is evident from the narratives of the six canonical Ḥadīth works in which the material listed varies in

---

289. Abū Shāmmah, *Al-Murshid al-wajīz*, 68. This narrative has also been quoted in partial in Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah's *al-Maghāzī*. See: Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 207-208. Its complete text is reproduced ahead under 'Contradiction with other Accounts of First Collection'.

290. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 15. See also: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 5, 134, (no. 21264); Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Aḥmad al-Maqdisī, *Al-Aḥādīth al-mukhtārah*, 1st ed., vol. 3 (Makkah: Maktabah al-nahḍah al-ḥadīthah, 1410 AH), 360, (no. 1155); Ibid, vol. 3, 361-362, (no. 1156); Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Tafsīr*, vol. 6, 1919, (no. 10172); Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm*, vol. 2, 406.

the variants. Thus, for example, some mention stone tablets;[291] others do not.[292]

Similarly, some mention wooden tablets[293] and others do not.[294] Moreover, almost

all these narratives mention that the collection was also made from *ṣudūr al-rijāl*

(hearts of men).

Regarding Rāmyār's[295] view that the primary cause of this collection was to

save Abū Bakr from the shame of not possessing a codex of his own given the

fact that many others including 'Alī, his political adversary, had codices of their

own, it seems to be mere conjecture that is not supported by any arguments.

All in all, this objection that the death of a few memorizers could not have been

the cause of the collection does not carry much weight since it is based on

insufficient data.

2. Unofficial Status of the Collection

Almost all scholars who have criticized the narrative have pointed out that even if

a collection was made by Abū Bakr, it could not have been an official one. The

arguments given in this regard can be summarized as follows:

i. If the collection was an official one, why was the collected Qur'ān passed on

to Ḥafṣah by 'Umar? It should have passed on to the third caliph.[296] Al-'Āmilī

says that if the issue at hand was that the third caliph had not been elected when

'Umar died, then the codex of the Qur'ān could have been easily entrusted to the

---

291. See, for example: Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1907, (no. 4701).
292. See, for example: Ibid., vol. 4, 1720, (no. 4402).
293. See, for example: Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 14-15.
294. See, for example: Ibid., 13-14.
295. Rāmyār, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 291-293.
296. 'Imādī, *Jam' al-Qur'ān*, 200-201; Raḥmānī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 131; 'Alī Kūrānī al-'Āmilī, *Tadwīn al-Qur'ān*, 1st ed. (Qum: Dār al-Qur'ān al-Karīm, 1418 AH), 301-305; Noeldeke and Schwally, *Tārīkh al-Qur'an*, 252-256; W.M. Watt and R. Bell, *Introduction to the Qur'ān*, 41. Regis Blachere and Arthur Jeffery also hold this view. See: *Introduction au Coran* (*al-Madkhal ilā al-Qur'ān*), trans. by Riḍā Sa'ādah, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-Lubnānī, 1974), 30; Arthur Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Koran*, 1st ed. (Netherlands: 1936), 7.

committee of six people who were given the responsibility of this election.[297]

'Imādī[298] adds that even if it is accepted that there was some sound reason for handing over the copy to Ḥafṣah, why did 'Uthmān, in his time, return this original to her once he had made copies of it.[299] After all, if it was an official copy, he should have kept it with him. Moreover, as further pointed out by al-'Āmilī,[300] the reluctance shown by Ḥafṣah to hand over the *muṣḥaf* when 'Uthmān asked for it[301] is also inexplicable since it actually belonged to the state, and even stranger is the question of confiscation and its subsequent destruction by the state authorities as soon as she had died.

ii. The collected Qur'ān was never enforced in the Muslim territory. According to Raḥmānī,[302] it was incumbent upon the first and second caliphs to make many copies of the collected Qur'ān and spread it far and wide in the Islamic territory since it was needed by every Muslim. However, nowhere in any narrative or historical report is there a mention of such an undertaking. This stands out in stark contrast with the efforts of the second caliph who went to great lengths in sending teachers of the Qur'ān all over the Muslim territory.[303] Raḥmānī also adds that it is strange that no Muslim came forward with the urge to make his

---

297. Al-'Āmilī, *Tadwīn al-Qur'ān*, 305. Al-Kurdī and al-Ṣāliḥ have presented precisely the same pretext for not handing over the Qur'ān to 'Uthmān. See: Muḥammad Ṭāhir ibn 'Abd al-Qādir Kurdī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān wa gharā'ib rasmihī*, 2nd ed. (Cairo: Maktabah wa maṭba'ah muṣṭafā al-bābī, 1953), 44; Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *Mabāḥith fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 5th ed. (Beirut: Dār al-'ilm li al-malāyīn, 1968), 77.

298. 'Imādī, *Jam' al-Qur'ān*, 200-201.

299. This is evident from narratives which mention a collection made by 'Uthmān. See the next chapter.

300. Al-'Āmilī, *Tadwīn al-Qur'ān*, 305.

301. Though the standard version does not record this reluctance, it is mentioned in some secondary narratives (texts forthcoming). See, for example: Arthur Jeffery, ed., *Muqaddimatān*, 20-22; Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 15-16.

302. Raḥmānī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 120-122.

303. Raḥmānī has furnished many details of this effort. See Raḥmānī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 120-122.

own copy from this standard official codex.[304]

Schwally[305] says that after all the major conquests it was not made the standardized version in the important territories of Islam. This is in blatant contrast to the collections of Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubayy, which became standardized versions in certain areas even though they had not received the same patronage and importance as the collection made by Abū Bakr. According to Watt, this is the 'weightiest criticism' on the narrative. He goes on to say that 'the disputes which led to the recension of the Qur'ān under 'Uthmān could hardly have arisen if there had been an official codex in the caliph's possession to which reference could have been made.'[306]

iii. According to Watt,[307] 'Umar's insistence depicted in a narrative that the stoning verse was also part of the Qur'ān is 'hardly consistent' with the fact that he possessed an official collection.

iv. Raḥmānī[308] is of the view that if this collection was an official one, there is no mention of it as an item in the state owned-belongings left by Abū Bakr to be transferred to the next caliph.[309]

───────────────

───────────────

304. Raḥmānī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 132.
305. Noeldeke and Schwally, *Tārīkh al-Qur'an*, 252.
306. W.M. Watt and R. Bell, *Introduction to the Qur'ān*, 41.
307. Ibid., 41.
308. Raḥmānī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 130-131.
309. Raḥmānī refers to the following list of items left by Abū Bakr to the state treasury to be transferred to the next caliph:

> When Abū Bakr was about to die, he said to his daughter 'Ā'ishah: 'I had been made the caliph of the Muslims; I took money from the state treasury for the bare minimum that was required for eating crushed food and wearing coarse clothes and now I have nothing from the state treasury except this Abyssinian slave, this camel which fetches water for me and this old cloak. Please give these items to 'Umar when I die.' (Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Kamāl al-Dīn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn Sābiq al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-khulafā'*, 1ˢᵗ ed. (Egypt: Maṭba'ah al-sa'ādah, 1952), 78).

All the arguments cited above to adduce the un-official nature of the collection are strong except the fourth one, which is presented by Raḥmānī: the collection could not have been an official one because there is no mention of any codex in the list of items that was in the state-ownership which were to be formally transferred by Abū Bakr to the custody of 'Umar. He hinges his conclusion on the list of items which Abū Bakr had from the state treasury. A simple look at these items (a slave, a camel and cloak) shows that these items were given to Abū Bakr for his personal use. The list does not mention any official items. Hence, unless and until we do not find mention of a codex in a list which mentions official items which Abū Bakr left for his successor, this evidence is not sufficient.

3. Questionable Methodology of Collection

While criticizing this methodology of collection, Raḥmānī raises the following two questions:

i. Abū Bakr would consult the members of his *shūrā* in all important affairs. It is strange that in this matter senior Companions like 'Uthmān, 'Alī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf and Mu'ādh ibn Jabal were never consulted; it was only discussed between Abū Bakr, 'Umar and Zayd.[310]

ii. This was not a task which could have been accomplished by one person. A task as monumental as the collection of the Qur'ān required great effort. It needed the efforts of a committee of many people specially those whom the Prophet himself had taught the Qur'ān. However, instead of calling in all such people, only Zayd was selected for this task. The nature of the task was such that it required the services of many people who would copy and tally the codex with

---

310. Raḥmānī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 118-119.

the originals, and was not the work of just one individual. Similarly, it was essential that once the task was accomplished it should have been reviewed by different people. Ubayy was present at that time in Madīnah and it is very strange that someone who was regarded as the king of reciters by the Prophet himself not be called for this task. It is beyond the wisdom of the first and the second caliphs to disregard Ubayy in this matter.[311]

According to 'Imādī,[312] Abū Bakr should have deputed other persons for this task. To avoid this question, narratives[313] outside the six canonical Ḥadīth collections were concocted to show that others were present with Zayd in writing down the Qur'ān. However, the narratives in al-Bukhārī are so explicit in their use of the singular tense in this regard that this cannot be so. This is reflected in words such as:

لَا نَتَّهِمُكَ ([Abū Bakr] sent for <u>me</u>); إِنَّكَ رَجُلٌ شَابٌّ (<u>you</u> are a young man); أَرْسَلَ إِلَيَّ (we do not suspect <u>you</u>); وَقَدْ كُنْتَ تَكْتُبُ (<u>you</u> used to write); فَتَتَبَّعْ الْقُرْآنَ (So <u>you</u> look for the Qur'ān); فَاجْمَعْهُ (then <u>you</u> collect it); لَوْ كَلَّفُونِي نَقْلَ جَبَلٍ مِنْ الْجِبَالِ مَا كَانَ أَثْقَلَ عَلَيَّ مِمَّا أَمَرَنِي بِهِ (if he [Abū Bakr] had ordered <u>me</u> to shift one of the mountains [from its place], it would not have been harder for <u>me</u> than what he had ordered <u>me</u> concerning the collection of the Qur'ān); فَلَمْ يَزَلْ أَبُو بَكْرٍ يُرَاجِعُنِي (so Abū Bakr kept on pressing <u>me</u> about it); حَتَّى شَرَحَ اللَّهُ صَدْرِي (till Allah opened <u>my</u> bosom); فَتَتَبَّعْتُ الْقُرْآنَ أَجْمَعُهُ (then <u>I</u> started locating the Qur'ānic material collecting it); لَمْ أَجِدْهَا (<u>I</u> did not find them). وَجَدْتُ (<u>I</u> found);

According to 'Imādī, all these words clearly show that Zayd was alone in this task and those who tried to concoct narratives which say that other people were

---

311. Ibid., 119.

312. 'Imādī, *Jam' al-Qur'ān*, 192.

313. The texts of these narratives are mentioned in a later section: 'Further Criticism'.

present alongside him were not successful in their motive since the above quoted words belie what they fabricated.

Schwally[314] says that the fact that 'Uthmān entrusted Zayd with the task of collecting the Qur'ān in his times casts doubt on the fact that he too must have undertaken this task in the time of Abū Bakr. This is because if Zayd had already been involved in a collection why was he called up to re-do a task.

———————

All the points raised above are very valid. Not only does the methodology seems questionable it also seems in-sufficient to protect the Qur'ān. If there was some threat to its extinction, a written text devoid of diacritical marks and vowel sounds would have been of no use for people who had not memorized the Qur'ān. A more appropriate way to guard against this threat would have been to produce more memorizers of the Qur'ān.

4. Rarity of the Missing Verses

Raḥmānī[315] says that it is strange that the last part of Sūrah al-Barā'ah was only found with one person and no other person had it because it is known that the whole of this *sūrah* was revealed in one time, and it was recited by the Prophet in public, and later 'Alī recited it in the congregation of *ḥajj* offered in the 9th year of *hijrah*.[316] So, 'Alī had the whole *sūrah* in his memory from where he recited it out to the public. Zayd and Ubayy too had learnt the whole of the Qur'ān and had all of it written with them. So how can it be accepted that it was found with only one person.

———————

314. Noeldeke and Schwally, *Tārīkh al-Qur'an*, 256.
315. Raḥmānī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 131.
316. The references in all probability are Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1586, (no. 4106); Ibid., vol. 1, 144, (no. 362).

_____

In response to this criticism, I would like to express that scholars like al-Qurṭubī,[317] Ibn Ḥajar,[318] Ibn Ḥazm,[319] the author of the *Muqaddimah kitāb al-mabānī*,[320] Shiblī[321] and al-Zurqānī[322] are of the opinion that these words do not mean that these verses were just found with one person. What they mean is that they were not found in written form except with one person. As far as the verses themselves are concerned, the Companions were fully aware of them and had this not been the case how would they have known that they were missing. Thus Ibn Ḥazm has referred to the same narratives as the ones alluded to by Raḥmānī to say that the complete text of Sūrah al-Tawbah was well-known.

What goes in the favour of these scholars is the fact that one of the variant texts of the narrative[323] which describes this collection in the time of Abū Bakr has the following words attributed to Zayd: *fa alḥaqtuhā fī sūratihā* (so, I placed it in its *sūrah*), which clearly show that not only were these verses known, it was also known that they belonged to Sūrah al-Tawbah.

Thus this criticism does not hold much ground.

5. Khuzaymah or Abū Khuzaymah or …

The variants of the narrative mention that the last two verses of Sūrah al-Tawbah were found with a single person. The narratives can be grouped into four main categories regarding the name of this person:

_____

317. Al-Qurṭubī, *Al-Jāmi' li aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1, 56.
318. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 9, 12.
319. Ibn Ḥazm, *Al-Iḥkām fi uṣul al-aḥkām*, vol. 6, 271-274.
320. Arthur Jeffery, ed., *Muqaddimatān*, 35.
321. Shiblī Nu'mānī, *Maqālāt*, 1ˢᵗ ed., vol. 1 (Lahore: National Book Foundation, 1989), 20-21.
322. Al-Zurqānī, *Manāhil al-'irfān*, vol. 1, 204.
323. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 6, 2629, (no. 6768).

i. Some mention that he was Abū Khuzaymah.[324]

ii. Some say that he was Khuzaymah.[325]

iii. Some say that the narrator is not sure which of these two they were found with.[326]

iv. There are other narratives in which no name is specified and it is just said that these verses were found with a person who belonged to the Anṣār.[327]

Besides these main categories, one narrative says that these verses were found with one al-Ḥārith ibn Khuzaymah.[328]

It may be noted that Ibn Ḥajar[329] and most other commentators of al-Bukhārī like al-ʿAynī and al-Qasṭalāni[330] prefer the view that these verses of Sūrah al-Tawbah were found with Abū Khuzaymah[331] at the time of the collection of Abū Bakr and the Sūrah al-Aḥzab verse was found with Khuzaymah at the time of ʿUthmān's

---

324. See for example: Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1907, (no. 4701).
325. See for example: Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1720, (no. 4402).
326. See for example: Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 2, 2629, (no. 6768).
327. Al-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Muʿjam al-kabīr,* vol. 5, 149, (no. 4904); Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 112, (no. 142); Baghdādī, *Al-Faṣl li al-waṣl al-mudraj*, vol. 1, 393-394; Ibn Abī Dāʾūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 14; Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān ibn Saʿīd al-Dānī, *Al-Muqniʿ fī maʿrifah maṣāḥif ahl al-amṣār*, 2ⁿᵈ ed. (Damascus: Dār al-fikr, 1983), 2-4.
328. Ibn Abī Dāʾūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 38. See also: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 199, (no. 1715); Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿAẓīm*, vol. 2, 406. In the variant recorded in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad, the name of the person is Ḥarth ibn Khazmah instead of al-Ḥārith ibn Khuzaymah. It is worth noting that another narrative says that the name of the person was Ibn Khuzaymah. See: ʿAlā al-Dīn al-Muttaqī ibn Ḥussām al-Dīn, *Kanz al-ʿummāl fī sunan al-aqwāl wa al-afʿāl*, 1ˢᵗ ed., vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyyah, 1998), 581, (no. 4775). This could be a reference to al-Ḥārith ibn Khuzaymah or to some other Ibn Khuzaymah. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr has also pointed out that Abū Khuzaymah al-Anṣārī and al-Ḥārith ibn Khuzaymah are two distinct personalities and the only thing common is them is that they both belonged to the Anṣār. However, the former belonged to the Aws tribe and the latter to the Khazraj tribe. See: Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istīʿāb,* vol. 4, 1640.
329. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 9, 12; Ibid., vol. 9, 17.
330. Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Aḥmad al-ʿAynī, *ʿUmdah al-qarī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 20 (Beirut: Dār iḥyāʾ al-turāth al-ʿarabī, n.d.), 17; Al-Qasṭalānī, *Irshād al-sārī li sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 7, 164.
331. His full name is Abū Khuzaymah ibn Aws ibn Zayd ibn Aṣram ibn Thaʿlabah ibn Ghānim ibn Mālik ibn al-Najjār. He took part in the battle of Badr and rest of the battles and died during the reign of ʿUthmān. For more details, see: Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Istīʿāb,* vol. 4, 1640; Ibn Saʿd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 3, 490; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 9, 12.

collection. Others who hold this view include Abū 'Ubayd, Abū Shāmmah, al-Suyūṭī and al-Zurqānī.[332] However, none of them presents any explanation of the narratives which mention the name of Khuzaymah[333] in this regard.

It is interesting to note that a narrative recorded by al-Dānī[334] says the reverse: the two verses of Sūrah al-Tawbah were found at the time of the 'Uthmānic collection with Khuzaymah ibn Thābit and the verse of Sūrah al-Aḥzāb was found at the time of the collection of Abū Bakr with a person from Anṣār, which the narrative does not name. A narrative attributed to Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥāṭib (text forthcoming) also says that the missing verses of Sūrah al-Tawbah were found at the time of 'Uthmān.[335]

Still more interesting to note is the fact that in a narrative recorded by Abū 'Ubayd,[336] it is said that the missing verse of Sūrah al-Aḥzab though found in the time of 'Uthmān (as most authorities allege) could have been found with Abū Khuzaymah (which is not corroborated by any other narrative).

———————

Leaving out some rare opinions cited above, an analysis of both possibilities as per the general opinion regarding the person with whom the last verses of Sūrah al-Tawbah were found follows:

If the person with whom the verses of Sūrah al-Tawbah were found was Abū

---

332. Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 154; Abū Shāmmah, *Al-Murshid al-wajīz*, 60-61; Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 203, 209; Al-Zurqānī, *Manāhil al-'irfān*, vol. 1, 204.

333. Khuzaymah ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī (d. 37 AH) was a Companion of the Prophet and according to a narrative, the Prophet regarded his evidence to carry twice the weight of a man's evidence. He fought in the battles of Badr, Uḥud and the later ones and was also present on the occasion of the conquest of Makkah. For more details, see: Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb,* vol. 2, 448; Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 8, 243-244; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 2, 278-279; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 9, 12.

334. Al-Dānī, *Al-Muqni'*, 3-4.

335. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 17.

336. Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 154.

Khuzaymah, then the following questions arise:

   i. Where was Khuzaymah at that time since it is known that at the time of the collection under Uthmān a missing verse of Sūrah al-Aḥzab was only found with him. Was he left out or he did not come forward? How could he have been omitted and why did he not come forward himself.

   ii. In the narratives of collection under Abū Bakr, Zayd stresses that he found all other verses except the two of Sūrah al-Tawbah; if he was right in his claim, no missing verses should have been found later. If he was not right, then this would mean what he had collected was not properly checked to detect this omission? Not only did he not check it nor did Abū Bakr in the remaining part of his caliphate and 'Umar in the ten years of his caliphate ever read it for otherwise the mistake could have been detected.

   iii. In the narratives of the collection under 'Uthmān, the missing verse of Sūrah al-Aḥzāb was accepted by Zayd from Khuzaymah because his witness carried double weight. Now if at the time of collection under Abū Bakr the missing verses of Sūrah al-Tawbah were only found with Abū Khuzaymah, why did Zayd accept the verse without a second witness since Abū Khuzaymah's witness did not carry double weightage. If the answer to this question is that the second witness in this case was Zayd himself, then why is it specified in the narratives which record the collection under 'Uthmān that since Khuzaymah's witness carried double weight, the verse was accepted from him.

   On the other hand, if the person with whom the missing verses of Sūrah al-Tawbah were found was Khuzaymah during the time of this collection under Abū Bakr, then why did he withhold the missing verses of Sūrah al-Aḥzāb with him at that time since in the narratives of the collection under 'Uthmān almost

two decades later, this verse was found with him.

In this regard, it may be noted that Ibn Kathīr[337] on the basis of a narrative (in which Ibn Mujammiʿ narrates from al-Zuhrī)[338] says that missing verse of Sūrah al-Aḥzāb was also found at the time of the collection Abū Bakr. Since the narrative does not specify with whom this verse was found (the words are: '… found with a person from the Anṣār), one cannot know if in Ibn Kathīr's opinion, the person was Khuzaymah or Abū Khuzaymah. It may however be noted that in his opinion the Sūrah al-Tawbah verses in the time of the collection under Abū Bakr were found with Abū Khuzaymah. Similarly, it is evident from the way al-Zarkashī[339] has cited the narratives that the issue of both the missing verses took place in the time Abū Bakr (and not in the time of ʿUthmān): as per one narrative, two missing verses of Sūrah al-Tawbah were also found with Khuzaymah ibn Thābit[340] and as per another narration one missing verse of Sūrah al-Aḥzāb was found with Khuzaymah ibn Thābit. However, in this case, how can the plethora of narratives be explained which single out Abū Khuzaymah as the person with whom the missing verses were found in the time of Abū Bakr.

6. Lack of Authoritative Record of Muḥammad's Revelation

According to Watt and Bell,[341] the collection under Abū Bakr shows that there was no 'authoritative record of the revelations and no attempt to bring some order to them' – which is unlikely as per the sources available regarding the shape of

---

337. Ibn Kathīr, *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān*, 32, 50.

338. Ibn Abī Dāʾūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 14; Al-Dānī, *Al-Muqniʿ*, 2-4; Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Faṣl li al-waṣl al-mudraj*, vol. 1, 394.

339. Al-Zarkashī, *Al-Burhān*, vol. 1, 295-296.

340. There seems to be an obvious omission here from the scribe who originally copied Al-Zarkashī's book for the narrative actually mentions the name of Abū Khuzaymah. It is certain that in the opinion of al-Zarkashī it was Khuzaymah because when he later mentions the name of the person with whom the verses was found, he mentions Khuzaymah's name. See: Al-Zarkashī, *Al-Burhān*, vol. 1, 301.

341. W.M. Watt and R. Bell, *Introduction to the Qurʾān*, 40.

the Qur'ān in Muḥammad's time.

Al-'Āmilī[342] also presents a similar view by saying: Why was the Qur'ān collected by Zayd himself in the time of the Prophet not used in this collection?

––––––––––––

If by the 'authoritative record' referred to by Watt and Bell some official collection of revelations compiled by the Prophet is implied, it has been shown in the previous chapter that there is no evidence to this. If this expression refers to the revelations which were transmitted to the living tradition of the Muslims as authentic record of what was revealed to the Prophet, then of course the objection raised is indeed a strong one.

7. The Narrative is *Gharīb*

'Imādī[343] has pointed out that for three generations the narrative was transmitted by one person. Only Zayd ibn Thābit reports this incident. Only 'Ubayd ibn al-Sabbāq reports from him, and only Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī reports from 'Ubayd.

'Imādī[344] also says that Anas belonged to the Anṣār and was only a year younger to Zayd. He must have been involved in the collection at the time of Abū Bakr – though not in writing it down but in presenting and authenticating verses for collection. It is strange that he reports a narrative which depicts the collection of the Qur'ān in the time of 'Uthmān, but has nothing to say of an even more important collection that took place in the time of Abū Bakr.

––––––––––––

The fact that the narrative is *gharīb* is a considerable point of criticism raised

---

342. Al-'Āmilī, *Tadwīn al-Qur'ān*, 301.
343. 'Imādī, *Jam' al-Qur'ān*, 150.
344. This objection is raised by 'Imādī. See: 'Imādī, *Jam' al-Qur'ān*, 182-183.

by 'Imādī.

The critical aspect in this is that Zayd has about forty students to which he has transmitted narratives, and some of them were very famous Companions.[345] It is indeed strange that out of all these people he chose just one person: 'Ubayd ibn al-Sabbāq to inform him of such an important matter. Also, many of these students like Ibn 'Umar, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr, Anas ibn Mālik, Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī and Abān ibn 'Uthmān were in Madīnah and accessible to Zayd. However, he never informed them of this all important event.

8. Absence of the Narrative in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* and in *al-Mu'aṭṭa'*

'Imādī points out that it is very strange that this narrative is not found in both *Muslim* and *al-Mu'aṭṭa'*, two major works of Ḥadīth.[346]

_____

This seems to be a very strong objection raised by 'Imādī. The extant versions of both these major works of Ḥadīth do not contain any narrative on the collection of the Qur'ān.

Its exclusion from the *al-Mu'aṭṭa'* of Imām Mālik, one of the earliest canonical works on Ḥadīth is very significant. It is known that Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī was one of the teachers of Imām Mālik and there are several narratives in the *al-Mu'aṭṭa'* which Imām Mālik records from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī. Moreover, there is found in it a *mursal* narrative which has a chain of narration which includes 'Ubayd ibn al-Sabbāq from whom Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī reports.[347] The book also contains a section on narratives about the Qur'ān (Kitāb al-Qur'ān).[348] This section contains various

_____

345. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 10, 26-27
346. 'Imādī, *Jam' al-Qur'ān*, 205.
347. Mālik ibn Anas, *Al-Mu'aṭṭa'*, vol. 1, 65, (no. 144).
348. Ibid., vol. 1, 199-221.

narratives about the Qur'ān including narratives which depict the condition of *wuḍū*

in reading it, its division in parts, revelation on seven *aḥruf*, need for frequent

revision lest one may forget it, state of the Prophet when a revelation would descend

and prostration verses in the Qur'ān. This section was a very appropriate place for

Imām Mālik to record narratives on the collection of the Qur'ān.

  The absence of the narrative from Imām Muslim's *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* is also a

very important issue. It is known that Imām Muslim (d. 261 AH) was a student of

Imām al-Bukhārī (d. 256 AH) and his conditions of accepting a narrative were

more lenient than those of Imām al-Bukhārī. Moreover, there are scores of

narratives in Imām Muslim's *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* which are from Ibn Shihāb al-

Zuhrī. It is indeed strange that Imām Muslim never recorded Ibn Shihāb al-

Zuhrī's narrative regarding the collection of the Qur'ān. Imām Muslim's *al-Jāmi'*

al-ṣaḥīḥ also contains a section called 'Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān wa mā yata 'allaqu bihi'

(Blessings of the Qur'ān and what is related to it).[349] This section contains

narratives which depict the need for constant revision of the Qur'ān, reading the

Qur'ān in a melodious voice, the Prophet reading Sūrah al-Fatḥ on the day

Makkah was conquered, parables on reciting the Qur'ān, the Prophet being

divinely directed to read out the Qur'ān to Ubayy and Ibn Mas'ūd reciting the

Qur'ān to the Prophet. Again this section was a very appropriate place for Imām

Muslim to record narratives on the collection of the Qur'ān.

9. Absence of the Narrative in some Major Works on Muslim History

'Imādī[350] also brings to light the fact that Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh al-rusul*

wa al-mulūk and Ibn al-Athīr in his *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh* do not mention any

---

349. Muslim, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, 543-566.
350. 'Imādī, *Jam' al-Qur'ān*, 312-313.

collection of the Qur'ān in the time of Abu Bakr.

Similarly, there is no independent mention of this narrative in Ibn Khaldūn's *Tārīkh*.[351] However, it does mention the collection of 'Uthmān under a heading and after that the narrative of Abū Bakr's collection is stated. According to 'Imādī, this is quite strange for a person of his calibre to not independently mention a major and important event in history as the collection done in the time of Abū Bakr and merely place it after an event which he mentions independently and which is, after all, of lesser importance than the first; he surmises that in all probability, both the heading and the two narratives have been inserted in this book.

————————

It may be noted that it is not true that the narrative is not found in Ibn al-Athīr. Its contents are found where the collection in the time of 'Uthmān is mentioned.[352] The only point worthy of consideration in this regard is that Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630 AH) was a much later historian.

Moreover, there are some other early works on the history of Islam which are devoid of this narrative making 'Imādī's case stronger.

These works are:

i. *Al-Ṭabaqāt* by Ibn Sa'd (d. 230 AH)

ii. *Tārīkh*[353] by Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ (d. 240 AH)

iii. *Tārīkh al-Madīnah*[354] by 'Umar ibn Shabbah (d. 262 AH)

iv. *Akhbār Makkah*[355] by Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Fākihī (d. 275 AH)

---

351. Although he does not give a proper reference, it is 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar wa diwān al-mubtada' wa al-khabar fī ma'rifah ayyām al-'arab wa al-'ajam wa al-barbar wa man 'āṣarahum min dhawī al-sulṭān al-akbar*, 5th ed., vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-qalam, 1984), 583.

352. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, vol. 3, 8.

353. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 1st ed. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1995.

354. Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, 1st ed., 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah. 1996.

v. *Al-Ma'ārif*[356] by Ibn Qutaybah (276 AH)

The lack of mention of the narrative in Ibn Sa'd's *al-Ṭabaqāt* and in Ibn Qutaybah's *al-Ma'ārif* is very consequential. Both these books contain biographical accounts of all people who appear in the narrative: Abū Bakr, 'Umar, Zayd ibn Thābit and Ḥafṣah bint Umar. None of these accounts even hint of any collection of the Qur'ān in spite of the fact that they depict some very minor details of the lives of these people.

Thus for example, the biographical note on Abū Bakr in *al-Ṭabaqāt*[357] begins with why he was named Atīq; it describes that he was the first to embrace faith and was forty years old at that time; that he travelled with the Prophet in his journey of migration; that he participated in all the battles fought; that he was appointed the leader of Muslims in *ḥajj* in the year Makkah was conquered; that he led the Muslims in prayer at the behest of the Prophet when the latter was dying; that how people pledged his allegiance after the Prophet's demise. The note goes on to describe his physical person and the contents of his will testament and how he appointed his successor. Similarly, the note describes his last rites and also his age at the time of death. The note also records on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn *that the Qur'ān had not been collected when Abū Bakr died.*

Similarly, the biographical note on Abū Bakr in *al-Ma'ārif*[358] mentions details of his name, family-members, his embracing faith, people pledging oath of allegiance to him. However, there is no mention of his involvement in any

355. Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Fākihī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 2nd ed., 6 vols. Beirut: Dār Khiḍr, 1414 AH.
356. Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutaybah, *Al-Ma'ārif*, 2nd ed., Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 2003. There is no mention of this narrative even though the book contains brief biographical accounts of the Companions including Abū Bakr, 'Umar and Zayd ibn Thābit.
357. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 3, 169-213.
358. Ibn Qutaybah, *Al-Ma'ārif*, 99-104.

collection of the Qur'ān.

The very detailed biographical note on 'Umar in *al-Ṭabaqāt*[359] gives details of his life before he embraced Islam; it also mentions the famous incident that led him to faith, his migration to Madīnah and his participation on all the battles is also referred to; his appointment as the caliph, the austere and simple life he spent as a caliph is also alluded to. The note also says that he instituted the *tarāwīḥ* prayer and describes the conquests that took place in his times as well as his *ḥajj* and *'umrah* expeditions. The note describes numerous incidents that took place during his caliphate. It also contains two contradictory reports: he was the first person to collect the Qur'ān in *ṣuḥuf* and that when he died, the Qur'ān had not been collected till then.

In the biographical note on 'Umar in *al-Ma'ārif*[360] are found details of his person, his family, his conquests and important incidents of his caliphate like the great drought. There is, however, no mention of his involvement in any collection of the Qur'ān.

The short biographical note on Zayd in *al-Ṭabaqāt*[361] has no mention of his role in any collection of the Qur'ān, neither in the time of Abū Bakr nor in the time of 'Uthmān. Such details are found in the note as the fact that Zayd learnt Hebrew (or Syriac) in seventeen days so that he could correspond with the Jews on behalf of the Prophet, he was regarded by the Prophet to be the most competent person in matters related to the calculation of inheritance; 'Umar had made him a judge and would also entrust him with the responsibilities of state whilst he himself was travelling. Also recorded is the fact that he remained a judge, a *muftī* and a

---

359. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 3, 265-375.
360. Ibn Qutaybah, *Al-Ma'ārif*, 104-110.
361. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 2, 358-361.

scholar on inheritance issues in the times of 'Umar, 'Alī and 'Uthmān while being stationed in Madīnah. He died in 45 AH.

Similarly, the short note on Zayd in *al-Ma'ārif*[362] is devoid of any such mention even though it mentions that his *muṣḥaf* was in accordance with the final prophetic recital done in the final review (*al-arḍah al-akhīrah*).

The brief biographical note in *al-Ṭabaqāt* on Ḥafṣah bint Umar[363] is also devoid of her being in possession of Abū Bakr's collected Qur'ān. No different is the case of *al-Ma'ārif*.[364]

It may, however, be noted that although this narrative is not present in the extant versions of *al-Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd, yet authorities have attributed it to him. This may be because of two reasons:

i. Presence of this narrative in his works which have not reached us.

ii. Presence of this narrative in a different version of *al-Ṭabaqāt* that is not extant.

Thus this narrative is attributed to Ibn Sa'd by Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597 AH) in his *al-Muntaẓam fī tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*.[365]

Similarly, the *Jāmi' al-aḥādīth* of al-Suyūṭī, which is a collection of his *al-Jāmi' al-kabīr* and *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaghīr wa zawā'iduhū*, also attributes a narrative from Hishām ibn 'Urwah on the collection methodology to Ibn Sa'd (for the text of the narrative, see the forthcoming section: 'Further Criticism').[366]

362. Ibn Qutaybah, *Al-Ma'ārif*, 149.
363. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 8, 81-86.
364. Ibn Qutaybah, *Al-Ma'ārif*, 135.
365. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, 215-216.
366. Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Kamāl al-Dīn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn Sābiq al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Jāmi' al-aḥādīth*, vol. 13 (Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 1994), 162-164.

B. *Isnād*

Tamannā 'Imādī is the only person who has presented a detailed criticism on the chain of narration of this narrative.[367]

Anatomy of the Narrative according to 'Imādī

The Collection Incident 12-13 AH

↓

Zayd ibn Thābit (d. 45 AH / 53 AH)

↓

'Ubayd ibn al-Sabbāq (b. 50 AH; d. 118 AH)

↓

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124 AH)

Yūnus ibn Yazīd	'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid	Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd	Shu'ayb ibn Abī Ḥamzah
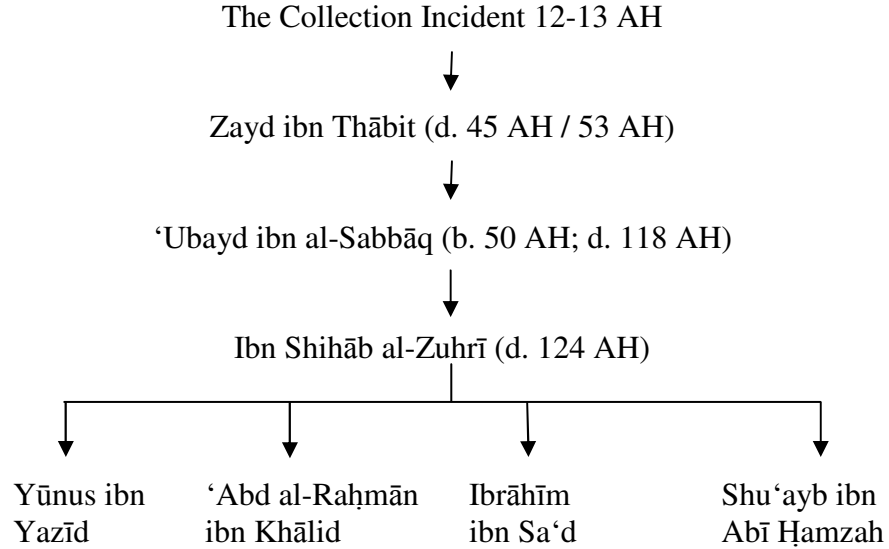
1. The *Isnād* is Broken (*Munqaṭi'*)

According to 'Imādī,[368] the chain of the narrative is *munqaṭi'* since 'Ubayd ibn al-Sabbāq never met Zayd ibn Thābit. While referring to al-Bukhārī's *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, he says that 'Ubayd ibn al-Sabbāq died in 118 AH at the age of 68. He says that these details have been written by a famous commentator of *Sunan Abū Dā'ūd*, Shams al-Ḥaq Muḥaddith 'Aẓīmābādī, on the margins of Ibn Ḥajar's *Fatḥ al-Bārī*. He then refers to Ibn Ḥajar, according to whom Zayd died in 45 AH. He

---

367. However, as far as his criticism on Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī is concerned, it may be noted that Raḥmānī, had already pointed out al-Zuhrī's tendency towards *idrāj*. See: Raḥmānī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 124-125. In this regard, Juynboll's standard critique on narratives like this which have 'a common link' has been critically analyzed and refuted by Motzki. I have already referred to it in the introductory section of this thesis. See: Harald Motzki, 'Dating Muslim Traditions: A Survey,' *Arabica* 52 (2) (2005): 228-229; Harald Motzki, 'The Collection of the Qur'ān: A Reconsideration of Western Views in the Light of Recent Methodological Developments,' *Der Islam* 78 (2001): 27-28.

368. 'Imādī, *Jam' al-Qur'ān*, 120.

says that other authorities place his death in 48 AH, 51 AH and 54 AH although all these views according to 'Imādī are weak. He says that even if the weakest of these (54 AH) is taken, the age of 'Ubayd turns out to be 4 at the death of Zayd.

'Imādī[369] has also pointed out that Ibn Sa'd[370] has not mentioned Zayd to be a teacher of 'Ubayd.

———————

None of the early *rijāl* works gives any information on the birth, death and age of 'Ubayd ibn al-Sabbāq.

Al-Ṣafadī (d. 643 AH) in his *al-Wāfī bi al-wafayāt*[371] gives 'Ubayd's year of death as 90 AH and gives no information about his age or year of birth. This information, of course, is not enough to prove that 'Ubayd could not have met Zayd ibn Thābit.

Hence, it cannot be said conclusively with this given information that the chain of narration of this narrative is broken.

However, 'Imādī's criticism that Ibn Sa'd does not mention Zayd among the informants of 'Ubayd is very valid. This is further corroborated by the fact that al-Bukhārī who records this narrative in his *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* himself does not mention Zayd to be among the teachers of 'Ubayd in his *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* neither in the biography of Zayd nor in that of 'Ubayd.[372] Moreover, another early *rijāl* authority Ibn Abī Ḥātim[373] (d. 327 AH) also does not mention Zayd to be 'Ubayd's teacher or 'Ubayd to be Zayd's student.

———————

369. Ibid., 120.
370. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 5, 252; Ibid., vol. 2, 358-361.
371. Abū al-Ṣafā' Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak ibn 'Abdullāh al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi al-wafayāt*, vol. 19 (Beirut: Dār iḥyā' al-turāth, 2000), 246.
372. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 5, 448; Ibid., vol. 3, 380.
373. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Al-Jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl*, 1st ed. vol. 5 (Beirut: Dār iḥyā' al-turāth al-'arabī, 1952), 407; Ibid, vol. 3, 558.

This information does cast doubt on the continuity of the *isnād*, and it is probable that it is *munqaṭiʿ*.

2. Narrators in the *Isnād*

According to 'Imādī, the narrators in the chain of narration (see the illustration above) in its first three sections which succeed Zayd ibn Thābit, are not reliable.

Here are the details:

a) 'Ubayd ibn al-Sabbāq[374] (d. 90 AH)

According to 'Imādī, nothing is known about the names of his father or grandfather. The scholars of *rijāl* works call him a Madinite, but there is no proof of this. He belonged to the Banū Thaqīf who mostly resided in Ṭā'if. He has perhaps been regarded as a Madinite so that his relation with Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (who has also been wrongly regarded as a Madinite) could be proven.

'Imādī then gives a detailed analysis of the various informants and students of 'Ubayd.

b) Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī[375] (d. 124 AH)

According to 'Imādī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Muslim ibn 'Abdullāh ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (52-124 AH) has been regarded as an outstanding exponent of Ḥadīth and a thoroughly reliable personality by the scholars of *'ilm al-rijāl*; however, evidence is found to the contrary as well. 'Imādī has quoted various authorities of *'ilm al-rijāl* to show that Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī is guilty of the following:[376]

---

374. 'Imādī, *Jam' al-Qur'ān*, 120-127.
375. For more details, see: Tamannā 'Imādī, *Imām Zuhrī and Imām Tabarī*, Karachi: Raḥmān Publishing Trust, 1994.
376. Before presenting this evidence, 'Imādī has tried to disprove the fact that al-Zuhrī

i. *Irsāl*

ii. *Tadlīs*

iii. *Idrāj*

As far as *tadlīs* is concerned, 'Imādī[377] cites the following information:

Imam al-Shāf'ī, al-Dāraquṭanī and many others have attributed *tadlīs* to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī.[378]

As far as *irsāl* is concerned, 'Imādī[379] cites the following information:

Imam Abū Dā'ūd says:

Out of the twenty two hundred Aḥādīth narrated by Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī only half are *musnad* [the rest are *mursal*].[380]

Ibn Ḥajar records:

Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān is of the opinion that the *irsāl* of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī and al-Qatādah has no value and said: 'It is like a wind.'[381]

Al-Dhahabī has reported the following words of Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān

from Abū Qudāmah al-Sarakhsī:

---

belongs to clan of the Quraysh, an effort which according to him has been done by people to elevate his status. See: 'Imādī, *Imām Zuhrī and Imām Ṭabarī*, 80-90. According to him, al-Zuhrī was born in Aylā a place in Syria and it was only after 101 AH that he may have travelled to Madīnah and other cities of the Muslim empire to collect Ḥadīth. See Ibid., 87.

377. 'Imādī, *Imām Zuhrī and Imām Ṭabarī*, 137.

378. Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalāni, *Ṭabaqāt al-mudallisīn* (Aman: Maktabah al-manār, 1983), 45.

379. 'Imādī, *Imām Zuhrī and Imām Ṭabarī*, 136-137.

380. Abū 'Abdullāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Uthmān ibn Qāyamaz ibn 'Abdullāh al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah al-ḥuffāẓ*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, n.d), 109.

381. Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 1st ed., vol. 9 (Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 1984), 398.

The *mursal* of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī is the worst of all since he is a *ḥāfiẓ*. Whenever he wants, he discloses the name of a narrator, and whenever he wants, he conceals his name.[382]

To this information can also be added the following comment of Imām al-Shāfi'ī:

The *irsāl* of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī is of no value because we have found that he even narrates from [a person as unreliable as] Sulaymān ibn Arqam.[383]

'Imādī while referring to the *idrāj* of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī[384] alludes to the following words quoted in *al-Mu'taṣar min al-mukhtaṣar*:

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī used to mix his own words with the Ḥadīth and that that is why Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah said: 'Separate the words of the Prophet from yours.'[385]

To this information, the following may also be added.

Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī records the following opinion of al-Bukhārī:

For Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī would narrate Aḥādīth and on most occasions would insert sentences from his own self. Some of these would be *mursal* and some of them would be his own.[386]

Rabī'ah [ibn Abī 'abd al-Raḥmān] would say to Ibn Shihāb: 'My situation is totally different from you. Whatever I say, I say it as my own opinion; one is free to accept it [or reject it] and you say it on the authority of the Prophet and so you must be careful, and it is not befitting for a person who is knowledgeable to waste himself [like this].'[387]

Al-Zuhrī used to explain various Aḥādīth a lot and many a time he would not mention the particle [of speech] from which would be known whether the words were from the Prophet or from al-Zuhrī. So some of his contemporaries

---

382. Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah al-ḥuffāẓ*, vol. 1, 111.
383. Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, vol. 5, 339.
384. 'Imādī, *Imām Zuhrī and Imām Ṭabarī*, 137.
385. Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf ibn Mūsā, *Kitāb al-mu'taṣar min al-mukhtaṣar min mushkil al-āthār*, vol. 1 (Beirut: 'Ālam al-kitāb, n.d.), 196.
386. Abū al-Faraj Zayn al-Dīn ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, 1st ed., vol. 5 (Jaddah: Dār Ibn al-Jawzī, 1996), 286.
387. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 3, 286.

would always ask him to separate his words from those of the Prophet.[388]

c) Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī's Pupils[389]

According to 'Imādī, four pupils of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī transmit this narrative from him:

i. Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf

ii. Yūnus ibn Yazīd ibn Abī al-Najjād

iii. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid ibn Musāfir

iv. Shu'ayb ibn Abī Ḥamzah

Regarding Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd, 'Imādī refers to the following information recorded by Ibn Ḥajar:

Ṣāliḥ Jazarah said: 'His narrations from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī are *laysa bi dhāka* because he was very young when he heard from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī.' 'Abdullāh ibn Aḥmad says that he was born in 108 AH.[390]

'Imādī says that Yūnus ibn Yazīd narrates *munkar* narratives. Although, he does not cite any reference, in all probability he is referring to the following authorities:

Abū Zur'ah al-Dimashqī said: 'I heard Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal say that the narratives of Yūnus from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī contain *munkarāt*.' And Maymūnī said: 'Aḥmad was asked about the most trustworthy student of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī; he replied that it is Ma'mar; when someone asked about Yūnus, he said that he narrates *munkar* narratives.' Ibn Sa'd said: '… he is *laysa bi ḥujjah* and would narrate what is *munkar*.'[391]

'Imādī also calls 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid ibn Musāfir as *munkar al-ḥadīth* while he is regarded as a trustworthy narrator by Shiite authorities. He does not

---

388. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-Mughīth*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1403 AH), 247.
389. 'Imādī, *Jam' al-Qur'ān*, 146-149, 204.
390. Ibid., vol. 1, 106.
391. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 11, 396.

quote any reference and I am also unable to find any.

'Imādī says that the only trustworthy student of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī in this list is Shu'ayb ibn Abī Ḥamzah, who was a scribe of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī. Now, the only person who reports the narrative of the collection of the Qur'ān under Abū Bakr is his student Abū al-Yamān al-Ḥakam ibn Nāfi'. However, Abū al-Yamān's narratives from Shu'ayb ibn Abī Ḥamzah are suspect because it is highly improbable that he ever heard a narrative from Shu'ayb. Shu'ayb died in 162 AH and Abū al-Yamān according to most authorities including Imām al-Bukhārī died in 222 AH (others say he died in 211 AH). In other words, sixty years separate their deaths. In this regard, 'Imādī also refers to Abū Zur'ah's remarks that Abū al-Yamān has heard only one narrative from Shu'ayb and the rest are *ijāzah*.[392]

———————

'Imādī's information about 'Ubayd's informants and teachers has errors and discrepancies. Most of these errors have resulted because of his erroneous conclusion about the birth and death years of 'Ubayd already referred to earlier and because of scanty and at times wrong data quoted by him. For the purpose of efficient utilization of space, I am leaving out a detailed analysis of the information provided by him.

However, it may be pointed out that details about 'Ubayd ibn al-Sabbāq are not very copious. Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī al-Karābīsī (d. 245 AH), who is himself one of the earliest authorities on *rijāl*, has referred to 'Ubayd's obscurity. While referring to other authorities, he has placed a question mark on 'Ubayd's personality. He says

---

392. Ibid., vol. 2, 380.

that the *muḥaddithūn* have expressed their ignorance about who he was.[393] It may however be noted that authorities subsequent to al-Karābīsī like Imām Muslim,[394] al-'Ijlī[395] and Ibn Ḥibbān[396] have counted him as a trustworthy narrator.

As far as Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī is concerned, the information cited about him places a question mark over his overall reliability. Moreover, the following letter written by the celebrated authority Imām Layth ibn Sa'd (d. 175 AH) to Imām Mālik (d. 179 AH) casts further doubts on him:

> And when we would meet Ibn Shihāb, there would arise a difference of opinion in many issues. When any one of us would ask him in writing about some issue, he, in spite of being so learned, would give three very different answers, each of which would negate the other and he would not even be aware of what he had already said. It is because of this that I have left him – something which you did not like.[397]

It is also recorded about him:

> Sometimes, a group of people would present a Ḥadīth to him to corroborate something. So, at times, he would narrate from the whole group and sometimes from one person of that group. This would be according to the way he felt during the narration. Sometimes, he would insert the Ḥadīth narrated by one into that narrated by someone else as he has done so in the Ḥadīth of *ifk* besides others. When he would feel lazy, he would narrate *mursal* Aḥādīth, and when he would be feeling fresh, he would narrate *muttaṣil* ones. It is because of this that his companions differ a lot about him.[398]

As far as al-Zuhrī's students are concerned, first, it must be understood that this

---

393. Abū al-Qāsim 'Abdullāh al-Ka'bī, *Qabūl al-akhbār fī ma'rifah al-rijāl*, 1ˢᵗ ed. vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 2000), 157.

394. Abū al-Ḥusayn Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt*, 1ˢᵗ ed., vol. 1 (Riyāḍ: Dār al-hijrah, 1991), 233.

395. Aḥmad ibn 'Abdullāh ibn Ṣāliḥ al-'Ijlī, *Ma'rifah al-thiqāt*, 1ˢᵗ ed., vol. 2 (Madīnah: Maktabah al-dār, 1985), 116

396. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Al-Thiqāt*, vol. 5, 133.

397. 'Abbās ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥātim al-Dūrī, *Tārīkh Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn*, 1ˢᵗ ed., vol. 4 (Makkah: Markaz al-baḥthah 'ilmī wa iḥyā' al-turāth al-islāmī, 1979), 490.

398. Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī ibn Yūsuf al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-Zurqānī 'alā Mu'aṭṭa' Imām Mālik*, 1ˢᵗ ed., vol. 3 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1411 AH), 476.

narrative is reported by eight of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī's students and not four.[399]

The following chart reflects the true anatomy of the narrative:[400]

True Anatomy of the Narrative

The Collection Incident 12-13 AH
↓
Zayd ibn Thābit (d. 45 AH / 53 AH)
↓
'Ubayd ibn al-Sabbāq (d. 90 AH)
↓
Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124 AH)

Yūnus ibn Yazīd	'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid	Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd	Shu'ayb ibn Abī Ḥamzah	Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
Ma'mar ibn Rāshid		Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'īl	'Ubaydullāh ibn Abī Ziyād[401]	
↓		↓	↓	
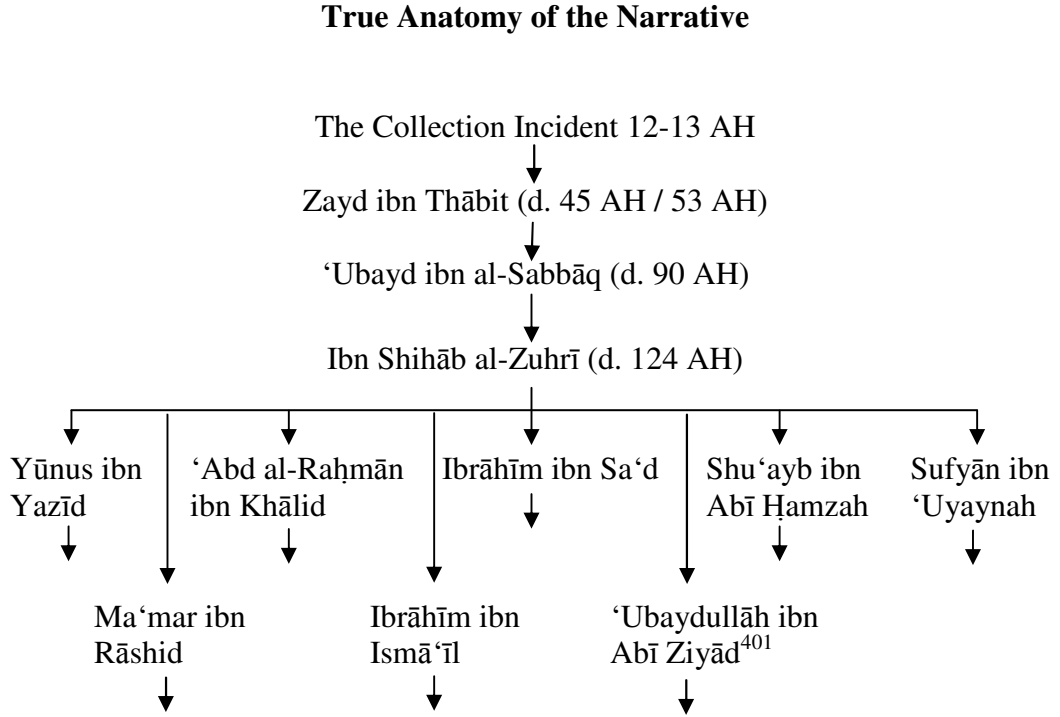
1. Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd (d. 108 AH)

'Imādī's critique on Ibrāhim ibn Sa'd is worthy of consideration.

It is further corroborated by the following information:

As referred to above, Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd was born in 108 AH. It is known that Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī died in 124 AH.

Burhān al-Dīn Sibṭ ibn al-'Ajamī (d. 752 AH) while concluding his biographical note on Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd remarks:

---

399. It seems that 'Imādī in his analysis of al-Zuhrī's students has relied only on narratives which are found in the six canonical works of Ḥadīth. Out of the eight, the four students he has not included in his analysis are found in narratives outside these works.

400. For a complete schematic illustration of this narrative, see: Appendix E.

401. Al-Dāraquṭanī has mentioned that 'Ubaydullāh ibn Abī Ziyād has also reported this narrative from al-Zuhrī. See: Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Umar al-Dāraquṭanī, *Al-'Ilal al-wāridah fī al-aḥādīth al-nabawiyyah*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Riyāḍ: Dār ṭayyibah, 1985), 186-187.

What can be concluded is that other people who narrate from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī are more reliable than him because he heard from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī when he was young. God knows best.[402]

Al-Dhahabī writes:

Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd is trustworthy; he has heard from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī and other elders, relates narratives received only through him not handed down by others but he is not that reliable from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī and Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān has referred to his vulnerability.[403]

Ibn 'Adī, while recording his complacency, writes:

Al-Sājī reported to us that al-Himānī reported to us: '[Once] I saw Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd in the company of Sharīk. Ibrāhīm said to him: "O Abū 'Abdullāh [Sharīk]! I have with me [your] narratives. Will you read them out to me?" He replied: "I am feeling tired." Ibrāhīm said: "Then should I read them out to you." He replied: "Then in what manner will you report this?" Ibrāhīm said: "Sharīk narrated them to me." At this, he remarked: "In that case you would be lying."'[404]

'Imādī says that Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī was stationed in Aylah at the border of Syria and Ḥijāz and that it is highly improbable for a sixteen year old boy living in Madīnah to go to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī in Aylā and narrate from him. He concludes that Ibrāhīm's narratives from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī are either *mursal* or *munqaṭ'i*. This is not correct. In fact it is recorded by Ibn 'Adī that when Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd came to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī [in Madīnah], he honoured and patronized him and then in the presence of people commented that Ibrāhīm's father, Sa'd, had specially directed him to narrate to his son.[405]

---

402. Burhān al-Dīn Sibṭ ibn al-'Ajamī, *Nihāyah al-su'l fī ruwāt al-sittah al-uṣūl*, 1ˢᵗ ed., vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 2003), 145.

403. Abū 'Abdullāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Uthmān ibn Qāyamaz ibn 'Abdullāh al-Dhahabī, *Dhikr asmā' man tukullima fīhī wa huwa muwaththaq*, 1ˢᵗ ed., vol. 1 (al-Zarqā': Dār al-manār, 1406 AH), 31.

404. Ibn 'Adī, *Al-Kāmil fī ḍu'afā' al-rijāl*, vol. 1, 246.

405. Ibid., vol. 1, 247.

2. Yūnus ibn Yazīd (d. 152 AH)

Although 'Imādī has criticized Yūnus ibn Yazīd, he has been regarded as trustworthy by most authorities. However, the following information is also found about him:

> 'Abd al-Raḥmān reported from Muḥammad ibn 'Awf who reported from Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal that Wakī' said: 'I have seen Yūnus and he had a bad memory (*kāna sayy' al-ḥifz*).' Aḥmad said: 'Wakī' has heard three narratives from Yūnus.' 'Abd al-Raḥmān narrated from his father [Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī] who said: 'I heard Muqātil ibn Muḥammad say: "I heard Waqī' saying: 'I met Yūnus ibn Yazīd al-Aylī and discussed with him well known narratives of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī and I tried that he should at least report one narrative correctly to me but he was not able to.'"'[406]

> Abū Bakr al-Athram said: 'Abū 'Abdullāh Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal objected to Yūnus and said: "He wrongly attributes things to Sa'īd ibn Musayyib." And Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal did not regard him as reliable (*ḍa''afa amra Yūnus*) and said: "He does not know *ḥadīth* (*lām yakun ya'rifu al-ḥadīth*) and he would write the first part of the book directly from Sa'īd and then end the discourse and write other parts from Sa'īd through the authority of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī and later would not be able to tell which parts were written directly and which through Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī." And Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal [further said]: "Yūnus would report narratives which would contain the view of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī and would attribute this view to Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyib and said that Yūnus makes many errors in what he narrates from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī and 'Uqayl would make lesser errors than him."'

> And Abū Zur'ah al-Dimashqī said: 'I heard Abū 'Abdullāh Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal say: "Yūnus would narrate *munkarāt* from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī."'[407]

3. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid ibn Musāfir (d. 127 AH)

I have already pointed out earlier that no *rijāl* authority regards Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid ibn Musāfir to be *munkar al-ḥadīth* as alleged by 'Imādī. It is true that according to al-Sājī : 'He is regarded a truthful person by authorities but narrates *manākīr* (*min ahl al-ṣidq wa lahū manākīr*).'[408] However, there is a great difference between being called a *munkar al-ḥadīth* and being attributed to

---

406. Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Al-Jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl*, vol. 9, 248.

407. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 32, 555.

408. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 6, 150.

narrate *manākīr*. In this regard, it may be noted that the only person to narrate from 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid ibn Musāfir is Layth and from him 'Abdullāh ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Muslim is the only narrator.

Al-Dhahabī[409] records about 'Abdullāh ibn Ṣāliḥ: *wa lahū manākīr*. Al-'Uqaylī[410] records that 'Abdullāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal asked his father about 'Abdullāh ibn Ṣāliḥ who replied that initially he was trustworthy but later he became dubious (*kāna awwala amrihī mutamāsikaṇ thumma fasada bi ākharah*), and that he is *laysa huwa bi shay'*, and at another instance 'Abdullāh ibn Aḥmad says that his father mentioned 'Abdullāh ibn Ṣāliḥ and censured him and expressed his disgust at him (*dhammahū wa karihahū*) and said that he narrated a book or narratives from Layth who narrated them from Ibn Abī Dhi'b. However, Aḥmad denied that he (Layth) narrated anything from Ibn Abī Dhi'b. Ibn Ḥibbān[411] says that he is *munkar al-ḥadīth* in the extreme sense (*munkar al-ḥadīth jiddaṇ*) and he would narrate things from trustworthy people which would not sound as theirs. While explaining the reason for the existence of *manākīr* in his narratives, Ibn Ḥibbān goes on to say that he had a neighbour who was an evil person and that he (Ibn Ḥibbān) heard Ibn Khuzaymah say that this person would fabricate narratives from 'Abdullāh ibn Ṣāliḥ. He would write these narratives in a handwriting which would resemble that of 'Abdullāh ibn Ṣāliḥ and would throw the pieces of paper on which it was written in his house among his books. 'Abdullāh thinking that it was his handwriting would take these pieces and would

---

409. Abū 'Abdullāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Uthmān ibn Qāyamaz ibn 'Abdullāh al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-i'tidāl*, 1st ed., vol. 4 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1995), 121.

410. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn Mūsā al-'Uqaylī, *Al-Ḍu'afā' al-kabīr*, 1st ed., vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1984), 267.

411. Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *Al-Majrūḥīn min al-muḥaddithīn wa al-ḍu'afā' wa al-matrūkīn*, 1st ed., vol. 2 (Ḥalab: Dār al-wa'y, 1396 AH), 40.

narrate the narratives written on them. According to al-Nasā'ī,[412] he is *laysa bi thiqah*. Al-Mizzī[413] records that when 'Abd al-Mu'min ibn Khalaf al-Nasafī asked Ṣāliḥ ibn Muḥammad about him, he replied that though Yayḥyā ibn Ma'īn regards him to be trustworthy, to him he lies in *ḥadīth* (*yakdhibu fī al-ḥadīth*). In the opinion of Aḥmad ibn Ṣāliḥ, he is *muttahamūn laysa bi shay'*. Al-Dhahabī[414] records that 'Alī ibn al-Madīnī said that he had not narrated anything from 'Abdullāh ibn Ṣāliḥ. Ibn Ḥajar[415] records that he is *ṣadūq kathīr al-ghalaṭ* and is reliable when he narrates from his book (*thabtun fī kitābihī*) and is forgetful (*kānat fīhī ghaflah*).

4. Shu'ayb ibn Abī Ḥamzah (d. 162 AH)

Although Shu'ayb is a trustworthy student of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, since his narrations of this narrative are only reported by Abū al-Yamān and since he is a weak narrator of Shu'ayb, hence, the narratives of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī from Shu'ayb may not be all that authentic.

About Abū al-Yamān, Ibn Ḥajar records:

It is said that most of his narratives from Shu'ayb are of the nature of *munāwalah*.[416]

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal is very critical of Abū al-Yamān:

And Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Rāshidī reports from Abū Bakr al-Athram: 'I heard Abū 'Abdullāh Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and he had been asked about Abū al-Yamān and he who had asked him about Abū al-Yamān had also heard from Abū al-Yamān. In response to the question: "What is that digs at your soul?" Abū 'Abdullāh remarked: "He [Abū al-Yamān] would say: 'Shu'ayb

---

412. Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Ḍu'afā'*, 63.
413. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 15, 102-103.
414. Al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-i'tidāl*, vol. 4, 122.
415. Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 308.
416. Ibid., 176.

has informed us …' and would justify this statement in a strange manner.'
Abū 'Abdullāh continued: "Shu'ayb was very strict in matters of Ḥadīth and
'Alī ibn 'Ayyāsh has heard from him and mentioned an incident with the
people of Ḥimṣ which I believe is that they asked Shu'ayb to permit them to
narrate from him. He told them: 'Do not narrate these Aḥādīth from me.'"
Abū 'Abdullāh continued: "Then they conversed with him and Abū al-Yamān
was present at that time. Shu'ayb then told them: 'You can [now] narrate
these Aḥādīth from me.'" I asked Abū 'Abdullāh: "Was this of the nature of
munāwalah." He replied: "Had it been *munāwalah* [he would have given
them his books] whereas he neither gave them his books nor anything else.
He [Abū al-Yamān] only heard these words: ['You can [now] narrate these
Aḥādīth from me,']" and Shu'ayb's son used to say: "Abū al-Yamān came to
me and took Shu'ayb's books from me later on and would say: 'He informed
me [*akhbaranā*],' and it seems that in this manner he has justified himself in
saying it because he had heard Shu'ayb say to the people: 'Narrate them from
me.'"[417]

It is evident that Abū al-Yamān did not even hear from Shu'ayb's son who

had heard from Shu'ayb. Even Abū al-Yamān's own version supports Ibn

Shu'ayb's statement referred to above:

And Abū Zur'ah al-Dimashqī narrates from Abū al-Yamān: 'Shu'ayb ibn Abī
Ḥamzah was very strict in matters of Ḥadīth. We came to him when he was
dying. He said: "These are my books and I have corrected them. He who
wants to take them can take them and he who wants to read them to me can
do so and he who wants to hear them from my son can do so because my son
has heard them from me."'[418]

As pointed out earlier, 'Imādī's information that these narratives are only

reported by four of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī's pupils is not correct.

Four more pupils report this narrative:

i. Ma'mar ibn Rāshid[419]

ii. Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'īl[420]

iii. Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah[421]

---

417. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 7, 149.
418. Ibid., vol. 7, 150.
419. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, 214; Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 156.
420. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 14; Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 5, 260,
(no. 25877).

iv. 'Ubaydullāh ibn Abī Ziyād[422]

Following is a shortened schematic illustration of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī's students reporting this narrative from him and of some of their pupils:
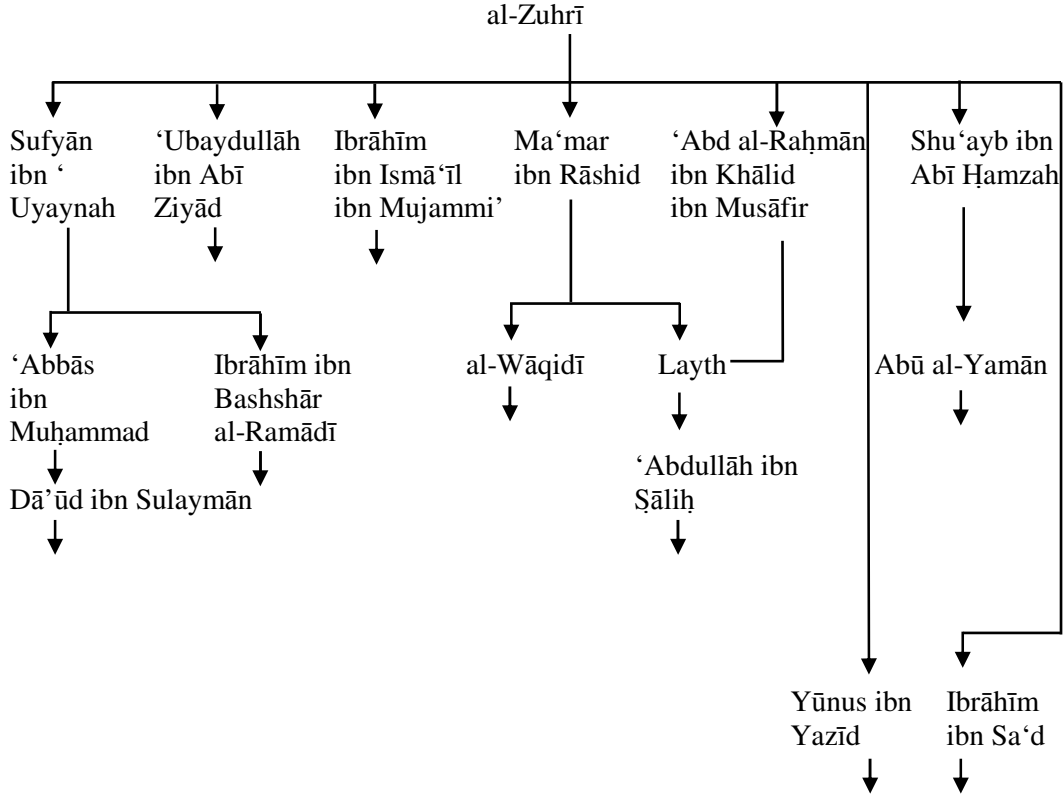
1. Ma'mar ibn Rāshid (d. 153 AH)

As far as the chains of narration of the narratives of Ma'mar ibn Rāshid are concerned, the one recorded in *al-Muntaẓam* has al-Wāqidī, who is regarded very weak by authorities.

Al-Bukhārī[423] opines hat he is *sakatū 'anhū* and that Aḥmad and Ibn Numayr

---

421. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, 390, (no. 591); Al-Wāsiṭī, *Tārīkh Wāsiṭ*, vol. 1, 250-251. As per this narrative, it was at the martyrdom of Sālim that 'Umar realized that the Qur'ān should be collected and he came over to Abū Bakr with this suggestion.

422. As indicated earlier, al-Dāraquṭanī has mentioned that 'Ubaydullāh ibn Abī Ziyād has also reported this narrative from al-Zuhrī. See: Al-Dāraquṭanī, *Al-'Ilal al-wāridah fī al-aḥādīth al-nabawiyyah*, vol. 1, 186-187.

423. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 1, 178.

have abandoned him (*tarakahū*). At another place, al-Bukhārī[424] regards him to be *matrūk al-ḥadīth*. Al-Nasā'ī[425] also regards him to be *matrūk al-ḥadīth*. Ibn Ḥibbān[426] records that Aḥmad has declared him to be a liar and that Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn regards him to be *laysa bi shay'* and that ʿAlī ibn al-Madīnī says that he would forge narratives (*yaḍaʿu al-ḥadīth*). Al-Dhahabī[427] records that in the opinion of al-Dāraquṭanī *fīhī al-ḍuʿf* and that Ibn ʿAdī says that his narratives are not safe. Al-Mizzī[428] records that in the opinion of Muslim he is *matrūk al-ḥadīth* and Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥākim regards him to be *dhāhib al-ḥadīth*. Isḥāq ibn Rāhawayh[429] also regards him to a forger of *ḥadīth* (*ʿindī min man yaḍaʿu al-ḥadīth*). Ibn Ḥajar[430] says that he is *matrūk*.

   Maʿmar's narrative is also reported by Layth and from Layth it is reported by ʿAbdullāh ibn Ṣāliḥ. The *jarḥ* on ʿAbdullāh ibn Ṣāliḥ has already been quoted earlier.

2. Ibrāhīm ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Mujammiʿ (d. before 200 AH)

Ibrāhīm ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Mujammiʿ is also a very weak narrator. Al-Bukhārī records[431] that he falters a lot in narrating from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (*kathīr al-wahm ʿan al-Zuhrī*) According to al-Dhahabī,[432] al-Nasā'ī has regarded him to be weak (*ḍaʿʿafahū al-Nasā'ī*) and Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn has called him to be *laysa bi shay'*. Ibn Abī Ḥātim records that Abū Zurʿah heard Abū Nuʿaym say that

---

   424. Abū ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ḍuʿafā' al-ṣaghīr* (Ḥalab: Dār al-waʿy, 1396 AH), 104.
   425. Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Ḍuʿafā'*, 92.
   426. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Al-Majrūḥīn*, vol. 2, 290.
   427. Al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, vol. 6, 273.
   428. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 26, 188.
   429. Abū al-Wafā' Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad Sibṭ ibn al-ʿAjamī al-Ḥalbī, *Kashf al-ḥathīth ʿamman rumiya bi waḍ al-ḥadīth*, (Beirut: Maktabah al-nahḍah al-ʿarabiyyah, 1987), 243.
   430. Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 498.
   431. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 1, 271.
   432. Al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, vol. 1, 135.

Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'īl's narratives are not worth two pennies (*lā yusawwī ḥadīthuhū falsayn*).[433] Al-Mizzī[434] records that according to Abū Ḥātim he falters a lot (*kathīr al-wahm*); he is *laysa bi al-qawī yuktabu ḥadīthuhū wa lā yuḥtajju bihī*. Ibn Ḥibbān[435] says that he would alter the chains of narration and turn *mursal* narratives into *marfū'* ones (*yuqallibu al-asānīd wa yarfa'u al-marāsīl*).

Ibn Ḥajar[436] regards him to be *ḍa'īf*. He[437] also records that al-Ḥākim Abū Aḥmad says that he is regarded as *laysa bi al-matīn* by authorities and that according to Abū Dā'ūd he is *ḍa'īf* and *matrūk al-ḥadīth*.

3. Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah (d. 178 AH)

Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah is well known for his *tadlīs*.[438]

Two people narrate from Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah: Ibrāhīm ibn Bashshār al-Ramādī and 'Abbās ibn Muḥammad al-'Abdūs.

According to al-Nasā'ī,[439] Ibrāhīm ibn Bashshār al-Ramādī is *laysa bi al-qawī*. According to al-Bukhārī, he would keep faltering[440] (*yahimu fī al-shay' ba'd al-shay'*). Al-Dhahabī's[441] opinion about him is: *laysa bi al-mutqin wa lahū manākīr*. Al-Mizzī[442] records that 'Abdullāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal heard from his father Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal that Ibrāhīm and he would go to Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah and later Ibrāhīm would dictate to people what he had heard from Sufyān and at times he would dictate to them what he had not heard from him and one day Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal scolded him and censured him for dictating to others

---

433. Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Al-Jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl*, vol. 2, 84.
434. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 2, 47.
435. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Al-Majrūḥīn*, vol. 1, 103.
436. Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 88.
437. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 1, 91.
438. Ibn Ḥajar, *Ṭabaqāt al-mudallisīn*, 32.
439. Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Ḍu'afā'*, 13.
440. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 1, 277.
441. Al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-i'tidāl*, vol. 1, 141.
442. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 2, 58.

what he had not heard. Mu'āwiyah ibn Ṣāliḥ says that when he asked Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn about him, he remarked that he is *laysa bi shay'* and would not write anything from Sufyān and that he had never seen a pen in his hand and he would dictate to people from Sufyān what Sufyān never said. Al-Nasā'ī regards him to be *laysa bi al-qawī*.

On the other hand, 'Abbās ibn Muḥammad al-'Abdūs who also narrates from Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah is a *majhūl* person. No one mentions al-'Abdūs as a student of Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah.[443] Also, no *jarḥ* or *ta'dīl* is available on Dā'ūd ibn Sulaymān ibn Thābit who is the teacher of Aslam ibn Sahl al-Wāsiṭī and the pupil of al-'Abdūs.

4. 'Ubaydullāh ibn Abī Ziyād (d. 158 AH)

About 'Ubaydullāh ibn Abī Ziyād, al-Mizzī[444] records that in the opinion of al-Dhuhalī, 'Ubaydullāh ibn Abī Ziyād and Isḥāq ibn Yaḥyā al-'Awṣī are *majhūl al-'ayn* students of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī. The only person to report Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī's narratives from 'Ubaydullāh is his grandson al-Ḥajjāj ibn Abī Manī'.

Summing up, it can be said that all chains of narration coming out of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī have some flaw or the other.

VI. Further Criticism

Besides the criticism presented earlier, there are some other criticisms which, in my opinion, arise on this narrative as far as its content is concerned. In the following pages, they shall be presented.

---

443. See for example: Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 11, 185; Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah al-ḥuffāẓ*, vol. 1, 263; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 4, 105; Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 9 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, n.d.), 174.

444. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 19, 41.

1. Improbability of the Event

The primary criticism on the narrative is that if the nature of the collection is what is apparent from the narratives which describe the standard version of the collection, then common sense demands that it should have been reported by many people.

A deliberation on the narratives of collection show that what was Qur'ān and what was not was not known at the time of death of the Prophet. This is brought out by narratives which say that the text of the Qur'ān was ascertained with the help of two witnesses (see the next point for these narratives). If this was the case, then this matter should have been reported by many people given the gravity of the event. Instead it can be seen that the narrative is a *gharīb* one in the first three steps of transmission.

However, if someone says that the Qur'ānic text was well known in the time of the Prophet and that the only thing that this narrative mentions is that the Qur'ān was written in a bound volume, then this too should have been reported through some other individuals as it was something new and as the narrative says that it was something that the Prophet had never done.

Instead it can be seen that the key figure of all the narratives which mention the standard version is only one person: Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī.[445] It is on him that all these narratives hinge. It has been shown earlier that he is also guilty of It has been shown earlier that he is also guilty of *tadlīs*, *irsāl* and *idrāj* and some other blemishes which raise questions about his overall reliability. It has also been shown that all of the eight chains of narration which emerge from him and go to

---

445. There are some narratives whose chains of narration do not have al-Zuhrī: However, as shall be shown later, they only tell us that the first person to collect the Qur'ān between two covers was Abū Bakr.

his students are not without flaws.

2. Critical Analysis of some Collection-Methodology Narratives

Although the narrative under discussion does not describe any particular methodology adopted by Zayd, some other narratives show that this methodology was that Abū Bakr had asked him to rely on two witnesses for every verse he should record. Since scholars consider these narratives to be deeply related to the main narrative under discussion and in fact interpret the first collection by always discussing these narratives, it seems appropriate that they also be critically analyzed.

Al-Suyūṭī, while referring to this methodology quotes the following three narratives:

Ibn Abī Dā'ūd has recorded on the authority of Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥāṭib: ' 'Umar came over and announced: "Anyone who has any part of the Qur'ān that he has acquired from the Messenger of Allah should bring it over." And they had written these portions on pages and tablets and bark of palm trees and would not accept any portion from anyone unless two witnesses testified to it.'[446]

Ibn Abī Dā'ūd has recorded on the authority of Hishām ibn 'Urwah who narrated from his father that Abū Bakr told 'Umar and Zayd: 'Sit at the door of the mosque. If anyone brings some portion of the Book of God along with two witnesses, then write it down.'[447]

Ibn Ashtah has recorded in [his work *Kitāb*] *al-maṣāḥif* on the authority of Layth ibn Sa'd: 'The first person to collect the Qur'ān was Abū Bakr and Zayd wrote it out. People would come to Zayd who would not accept from them any verse except if two just witnesses testified to it. The last part of Sūrah al-Barā'ah was found with Khuzaymah ibn Thābit only. He said: "Write it down since the testimony of Khuzaymah has been regarded by the Prophet to be equivalent to that of two men." It was thus written. On this occasion, 'Umar also came over with the verse of stoning but it was not written because he was the only witness.'[448]

---

446. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 205.
447. Ibid., vol. 1, 205.
448. Ibid., vol. 1, 206.

Among the later scholars, al-Zurqānī[449] and al-Ṣābūnī[450] refer to the first and second of these narratives, A'ẓamī[451] to the second and al-Kurdī[452] to the last of these while adducing this methodology.

Scholars have presented various opinions regarding what is implied by two witnesses referred to in the narrative of 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr cited above. (Often a scholar has presented more than one view as can be seen).

i. The two witnesses are: testifying to a verse(s) through memory (*ḥifẓ*) and through writing (*kitābah*).[453]

ii. It means that two witnesses testify that the written verse(s) that was brought over was written in front of the Prophet.[454]

iii. It means that two witnesses testify to the fact that the verse(s) was from among one of the forms (*wujūh*) on which the Qur'ān had been revealed.[455]

iv. It means that two witnesses testify that the verse had been presented [and thus authenticated] before the Prophet in the year he died.[456]

While criticizing this methodology of collection, al-Khū'ī[457] writes that these narratives entail that the text of the Qur'ān was determined through two witnesses which contradicts the established fact that the Qur'ān is *mutawātir* and does not

---

449. Al-Zurqānī, *Manāhil al-'irfān*, vol. 1, 181-182.
450. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Ṣābūnī, *Al-Tibyān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 1st ed. (Tehrān: Dār iḥsān, 1380 AH), 57.
451. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā A'ẓamī, *The History of the Qur'ānic Text from Revelation to Compilation*, 1st ed. (Leicester: UK Islamic Academy, 2003), 80.
452. Al-Kurdī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 58-59.
453. This is the view of Ibn Ḥajar. See: *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 9, 11.
454. This is the view of Ibn Ḥajar, al-Sakhāwī and Abū Shāmmah. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 9, 11; Al-'Alam al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, *Jamāl al-qurrā' wa kamāl al-iqrā'*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Makkah: Maktabah al-turāth, 1987), 86; Abū Shāmmah, *Al-Murshid*, 63.
455. This is also the view of Ibn Ḥajar and al-Sakhāwī. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 9, 11; Al-Sakhāwī, *Jamāl al-qurrā'*, vol. 1, 86.
456. This is the view of al-Suyūṭī and al-Zanjānī. See: Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 206; Abū 'Abdullāh ibn Mirzā Naṣr al-Dīn al-Zanjānī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Mu'assasah al-a'lamī li al-maṭbū'āt, 1969), 64.
457. Al-Khū'ī, *Al-Bayān*, 274-275.

need any witnesses for its corroboration. Thus this interpretation entails that they did not write down the Qur'ān on the basis of *tawātur* until it was found written with someone. This meant that they left out what was part of the Qur'ān on the basis of *tawātur* but was not found written.

Al-Khū'ī[458] further says that if these narratives are correct and it is possible to argue on their basis that the collected Qur'ān does not contain all the verses, it can similarly be argued that some additions were made in the Qur'ān – something which is against the consensus of the Muslims. It would not be possible to be decided on the basis of the inimitability of the Qur'ān whether a few words have been added; in other words, the inimitability of the Qur'ān cannot judge their authenticity and their authenticity would have to be judged through some other means like two witnesses which were employed.

———————

In my opinion, however, a final opinion about this methodology can only be formed if all these narratives are collated and analyzed. Following is a list of narratives which depict some methodology of collection.

1. Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥāṭib (d. 104 AH)[459]

Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥāṭib said: ' 'Umar made up his mind to collect the Qur'ān; so he stood up among the people and said: "Any person who has any portion of the Qur'ān received from the Messenger of Allah should bring it over to us." They had written this on pages and tablets and bark of palm trees and would not accept anything from a person unless two people testified to it. 'Umar was then assassinated while he was collecting the Qur'ān. And then 'Uthmān stood up among the people and said: "Any person who has any portion of the Qur'ān should bring it over to us." And he would not accept anything from a person unless two people testified to it. So

---

458. Ibid., 276.

459. Abū 'Abdullāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Uthmān ibn Qāyamaz ibn 'Abdullāh al-Dhahabī, *Al-Kāshif fī ma'rifah man lahū riwāyah fī al-kutub al-sittah*, 1ˢᵗ ed., vol. 2 (Jeddah: Dār al-qiblah al-thaqāfah al-islāmiyyah, 1992), 370.

Khuzaymah ibn Thābit came over and said: "I think that you have missed writing down two verses." They asked: "What are they?" He said that I got the following from the Messenger of Allah: لَقَدْ جَاءكَمْ رَسُولٌ مِّنْ أَنفُسِكُمْ عَزِيزٌ عَلَيْه مَا عَنِتُّمْ حَرِيصٌ عَلَيْكُم بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَؤُوفٌ رَّحِيمٌ (٩:١٢٨) (indeed, there has come to you a Messenger from among yourselves; it grieves him that you should be in difficulty; anxious is he over you, gentle to the believers, compassionate, (9:128)) till the end of the *sūrah*. 'Uthmān said: "I bear witness that they are from God and where do you advise us to place them." He said: "Place them at the end of the last revelation of the Qur'ān." So it was placed at the end of Sūrah al-Barā'ah.'[460]

2. 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr (d. 99 AH)[461]

a)

Hishām ibn 'Urwah reports from his father: 'When on that day [of the battle of Yamāmah], many *qurrā'* were killed, Abū Bakr became apprehensive that the Qur'ān might get lost. So he told 'Umar and Zayd: "Sit at the door of the mosque and only write down that portion of the Qur'ān which someone brings to you on the authority of two witnesses."'[462]

b)

Hishām ibn 'Urwah related a narrative on the authority of his father. He said: 'When the Muslims were killed in the battle of Yamāmah, Abū Bakr said to 'Umar and Zayd: "Sit at the entrance of the mosque. Anyone who comes to you with anything from the Qur'ān that you are not aware of but two men bear witness to it – accept it." This was because a large number of the Companions of the Prophet who had memorized the Qur'ān had been killed in Yamāmah.'[463]

3. Al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad

Al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad said: 'Abū Bakr told Zayd: "Sit [here]. He who

---

460. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 17; Ibid., 38-39. See also: 'Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol. 2, 121, (no. 1726); 'Abdullāh ibn Wahb, *Jāmi' al-'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, vol. 3, 28-29.

461. Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *Mashāhīr 'ulamā' al-amṣār* (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1959), 64.

462. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 12. See also: 'Abdullāh ibn Wahb, *Jāmi' al-'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, vol. 3, 27-28. Abū Shāmmah, *Al-Murshid al-wajīz*, 67-68 has recorded:

It is reported in a narrative: 'Abū Bakr told Zayd: "Get up and [go] sit at the door of the mosque and everyone who brings some portion of the Book of God which you are not aware of summon two witnesses on it." Then he asked 'Umar: "Get up and be alongside Zayd." 'Umar said: "We got up [and went over] until we sat at door of the mosque and sent for Ubayy ibn Ka'b. [He came over] and we found with him books similar to the ones we found with all the people."'

463. Al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 2, 243, (no. 4756).

comes to you with two witnesses on a portion of the Qur'ān you do not have in your memory or have not read, accept it.'"[464]

4. Layth ibn Sa'd (94-175 AH)[465]

The text of this narrative has already been stated earlier as recorded by al-Suyūṭī.[466]

5. Khuzaymah ibn Thābit (d. 37 AH)[467]

Khuzaymah ibn Thābit narrated: 'I brought the verse: لَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مِنْ أَنْفُسِكُمْ (٩:١٢٨) (there has come to you a Messenger from among yourselves …, (9:128)) to 'Umar and Zayd. Zayd asked: "Who will testify with you [to its authenticity]?" I said: "By God! I do not know." Thereupon, 'Umar said: "I bear witness with him to [its authenticity].'"[468]

6. 'Ubayd ibn 'Umayr ibn Qatādah al-Laythī (d. 74 AH)[469]

'Ubayd ibn 'Umayr reported: ' 'Umar would not include a verse in the *muṣḥaf* except if two men testified [to its authenticity], A person from the Anṣār came to him with these two verses: لَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مِنْ أَنْفُسِكُمْ عَزِيزٌ عَلَيْه مَا عَنِتُّمْ (٩:١٢٨) (indeed, there has come to you a Messenger from among yourselves; it grieves him that you should be in difficulty, (9:128)) to the end of the *sūrah*. 'Umar said: "I shall not ask you for evidence at all, for the Prophet was indeed like that [for he had regarded your witness to carry double weight].'"[470]

7. Yaḥyā ibn Ja'dah

Yaḥyā ibn Ja'dah said: ' 'Umar would not accept a verse from the Book of God unless two people testified to it. Until when a person from the Anṣār came over with these two verses of Sūrah al-Ṭawbah: لَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مِّنْ أَنْفُسِكُمْ عَزِيزٌ عَلَيْه مَا عَنِتُّمْ حَرِيصٌ عَلَيْكم بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَؤُوفٌ رَّحِيمٌ (٩:١٢٨) (indeed, there has come to you a Messenger from among yourselves; it grieves him that you should be in difficulty; anxious is he over you, gentle to the believers, compassionate, (9:128)). He said: "By God! I will not ask you to provide

---

464. Qāḍī Abū Bakr ibn Ṭayyib al-Bāqilānī, *Nukat al-intiṣār li naql al-Qur'ān* (Alexandria: Munsha'ah al-ma'ārif, n.d.), 319.

465. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr 'ulamā' al-amṣār*, 191.

466. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 206.

467. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 8, 244.

468. Al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 2, 244, (no. 4764).

469. Al-Dhahabī, *Al-Kāshif*, vol. 1, 691.

470. Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, vol. 11, 91. See also: Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Durr al-manthūr*, vol. 4, 332.

evidence on it.""[471]

A simple reading of these narratives shows that they are against the standard account of the collection of the Qur'ān and are also contradictory to one another.[472] So blatant are these contradictions that nothing can be adduced on their basis. However, for the sake of discussion, if these contradictions are disregarded the narratives show that the text of the Qur'ān was finalized with the help of two witnesses for the first time after the death of the Prophet either in the reign of Abū Bakr or 'Umar or 'Uthmān. This is against what the Qur'ān and many narratives say regarding the final arrangement of the Qur'ān, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Some scholars do hold the opinion that the text of the Qur'ān was well-known to Zayd [and to many others] and he could have written it down from his own memory; however, he relied on these two witnesses to be extra careful and cautious in this matter.[473] Some variants of the narrative however stand in stark contradiction to this opinion. Foremost among them are the variants which say that two witness were to be elicited on verses which were not known to Zayd and 'Umar (see the narratives of 'Urwah ibn Zubayr and al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad quoted above). Secondly, the narrative of Layth ibn Sa'd shows that the *rajm* (stoning) verse was not recorded because 'Umar was its sole witness. Thirdly, 'Umar is reported to have said that had these verses been three in number, he

---

471. Ibn Bashkawāl, *Ghawāmiḍ al-asmā' al-mubhamah*, vol. 1, 493.

472. It may also be noted that these narratives are also contradictory with some narratives which depict alternative accounts of the first collection discussed later. Thus for example, as per the narratives of Abū al-'Āliyah the Qur'ān was collected by Ubayy dictating his *muṣḥaf* to scribes and as per the history of al-Ya'qūbī, Abū Bakr deputed seventy five men to write the Qur'ān and to present the written Qur'ān before Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ. For details, see the forthcoming section: 'Contradiction with Other Accounts of First Collection'.

473. See, for example: Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 9, 11; Al-Zurqānī, *Manāhil al-'irfān*, vol. 1, 182.

would have made a separate *sūrah* out of them.[474] Fourthly, a narrative says that only Ubayy knew the last verses of Sūrah al-Tawbah.[475] All these narratives show that the text of the Qur'ān was not well-known and prove wrong the contention that Zayd was only being cautious.

As far as the contradictions are concerned, some of these blatant contradictions are:

i. The standard account does not mention that Abū Bakr had also deputed 'Umar along with Zayd to collect the Qur'ān.[476] Neither does it impose the condition of two witnesses on each verse collected. The standard account in fact stresses that Zayd was alone in the task. The narratives in al-Bukhārī are so explicit in their use of the singular tense, as pointed out by 'Imādī earlier, that this cannot be so.

As regards two witnesses, this condition is contradicted by those versions of the standard account which say that certain verses of Sūrah al-Tawbah were only found with Abū Khuzaymah, whose evidence, in contrast with Khuzaymah, did not have double weightage.[477] Hence they were recorded by the witness of just one person.

ii. The narrative of Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān shows that the incident never took place in the time of Abu Bakr. The collection began in the time of 'Umar and was completed in the time of 'Uthmān. The rest of the narratives show that this collection took place in the time of Abū Bakr.

---

474. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 38. See also: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 199, (no. 1715); Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm*, vol. 2, 406.

475. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 15. See also: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 5, 134, (no. 21264); Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Aḥādīth al-mukhtārah*, vol. 3, 360, (no. 1155); Ibid, vol. 3, 361-362, (no. 1156); Ibn Ḍurays, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 38; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Tafsīr*, vol. 6, 1919, (no. 10172); Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm*, vol. 2, 406.

476. Al-Khū'ī has also referred to this contradiction.

477. Reference is to the versions of the standard account which mention the name of Khuzaymah ibn Thābit, who is regarded to have the weight of two witnesses.

This narrative also shows that it was not known to which *sūrah* the missing verses belonged and they were arbitrarily placed at the last revealed *sūrah* which was Sūrah al-Tawbah. However, a narrative in al-Bukhārī[478] (referred to earlier) says Zayd knew that these verses were part of Sūrah al-Tawbah and he inserted them in their place. In another narrative, 'Umar is reported to have said that had these verses been three in number, he would have made a separate *sūrah* out of them.[479] In another variant, it is Zayd who is reported have said that had these verses been three in number, he would have made a separate *sūrah* out of them.[480]

iii. The second narrative of 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr and the narrative of al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad show that Abū Bakr asked 'Umar and Zayd to call in two witnesses only on verses which were not known to them.[481] In other narratives, Abū Bakr does not impose any such condition and asks 'Umar and Zayd to call in two witnesses on every verse that is brought to them.

iv. The first narrative of 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr shows that Abū Bakr took the initiative in having the Qur'ān collected. He himself asked 'Umar and Zayd to collect the Qur'ān by calling in two witnesses. In the standard account of collection, it was 'Umar who took the initiative and Abū Bakr had to be convinced for this task.

v. Both narratives of 'Urwah and the narrative of Khuzaymah show that Abū Bakr had deputed both 'Umar and Zayd for this task. However, the narrative of Layth ibn Sa'd shows that he had deputed only Zayd. 'Umar had brought over the

---

478. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 6, 2629, (no. 6768).
479. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 38. See also: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 199, (no. 1715); Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm*, vol. 2, 406.
480. Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, vol. 1, 31-33.
481. Can it be conceded that there were verses not known to Zayd and 'Umar, both of whom had memorized the Qur'ān?

stoning verse which was promptly rejected because 'Umar had no other witness besides his own self.

vi. In the narrative of Khuzaymah ibn Thābit, Zayd asks from Khuzaymah if there is another witness along with him to testify to the verses of Sūrah al-Tawbah. This is in spite of the fact that Khuzaymah was considered to possess the weight of two witnesses.

In short, these internal contradictions between the narratives are sufficient to show that nothing can be adduced from them. Besides these contradictions, the chains of narration of these narratives also need a careful analysis.

In the narrative of Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥāṭib, he never met 'Umar since he was born during the caliphate of 'Uthmān. Al-Mizzī[482] (d. 742 AH) quotes the opinions of 'Alī ibn al-Madīnī, Muḥammad ibn Sa'd, Abū Ḥatim al-Rāzī, al-Haytham ibn 'Adī, Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ and 'Amr ibn 'Alī al-Fallās that he died in 104 AH at the age of seventy two. This means that he was born in 32 AH almost ten years after 'Umar's assassination. Al-Mizzī also refers to the opinions of Abū Ḥatim al-Rāzī and Muḥammad ibn Sa'd who say that he was born in the caliphate of 'Uthmān. Ibn Ḥibbān also refers to the fact that he was born in the caliphate of 'Uthmān.[483] The narrative also contains Muḥammad ibn 'Amr ibn 'Alqamah and 'Umar ibn Ṭalḥah al-Laythī.

About the former, Ibn Ḥajar says *ṣadūqun lahū awhām*.[484] Ibn Ḥibbān[485] says that he would generally err (*wa kāna yukhṭī*). Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb al-Sa'dī al-Juzjānī says: *laysa bi qawī al-ḥadīth* and his narratives are liked (*wa yushtahā*

---

482. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 31, 437.

483. Abū Ḥatim Muḥammad ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *Al-Thiqāt*, vol. 5 (n.p.: Dār al-fikr, 1975), 523; Ibn Ḥibbān *Mashāhīr 'ulamā' al-amṣār*, 85.

484. Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 499.

485. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Al-Thiqāt*, vol. 7, 377.

ḥadīthuhū). Abū Ḥātim says about him: *ṣāliḥ al-ḥadīth yuktabu ḥadīthuhū.*[486]

Regarding 'Umar ibn Ṭalḥah al-Laythī, Abū Zur'ah says that he is *laysa bi qawī.*[487] According to Ibn Ḥajar, he is *layyin.*[488] Abū Ḥātim says about him: *maḥalluhū al-ṣidq.*[489]

Regarding the narratives of 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr, it is worth noting that Ibn Ḥajar and al-Suyūṭī comment[490] on this narrative in the words: *rijāluhū thiqāt ma'a inqiṭā'ihī* (the chain of this narrative is *munqaṭi'* (broken) although its narrators are trustworthy). Ibn Kathīr[491] after quoting it says, it is *munqaṭi' ḥasan.* 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr never met Abū Bakr as he was born around 23 AH[492] and the latter died in 13 AH. Moreover, it contains 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī al-Zinād. Here is some of the *jarḥ* al-Mizzī[493] records about him:

Ṣāliḥ ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal says that in the opinion of his father he is *muḍṭarib al-ḥadīth.* Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn says that he is *laysa bi shay'* and not from among those whom the companions of Ḥadīth adduce from (*laysa min man yuḥtajju bihī aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*). 'Alī ibn al-Madīnī regards him to be *ḍa'īf.* Al-Nasā'ī's opinion about him is *lā yuḥtajju bi ḥadīthihī.* 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Mahdī would strike off his narratives and at another place it is recorded that he had abandoned him (*tarakahu*).

The narratives of Layth ibn Sa'd, al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad and Khuzaymah have no chain of narration.

The narrative of 'Ubayd ibn 'Umayr has Sufyān ibn Wakī' who is suspect. Al-

---

486. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 26, 216-217.

487. Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Al-Jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl*, vol. 6, 117.

488. Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vol. 7 (Beirut: Mu'assasah al-a'lamī li al-maṭbū'āt, 1986), 319.

489. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 21, 403.

490. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 9, 11; Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 205.

491. Ibn Kathīr, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 35.

492. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 7, 165. This is the opinion of Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ. Others give his year of birth to be even after 23 AH.

493. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 17, 98-99.

Dhahabī records that he is *ḍaʿīf*.[494] Al-Nasāʾī says that he is *laysa bi shayʾ*.[495] Abū Zurʿah al-Rāzī is reported to have said that there are three people towards whom they have no inclination and he mentioned Sufyān amongst them.[496] Ibn Ḥajar records that though he is regarded to be *ṣadūq*, he was misled by his scribe who made insertions [in his collection]. Even after being told of this, Sufyān did not pay heed and consequently his narratives were no longer held acceptable.[497]

Moreover, there exists the *ʿanʿanah* of Sufyān ibn ʿUyaynah who is famous for *tadlīs*.[498]

The narrative by Yaḥyā ibn Jaʿdah is broken because as specified by some authorities he did not even meet ʿAbdullāh ibn Masʿūd who died in 36 AH.[499]

3. Contradiction with Other Accounts of First Collection

History also records other accounts of the first collection[500] which are conflicting with the standard version recorded in the six canonical books of Ḥadīth.

They can be classified into the following categories:

i. Narratives which depict Abū Bakr as the first Collector of the Qurʾān but

---

494. Al-Dhahabī, *Al-Kāshif*, vol. 1, 449.

495. Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, *Al-Ḍuʿafāʾ wa al-matrūkīn* (Ḥalab: Dār al-waʿy, 1396 AH), 55.

496. ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAdī ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn Muḥammad, *Al-Kāmil fī al-ḍuʿafāʾ*, 3rd ed., vol. 3 (Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 1998), 417.

497. Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 245.

498. Ibn Ḥajar, *Ṭabaqāt al-mudallisīn*, 32.

499. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 11, 169.

500. Most of these accounts are found in narratives which are *munqaṭiʿ* or have some other flaws. On first sight, it would appear unjust to point out contradictions between their content and that of the standard account since the latter, according to scholars of Ḥadīth, has a sound *isnād*. However, in the foregoing pages and in the forthcoming ones, the standard account narrative has been shown to have serious flaws in both its content and its *isnād*. Therefore, I have placed it at par with other weak narratives in pointing out the contradictions.

Al-Khūʾī has also pointed out contradictions between narratives of collection. See: Al-Khūʾī, *Al-Bayān*, 258-268. However, his critique suffers from a basic flaw. The collections made by Abū Bakr and ʿUthmān are placed at same point of time in history. It may thus be noted that as per his enumeration, narratives 1, 3-5, 9-13 and 22 relate to the collection of Abū Bakr, 6-8 relate to the collection of ʿUmar and 2, 14-21 relate to the collection of ʿUthmān.

contradict the Standard Version.

ii. Narratives which depict 'Umar as the first Collector of the Qur'ān.

iii. A Narrative which depicts 'Uthmān as the first Collector of the Qur'ān.

iv. A Narrative which depicts Sālim as the first Collector of the Qur'ān.

Each of the above shall now be examined in detail:

a) Narratives which depict Abū Bakr as the first Collector of the Qur'ān but contradict the Standard Version

(1) 'Umar ibn al-Kḥaṭṭāb (d. 23 AH)[501]

It is reported from 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb: 'In the battle of Yamāmah, some people who used to recite a great portion of the Qur'ān which others never knew were killed. So whatever Qur'ān was with them, was lost.'[502]

(2) Zayd ibn Thābit (d. 45 AH / 48 AH / 51 AH / 55 AH)[503]

(a) Variant I

Zayd reported: 'When Muḥammad's Companions were killed in [the battle of] Yamāmah, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb came over to Abū Bakr and said: "On the day of Yamāmah people succumbed in the battle the way moths succumb to fire and I fear that wherever there is going to be a battle they would do the same until they would be killed; and since they are the memorizers of the Qur'ān, the Qur'ān would get lost and forgotten; I wish you could have it collected and written down." Abū Bakr did not like this suggestion and said: "Should I do something which the Messenger of God never did." This issue was repeatedly discussed between the two.' [Khārijah said:] Then Abū Bakr sent for Zayd. Zayd said: 'I came over and found 'Umar disconsolate. Abū Bakr then said: "This person ['Umar] has given me a suggestion in a matter and I have refused to accept it. You are among the scribes of revelation. If you agree with him, I shall follow both of you and if you agree with me I shall then not have this task done."' Zayd said: 'Then Abū Bakr narrated the concerns of 'Umar regarding this matter while the latter remained silent; and I also did not approve of this task and said: "Should we do something which the Messenger of God never did." This discussion went on until 'Umar made

---

501. Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 412.
502. Al-Bāqilānī, *Al-Intiṣār li al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1, 399.
503. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 10, 31.

this remark: "What will burden you if you two [agree to this task and] accomplish it?" We started to deliberate on this; then said: "By God! We will not be burdened in this matter in any way."' Zayd said: 'Abū Bakr ordered me to carry out this task and I wrote down the Qur'ān on pieces of leather, shoulder blades and bark of palm trees. When Abū Bakr died and 'Umar became the caliph, he had the Qur'ān written in a *ṣaḥīfah* which remained with him. When he died, the *ṣaḥīfah* remained with Ḥafṣah, wife of the Prophet. Then Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān came over from a battle he had fought on the front of Armenia. He did not go to his house but went straight to 'Uthmān and said to him: "O Leader of the Faithful! Get hold of the people." 'Uthmān said: "What for?" He replied: "I have fought on the front of Armenia. The people of Syria and 'Irāq were present there. Those of the people of Syria were reading the Qur'ān on the recital [*qirā'at*] of Ubayy ibn Ka'b and were reading in a manner which the people of 'Irāq never heard of and they started to call the people of Syria as disbelievers and the people of 'Irāq were reading the Qur'ān on the recital [*qirā'at*] of Ibn Mas'ūd and were reading in a manner which the people of Syria never heard of and they started to call the people of 'Irāq as disbelievers."' Zayd said: ' 'Uthmān ordered me to write a *muṣḥaf* for him and said: "I will depute another person to you [for this task]; he is very intelligent and knows the classical language. Write down on whatever you two agree and if you differ on anything refer it to me." 'Uthmān then deputed Abān ibn Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ.' Zayd said: 'When we reached the verse (٢٤٨ :٢) إِنَّ آيَةَ مُلْكِهِ أَن يَأْتِيَكُمُ التَّابُوتُ I said: "It should be written as التَّابُوهُ but Abān insisted that it should be written as التَّابُوتُ. We took this matter to 'Uthmān [who decided in favour of the latter and it was] written down thus."' Zayd said: 'When I finished, I examined what I had written and found that it did not contain the following verse: مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ رِجَالٌ صَدَقُوا مَا till the words عَاهَدُوا اللَّهَ عَلَيْهِ (٢٣ :٣٣) وَ مَا بَدَّلُوا تَبْدِيْلًا. Then I discussed this with the Muhājirūn asking them about it and did not find it with any of them and then discussed this with the Anṣār asking them about it and did not find it with anyone except Khuzaymah ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī. So I wrote them down. Then I examined the written down *muṣḥaf* a second time and now I could not find these two verses:

لَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مِّنْ أَنفُسِكُمْ عَزِيزٌ عَلَيْهِ مَا عَنِتُّمْ حَرِيصٌ عَلَيْكُمْ (١٢٨ :٩) till the end of the *sūrah*. Then I discussed this with the Muhājirūn and did not find it with any of them and then discussed this with the Anṣār asking them about it and did not find it with any of them except with another person who was also called Khuzaymah. So I wrote it down at the end of Sūrah al-Barā'ah. Had there been three verses, I would have made them a separate *sūrah*. Then I examined the *maṣāḥif* a third time and this time I found nothing missing. Then 'Uthmān sent a message to Ḥafṣah asking her to give him the *ṣaḥīfah* and swore that he would return it to her. She gave him the *ṣaḥīfah*. He then compared the *ṣaḥīfah* with the *muṣḥaf* and found them to be in complete agreement. Then he returned it to her and this made him very happy. He then ordered [certain] people to write out [more] *maṣāḥif*. When Ḥafṣah passed away, Abdullāh ibn 'Umar was vehemently asked to hand over the *muṣḥaf*.

He complied and then it was washed.'[504]

(b) Variant II

Zayd reported: ' 'Umar came to Abū Bakr and said: "O Successor of the Messenger of God! On the day of Yamāmah people were competing with one another to take lead in being martyred [in the way of God] and succumbed in the battle the way moths succumb to fire and I fear that the Qur'ān might be lost and this will occur by the death of its memorizers and my opinion is that you have it collected in one *ṣaḥīfah*." At this, Abū Bakr said: "Should I do something which the Messenger of God never did and should I fear something which he never feared?" This discussion went on among the two until 'Umar sat [in a corner] disconnected. He was disconsolate and sad. Abū Bakr sent for me. I came and sat down before him. He said motioning towards 'Umar who was almost in tears: "This person wants me to collect the Qur'ān; I have refused telling him that should I do something which the Messenger of God never did; if you agree with me, I will not follow 'Umar's advice and if you wish to follow 'Umar I will follow you. What do you say O! 'Umar." 'Umar replied: "I think that you should collect it because your intention is good in this endeavour and I fear that if Muslims encounter these circumstances, its memorizers will vanish and the Qur'ān's vanishing will be through the vanishing of its memorizers." Abū Bakr said: "What is your opinion Zayd?"' [Zayd said:] 'I am of the same opinion as yours but I have seen 'Umar say: "Your intention in this endeavour is good." Abū Bakr said: "If I follow 'Umar's advice, you have been writing down revelations and you are a trusted person of the Messenger of God and a trustworthy person among us so I ask you to write it down; I will also depute another person with you Abān ibn Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ al-Umawī al-Akbar. He is from the Quraysh having a fine linguistic taste. (A narrator said: I think he said: He has the finest linguistic taste among the Quraysh.) And the Qur'ān has been revealed in the dialect of the Quraysh and begin [now with this task] with the blessing of God. If you both encounter any difficulty bring it to me so that I can be with you [in solving it]."' [Zayd said:] 'Then I sent for all those who had some portion of the Qur'ān with them and I then collected it. And thus 'Umar had the greatest role in having the Qur'ān collected and no one can rival him in this matter. Previously, the Qur'ān was [written] on shoulder blades, barks of palm trees, tablets and pieces of leather. We wrote out the Qur'ān and we did not differ in writing it down except in one case:(٢٤٨ :٢) أَنْ يَأْتِيَكُمُ التَّابُوهُ فِيهِ سَكِينَةٌ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ The dialect of the Quraysh was التَّابُوتُ and that of the Anṣār التَّابُوهُ. Abān ibn Sa'īd remarked: "The words written should be أَنْ يَأْتِيَكُمُ التَّابُوتُ".'' [Zayd said:] 'We took this matter to Abū Bakr and informed him of the differing opinions.

---

504. Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, vol. 1, 31-33. See also: Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Faṣl li al-waṣl al-mudraj*, vol. 1, 396-399; Abū al-'Abbās Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al-Mustaghfirī, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2006), 351-352, (no. 409). A partial version of this narrative also exists in *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār* and *Al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*. See: 'Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madinah*, vol. 2, 122, (no. 1729); Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, vol. 8, 128-129; Al-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Mu'jam al-kabīr,* vol. 5, 130, (nos. 4843-4844).

He opined: "Adopt the word التَّابُوْتُ by the grace of God." We wrote it down and collected the Qur'ān in a single *ṣaḥīfah*. I examined the *ṣaḥīfah* and found that the following verse was not present: (٣٣ : ٢٣) مَا صَدَقُوا رِجَال مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنينَ عَاهَدُوا اللَّهَ عَلَيْهِ. I asked the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār about it and did not find it with anyone although I knew it very well and the Messenger of God had dictated it to me; I disliked writing it down unless I had another witness to it. I found it with Khuzaymah ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī whose witness was regarded by the Messenger of God to carry twice the weight of a man's witness. So I wrote it down. Then I examined the written *ṣaḥīfah* for a second time and this time I found that I had left out two verses:

لَقَدْ جَاءكُمْ رَسُولٌ مِّنْ أَنفُسِكُمْ عَزِيزٌ عَلَيْهِ مَا عَنِتُّمْ حَرِيصٌ عَلَيْكُم بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَؤُوفٌ رَّحِيمٌ فان تولَّوا فقل حسبي الله لا إله إلاّ هو عليه توكّلت وهو ربّ العرش العظيم (٩ : ١٢٨–١٢٩)

Then again I asked the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār about it and did not find it with anyone except Khuzaymah ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī whose witness was twice as per the sanction of the Prophet; so I wrote them down at the end of Sūrah al-Barā'ah. The situation remained like this in the time of Abū Bakr and then also in the time of 'Umar. Then the people of Syria and 'Irāq met with one another and started to declare one another as disbelievers. Then Hudhayfah ibn al-Yamān came over to Madīnah and came to 'Uthmān before going to his house and said: "O Ruler of the Believers! Get hold of the people lest they differ with one another the way the Israelites did." 'Uthmān inquired: "How is this the case?" Hudhayfah replied: "The people of Syria and 'Irāq have met in the land of Armenia and one of them is reading the Qur'ān on one recital and the other on another and are declaring one another to be disbelievers." [Zayd said:] 'Uthmān sent for me and said: "I want to gather people on one *muṣḥaf*." I said: "You have formed a wonderful opinion, O Leader of the Believers!" 'Uthmān then sent for all those among the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār who had any portion of the Qur'ān with them and collected all of it and consigned it to me and I wrote it down in a *muṣḥaf*. He then sent for Ḥafṣah to hand over the material. She replied: "I fear that you will not return it." 'Uthmān swore that he would return it. He took the *muṣḥaf* [thus prepared] before the people and had all others burnt.'[505]

(3) Sālim ibn 'Abdullāh (d. 106 AH)[506] and Khārijah ibn Zayd (d. 99 AH)[507]

Sālim and Khārijah reported that Abū Bakr collected the Qur'ān on pages and he had sought the help of Zayd ibn Thābit to have a look at it. Zayd refused until Abū Bakr asked for 'Umar [to convince Zayd, who then agreed] so he complied. These pages remained with Abū Bakr till his death and then with 'Umar till his death and then with Ḥafṣah, wife of the Prophet. 'Uthmān asked her to send these pages to him but she said that she will not give them to him until he promised her their return. She then sent them to him and 'Uthmān copied them into these *maṣāḥif* and then returned them to her. They remained with her till her death and then Marwān sent for them and took hold

505. Arthur Jeffery, ed., *Muqaddimatān*, 20-22.
506. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr 'ulamā' al-amṣār*, 65.
507. Ibid., 64.

of them and burnt them.[508]

(4) Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 123/124/125 AH)[509]

(a) Variant I

Ibn Shihāb said: 'This report has reached us that a great portion of the Qur'ān revealed was known only to memorizers who had been killed on the day [of the battle of] Yamāmah and what they had of the Qur'ān in their memories was neither known after them nor written. When Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān collected the Qur'ān and it was not found with anyone after them – and this is among those things which have reached us which show what motivated them to find the verses of the Qur'ān – they collected it in *ṣuḥuf* in the time of the caliphate of Abū Bakr fearing that many Muslims might similarly be killed in other battles and it would not be found with anyone after them, the Almighty blessed 'Uthmān [with the urge that] he copied those *ṣuḥuf* into *maṣāḥif* and he sent them in the various territories of the Muslims and spread them among the Muslims.'[510]

(b) Variant II

Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah reported from Ibn Shihāb: 'When a lot of Muslims were killed at [the battle of] Yamāmah, Abū Bakr had fears about the Qur'ān that a part of it may be lost and it was [at that time written on] the bark of palm trees and parchment, [so he sent for people to come over with the portions of the Qur'ān they had with them] and people came over with whatever they had with them until Abū Bakr collected the Qur'ān. People wrote it on pages and collected it in it. Abū Bakr then said: "Find a suitable name for this." Some of them suggested the name *sifr* and some said that the Abyssinians call it *muṣḥaf*.' Ibn Shihāb says: 'Abū Bakr was the first to collect the Qur'ān in a *muṣḥaf*.'[511]

(c) Variant III

Sulaymān ibn Arqam narrated from al-Ḥasan, Ibn Sīrīn, and Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī. They said: 'When the death toll among the reciters rose in the battle of Yamāmah – four hundred of them fell on that day – Zayd ibn Thābit met 'Umar and said to him: "This Qur'ān is what unites our religion; if the Qur'ān goes, so goes our religion. Hence, I have resolved to collect the Qur'ān in a book." 'Umar said to him: "Wait until I ask Abū Bakr." Thus, they both went

---

508. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 15-16. See also: 'Abdullāh ibn Wahb, *Jāmi' 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, vol. 3, 31; Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, vol. 5, 304-305.

509. Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 506.

510. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 31.

511. Abū Shāmmah, *Al-Murshid al-wajīz*, 68. This narrative has also been quoted in partial in Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah's *al-Maghāzī*. See: Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 207-208.

to see Abū Bakr and informed him about the situation. He said: "Do not be in haste until I consult the Muslims." Then he delivered a sermon to the Muslims informing them about the grave situation [caused by the Yamāmah slaughter]. They said: "You are right." So they collected the Qur'ān. Abū Bakr ordered a person to call out among the people and ask them to bring over any part of the Qur'ān that they might have. Ḥafṣah said: "When you reach this verse: حَافِظُوا عَلَى الصَّلَوات وَالصَّلَاة الوُسْطَى (٢: ٢٣٨), let me know." When they reached this verse, she said write [these additional words]: " وَالصَّلَاة الوُسْطَى وَهِيَ صَلَاة الْعَصْرِ." At this 'Umar said: "Do you have a proof for this." She replied: "No." He responded: "By God! Nothing shall be inserted in the Qur'ān which a lady testifies to without any proof." 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd said: "Write: وَالعَصْرِ إِنَّ الإِنْسَانَ لَفِي خُسْرٍ وَإِنَّهُ فِيهِ إِلَى آخِر الدَّهْرِ." 'Umar said: "Take away from us this Bedouin dialect."[512]

(5) 'Abbād ibn 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr (d. around 90 AH)[513]

'Abbād ibn 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr said: 'Al-Ḥārith ibn Khuzaymah brought the following two verses of Sūrah al-Barā'ah to 'Umar: لَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مِّنْ أَنفُسِكُمْ عَزِيزٌ عَلَيْهِ مَا عَنِتُّمْ حَرِيصٌ عَلَيْكُم بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَؤُوفٌ رَّحِيمٌ (٩: ١٢٨) (indeed, there has come to you a Messenger from among yourselves; it grieves him that you should be in difficulty; anxious is he over you, gentle to the believers, compassionate (9:128)) till the end of the *sūrah*. 'Umar said: "Is there anyone else with you [who can testify to the verses]?" He replied: "I don't know. But by God! I heard these verses from the Messenger of God and memorized them." 'Umar said: "And I testify that I also heard them from the Messenger of God." Then he said: "If the verses were three in number, I would have made them a separate *sūrah*. Look for a *sūrah* of the Qur'ān and append these verses to it." So I placed them at the end of Sūrah al-Barā'ah.'[514]

(6) Abū al-'Āliyah, Rufay' ibn Mihrān (d. 90 AH)[515]

(a) Variant I

Abū al-'Āliyah said: 'They collected the Qur'ān from the *muṣḥaf* of Ubayy. The [procedure adopted was that] many people would write and Ubayy ibn Ka'b would dictate to them. When they reached the following verse of Sūrah al-Barā'ah: ثُمَّ انصَرَفُوا صَرَفَ اللَّهُ قُلُوبَهُم بِأَنَّهُمْ قَوْمٌ لاَ يَفْقَهُونَ (٩: ١٢٧) (then they turned away so God turned away their hearts because they are a people who are

---

512. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Durr al-manthūr*, vol. 1, 722-723; Al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 2, 243-244, (no. 4762).

513. Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi al-wafayāt*, vol. 16, 350.

514. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 38. See also: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 199, (no. 1715); Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm*, vol. 2, 406. In the variant recorded in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad, the name of the person is al-Ḥarth ibn Khazmah instead of al-Ḥārith ibn Khuzaymah.

515. Al-Dhahabī, *Al-Kāshif*, vol. 1, 397.

devoid of understanding, (9:127)) they thought that it was the last verse revealed. Ubayy informed them: "The Prophet had recited out to me two more verses after these:

لَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مِّنْ أَنفُسِكُمْ عَزِيزٌ عَلَيْهِ مَا عَنِتُّمْ حَرِيصٌ عَلَيْكُم بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَؤُوفٌ رَّحِيمٌ فَأَنْ تَوَلَّوْا فقل حسبي الله لا إله إلاّ هو عليه توكّلت وهو ربّ العرش العظيم (٩: ١٢٨–١٢٩)"

He said that these are the last verses of the Qur'ān and thus the matter of revelation was closed with which it began[516] as per the words of the Almighty: (and never (٢١: ٢٥) وما أرسلنا من قَبلك من رسول إلاّ نوحي إليه أنّه لا إله إلاّ أنا فاعبُدون did We send a Messenger before you except that We revealed to him saying: there is no god but I; so worship Me, (21:25))."'[517]

(b) Variant II

Abū al-'Āliyah reports from Ubayy: 'They collected the Qur'ān in a *muṣḥaf* in the caliphate of Abū Bakr. The [procedure adopted was that] many people would write and Ubayy ibn Ka'b would dictate to them. When they reached the following verse of Sūrah al-Barā'ah: (١٢٧ :٩) ثمّ انصَرَفوا صَرَفَ الله قلوبُهم بأنّهم قَومٌ لا يَفْقَهُوْن (then they turned away so God turned away their hearts because they are a people who are devoid of understanding, (9:127)), they thought that it was the last verse revealed. Ubayy informed them: "The Prophet had recited out to me two more verses after these:

لَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مِّنْ أَنفُسِكُمْ عَزِيزٌ عَلَيْهِ مَا عَنِتُّمْ حَرِيصٌ عَلَيْكُم بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَؤُوفٌ رَّحِيمٌ فان تَوَلَّوْا فقل حسبي الله لا إله إلاّ هو عليه توكّلت وهو ربّ العرش العظيم (٩: ١٢٨–١٢٩)

He said that these were the last verses of the Qur'ān and thus the matter of revelation was closed with which it began as per the words of the Almighty: وما (and never did (٢١: ٢٥) أرسلنا من قَبلك من رسول إلاّ نوحي إليه أنّه لا إله إلاّ أنا فاعبُدون. We send a Messenger before you except that We revealed to him saying: there is no god but I; so worship Me (21:25))."'[518]

(7) Al-Ya'qūbī (d. 292 AH)

'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said to Abū Bakr: 'O Successor of the Messenger of Allah! Many memorizers of the Qur'ān have been killed in [the battle of] Yamāmah. I wish you could collect the Qur'ān because I fear that its memorizers would vanish.' At this, Abū Bakr replied: 'Should I do something which the Messenger of God never did.' 'Umar kept on pressing

---

516. According to Abū Shāmmah, this refers to the fact that the revelation of the Qur'ān began with words that express the oneness of the Almighty and here it ends with it too. See: Abū Shāmmah, *Al-Murshid al-wajīz*, 64.

517. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 15. See also: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 5, 134, (no. 21264); Al-Maqdisī, *Al-Aḥādīth al-mukhtārah*, vol. 3, 360, (no. 1155); Ibid, vol. 3, 361-362, (no. 1156); Ibn Ḍurays, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 38; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Tafsīr*, vol. 6, 1919, (no. 10172); Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm*, vol. 2, 406.

518. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 38.

him until he collected it and wrote it down in a *ṣuḥuf*; till then it was written in various pieces of stem-stalk and other things. And Abū Bakr gathered twenty five people from the Quraysh and fifty from the Anṣār and said: 'Write down the Qur'ān and present it before Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ for he is a man of refined linguistic taste.'[519]

Even a cursory glance at all these narratives shows that they are contradictory to one another as well as with the standard version of the collection of the Qur'ān mentioned in al-Bukhārī.

Some obvious points of contradiction between these narratives are:

i. The narrative recorded by al-Ya'qūbī shows that seventy five scribes wrote out the Qur'ān as opposed to what most other narratives say that it was Zayd who wrote out the Qur'ān. This narrative also shows that the written Qur'ān was to be presented before Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ for checking. On the other hand, Zayd ibn Thābit's narrative recorded in the *Muqaddimah kitāb al-mabānī* shows that Abān ibn Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ was deputed by Abū Bakr as a companion to Zayd in this task, while Zayd ibn Thābit's narrative recorded in al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr* shows that Abān ibn Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ was deputed by 'Uthmān as a companion to Zayd in this task. On the other hand, the narratives attributed to Abū al-'Āliyah show that Ubayy dictated the Qur'an while a group of people wrote it down while the narrative attributed to 'Ubaydullāh ibn 'Abdullāh ibn 'Utbah (text cited later) shows that the scribe who wrote out the Qur'ān was 'Uthmān.

ii. The narratives of Zayd ibn Thābit recorded in the *Tafsīr* of al-Ṭabarī and the *Muqaddimah kitāb al-mabānī* have the same chain of narration as far as the first four persons are concerned. It is after 'Umārah ibn Ghaziyyah that these chains diverge. However, both contradict one another completely as well as other narratives. Some stark contradictions are:

---

519. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, 135.

a. Zayd's version recorded by al-Ṭabarī shows that the Qur'ān was in the memories of people only at the time of the Prophet's death while the version in the *Muqaddimah kitāb al-mabānī* shows that it was written on various fragments at his death.

b. Zayd's version recorded by al-Ṭabarī shows that the Qur'ān was written on pieces of parchment, bone tablets and leaf-stalks in the time of Abū Bakr and it was later in the time of 'Umar that a complete copy was made. On the other hand, Zayd's version in the *Muqaddimah kitāb al-mabānī* while agreeing with the standard account says that it was written in the form of a *ṣaḥīfah* in the time of Abū Bakr.

c. Zayd's version recorded by al-Ṭabarī shows that the two sets of missing verses (those of Sūrah al-Tawbah and Sūrah al-Aḥzāb) were found in the time of 'Uthmān, while Zayd's version in the *Muqaddimah kitāb al-mabānī* says that these were found in the time of Abū Bakr.

d. Zayd's version recorded by al-Ṭabarī shows that 'Uthmān had the decisive word regarding the orthography of the word التَّابُوت whereas Zayd's version in the *Muqaddimah kitāb al-mabānī* shows that it was Abū Bakr in his times who had the decisive word.

e. According to the standard version, the missing verses found in the time of Abū Bakr were those of Sūrah al-Tawbah and in the time of 'Uthmān a verse of Sūrah al-Aḥzāb was missing. However, both these versions of Zayd tell a different story.

f. Both versions mention the role of Abān ibn Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ in the collection. According to Zayd's version in the *Tafsīr* of al-Ṭabarī, he was deputed by 'Uthmān together with Zayd for the task. This not only contradicts the standard

version, according to which there was a committee of four which contained Abān's nephew Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ, it is also historically incorrect. As pointed out by Abū Shāmmah,[520] this cannot be true since Abān had already been killed in 13 AH in Syria.[521]

According to Zayd's version in the *Muqaddimah kitāb al-mabānī*, Abān was deputed by Abū Bakr together with Zayd for the collection. This not only contradicts Zayd's version in the *Tafsīr* of al-Ṭabarī, it also contradicts the standard version of the collection of Abū Bakr according to which Zayd was alone in the task.

g. It is evident from the version of Zayd recorded by al-Ṭabarī, that the two sets of verses were found with two different people though both had the same name Khuzaymah; on the other hand, his version recorded in the *Muqaddimah kitāb al-mabānī* shows that both sets of verses were found with the same person: Khuzaymah ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī.

h. The version of Zayd recorded by al-Ṭabarī and the one recorded in the *Muqaddimah kitāb al-mabānī* both say that both sets of missing verses were found at the same time, the former saying that they were found in the time of 'Uthmān and the latter saying that they were found in the time of Abū Bakr.

It is perhaps because of these contradictions that Ibn Ḥajar[522] has criticized this narrative on the grounds that it is against other sound narratives and that al-Khaṭīb in his *Mudraj* has said that 'Umārah ibn Ghaziyyah has inserted one chain of narration into another and that Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'īl ibn Mujamma' has inserted the incident of the missing verses in the time of 'Uthmān in the narrative from

---

520. Abū Shāmmah, *Al-Murshid al-wajīz*, 69-70.
521. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Al-Thiqāt*, vol. 3, 13.
522. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 9, 8-9, 12-13.

Ubayd ibn al-Sabbāq which mentions the collection in the time of Abū Bakr.

iii. The narrative from Sālim and Khārijah recorded by Ibn Abī Dā'ūd is a new version of the whole collection which is completely different from all others in the respect that it shows that the collection was undertaken by Abū Bakr alone. He wanted to have it checked by Zayd. He refused but later did so when upon Abū Bakr's request 'Umar asked him to do so.

iv. The first Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī narrative recorded in Ibn Abī Dā'ūd says that many verses of the Qur'ān were lost and were never recorded when Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān went about collecting the Qur'ān. This of course contradicts other narratives.

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī's narrative recorded by Abū Shāmmah and al-Suyūṭī shows that it was at Abū Bakr's initiative that the Qur'ān was collected. 'Umar and Zayd had no role in it.

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī's narrative recorded by Ibn al-Anbārī and (referred to by al-Muttaqī) shows that it was Zayd who took the initiative in having the Qur'an collected. This is in contradiction with the standard accounts which show that it was 'Umar who took the initiative and Zayd had to be convinced to undertake this task.

v. The narrative of 'Abbād ibn 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr recorded by Ibn Abī Dā'ūd shows that the missing verses were found with Ḥārith ibn Khuzaymah which contradicts the standard version that mentions the name of Khuzaymah or Abū Khuzaymah.

This narrative also shows that the missing verses were not part of any *sūrah* because 'Umar opined that if they were three, he would have made a separate *sūrah* out of them.

Following is an analysis of the *isnāds* of these narratives:

i. According to al-Bāqilānī, the narrative attributed to 'Umar is found in al-Bukhārī's book *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān* in the Chapter '*jam' al-Qur'ān*' having the no: 415. It may be noted that the extant versions of *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī do not contain this narrative neither at the place cited nor at any other. Needless to say that in the form it is cited by al-Bāqilānī, it has no chain of narration.

ii. The narrative of Zayd ibn Thābit recorded in the *Tafsīr* of al-Ṭabarī can be represented thus:

Zayd ibn Thābit

↓

Khārijah ibn Zayd ibn Thābit

↓

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī

↓

'Umārah ibn Ghaziyyah

↓

'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad al-Darāwardī

↓

Aḥmad ibn 'Abdah al-Ḍabbī

↓

al-Ṭabarī

↓

●
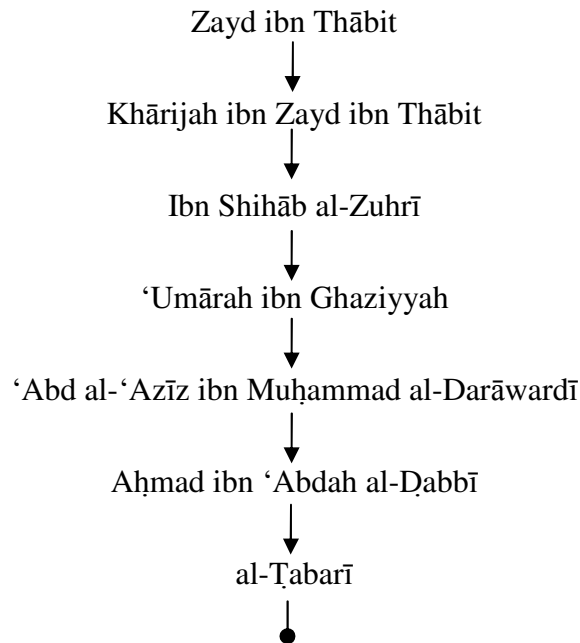
In the opinion of Ibn Sa'd,[523] 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad al-Darāwardī would make mistakes (*yaghliṭu*). According to Abū Zur'ah he has a bad memory and sometimes when he would narrate something from his memory, he would err (*sayy' al-ḥifz fa rubbamā ḥaddatha min ḥifzihī al-shay' fa yukhṭī*).[524]

Al-Mizzī[525] records that when Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal was asked about al-Darāwardī, he said that when he narrates from his book he is correct in his narration and when he narrates from the books of people, he errs and he would read from their books

---

523. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 5, 424.
524. Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Al-Jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl*, vol. 5, 395.
525. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 18, 193-194.

and make errors. Al-Mizzī goes on to record that as per one opinion attributed to

al-Nasā'ī, he is *laysa bi al-qawī* and another opinion attributed to him is that there

is no problem in him (*laysa bihī ba's*). Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn, on the other hand, regards

him to be very trustworthy (*thiqatuṇ ḥujjatuṇ*).[526]

iii. The narrative of Zayd ibn Thābit recorded in the *Muqaddimah kitāb al-*

mabānī can be illustrated thus:

Zayd ibn Thābit

↓

Khārijah ibn Zayd ibn Thābit

↓

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī

↓

'Umārah ibn Ghaziyyah

↓

Khārijah ibn Muṣ'ab

↓

'Ubayd ibn 'Uqayl

↓

Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Qaṭ'ī

↓

Yūsuf ibn Mūsā

↓

Abū Sahl al-Anmārī

↓

(*Muqaddimah kitāb al-mabānī*)

↓

●

Khārijah ibn Muṣ'ab is regarded very weak by authorities. Following is some

of the *jarḥ* that al-Mizzī has recorded about him:[527]

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal says about him: *lā yuktabu ḥadīthuhū* and 'Abdullāh ibn

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal says that his father had stopped him from writing any

---

526. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 6, 315.
527. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 8, 18-21.

narrative from him.

Authorities have reported the opinions of Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn on him as: *laysa bi shay'*, *laysa bi thiqah*, *kadhdhāb*, *ḍa'īf*.

Al-Bukhārī says that Ibn Mubārak and Wakī' have abandoned him (*tarakahū*).

Al-Nasā'ī says that he is *ḍa'īf*, *laysa bi thiqah* and *matrūk al-ḥadīth*.

Ibn Sa'd said that people abstained from his narratives and thus they have abandoned him (*tarakūhu*).

Abū Ḥātim says that he is *muḍṭarib al-ḥadīth laysa bi qawī yuktabu ḥadīthuhū wa lā yuḥtajju bihī*.

Ibn Khirāsh and al-Ḥākim say that he is *matrūk al-ḥadīth.*

Al-Dāraquṭanī regards him to be *ḍa'īf.*

Authorities have attributed *tadlīs* to him. Ibn Ḥajar[528] says that he does *tadlīs* from liars. (The narrative under consideration has his *'an'anah*).

Moreover, in both these chains in which Khārijah ibn Zayd reports from his father Zayd, the question of the former's age also assumes importance. As far as Zayd ibn Thābit is concerned, there is a discrepancy in the year of his death. Ibn Ḥajar has recorded the following dates: 42, 43, 45, 51, 52 and 55 AH and said that according to most authorities it is 45 AH.[529] Al-Dhahabī[530] has said that in the opinion of al-Wāqidī, Yaḥyā ibn Bukayr, Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ and Ibn Numayr it is 45 AH. If it is true that Zayd ibn Thābit died in 45 AH, then Khārijah was either 15 or 16 years at the time of his father's death.

iv. The narrative from Sālim ibn 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar and Khārijah ibn Zayd is *munqaṭi'* because both never heard from Abū Bakr.

---

528. Ibn Ḥajar, *Ṭabaqāt al-mudallisīn*, 54; Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 186.
529. Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 2, 594.
530. Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah al-ḥuffāẓ*, vol. 1, 31.

v. The three narratives of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (52-124 AH) are obviously *munqaṭi'*. His narrative in *Kanz al-'ummāl* has no chain of narration from Ibn al-Anbārī to Sulaymān ibn Arqam. Moreover, the latter has been declared as untrustworthy by many authorities.[531]

vi. The narrative of 'Abbād ibn 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr is *munqaṭi'* because he died in the nineties AH.

Moreover, Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq is found in its chain of narration. Although he is regarded among the imāms of *al-maghāzī*, al-Mizzī[532] records the following *jarḥ* on him:

In the opinion of 'Abdullāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, he is *laysa bi ḥujjah*. Aḥmad ibn Abī Khaythamah says that he heard Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn say: *laysa bihī ba's*. When he was asked a second time, he said: *laysa bi dhāka* and is *ḍa'īf*. Aḥmad ibn Abī Khaythamah says that when he asked Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn about him at another instance, he replied: *'indī saqīm laysa bi al-qawī*. Al-Nasā'ī says: *laysa bi al-qawī*.

Al-Dhahabī[533] records that Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān bore witness that Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq is a liar.

The following illustration represents this narrative

'Abbād ibn 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr

↓

Yaḥyā ibn 'Abbād

↓

Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq

↓

Muḥammad ibn Salamah

↓

---
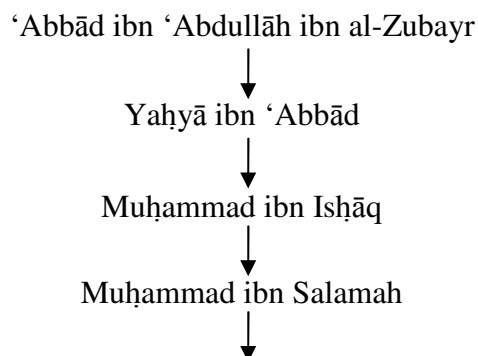
531. For details see: Al-'Uqaylī, *Al-Ḍu'afā' al-kabīr*, vol. 2, 121; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Al-Jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl*, vol. 4. 100; Ibn 'Adī, *Al-Kāmil fī ḍu'afā' al-rijāl*, vol. 3, 250; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Al-Majrūḥīn*, vol. 1, 328; Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 11, 352-354; Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ḍu'afā' al-ṣaghīr*, 52; Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Ḍu'afā'*, 48.
532. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 24, 422-425.
533. Al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-i'tidāl*, 6, 58.

$$\downarrow$$

Hārūn ibn Maʿrūf

$$\downarrow$$

Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā

$$\downarrow$$

Ibn Abī Dā'ūd

$$\downarrow$$
●
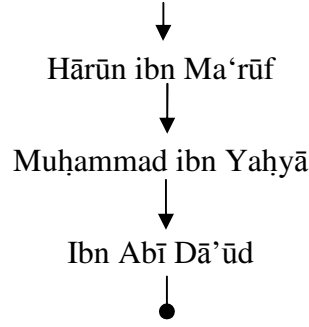
vii. Both narratives of Abū al-ʿĀliyah (d. 90 AH) are *munqaṭiʿ*.

Both have some other flaws as well.

In all variants of these narratives, Abū Jaʿfar al-Rāzī reports from al-Rabīʿ ibn Anas. Ibn Ḥibbān[534] says that people refrain from the narratives of al-Rabīʿ ibn Anas which are reported by Abū Jaʿfar al-Rāzī because they have many discrepancies (*li anna fīhā iḍṭirābuṇ kathīr*). In the narrative under discussion, Abū Jaʿfar al-Rāzī narrates from al-Rabīʿ ibn Anas. Ibn Ḥajar[535] says about al-Rabīʿ ibn Anas: *ṣadūquṇ lahū awhām*.

As far as Abū Jaʿfar al-Rāzī himself is concerned, al-Mizzī[536] records:

In the opinion of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, he is *laysa bi qawī fī al-ḥadīth*. Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn says: *yuktabu ḥadīthuhū* but also errs (*wa lākinnahū yukhṭī*). ʿAmr ibn ʿAlī says: *fīhī ḍuʿf wa huwa min ahl al-ṣidq sayy' al-ḥifz*. Abū Zurʿah says *shaykhuṇ yahimu kathīraṇ*. Al-Sājī says: *ṣadūquṇ laysa bi mutqin*. Al-Nasā'ī says: *laysa bi al-qawī*. Ibn Khirāsh says: *ṣadūquṇ sayy' al-ḥifz*.

viii. The information recorded by al-Yaʿqūbī has no chain of narration. As indicated earlier, al-Yaʿqūbī himself died in 292 AH. An anachronism in this narrative is that Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ was nine years at the death of the Prophet as specified by Ibn Ḥajar.[537] Hence he was just about ten years old at the time of this

---

534. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Al-Thiqāt*, vol. 4, 228.
535. Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 205.
536. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 33, 194-197.
537. Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 3, 107.

collection and would not have been in a position to have played such a pivotal

role as described by this narrative.

b) Narratives which say that the first Collection was made by 'Umar

These are attributed to the following:

(1) al-Ḥasan ibn Abū al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110 AH)

(a)

Mubārak ibn Fuḍālah reports from al-Ḥasan that 'Umar asked about a verse of the Book of God. He was told that it was with a certain person who had been killed on the day of the battle of Yamāmah. At this he said: 'Indeed we are for God … .' and ordered for the collection of the Qur'ān. So he was the first to have it collected in a *muṣḥaf*.[538]

(b)

Al-Ḥasan said: 'The Qur'ān had not been collected till the death of 'Umar.'[539]

(2) Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥāṭib (d. 104 AH)

Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥāṭib said: ' 'Umar made up his mind to collect the Qur'ān; so he stood up among the people and said: "Any person who has any portion of the Qur'ān received from the Messenger of Allah should bring it over to us." They had written this on pages and tablets and bark of palm trees and would not accept anything from a person unless two people testified to it. 'Umar was then assassinated while he was collecting the Qur'ān. And then 'Uthmān stood up among the people and said: "Any person who has any portion of the Qur'ān should bring it over to us." And he would not accept anything from a person unless two people testified to it. So Khuzaymah ibn Thābit came over and said: "I think that you have missed writing down two verses." They asked: "What are they?" He said that I got the following from the Messenger of Allah: لَقَدْ جَاءكُمْ رَسُولٌ مِّنْ أَنفُسِكُمْ عَزِيزٌ عَلَيْه مَا عَنتُّمْ حَرِيصٌ عَلَيْكُم بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَؤُوفٌ رَّحِيمٌ (١٢٨ :٩) (indeed, there has come to you a Messenger from among yourselves; it grieves him that you should be in difficulty; anxious is he over you, gentle to the believers, compassionate, (9:128)) till the end of the *sūrah*. 'Uthmān said: "I bear witness that they are from God and where do you advise us to place them." He said: "place them at the end of the last revelation of the Qur'ān." So it was placed at the end of

---

538. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 16.

539. Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 105. See also: Al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 12, 264, (no. 35834).

Sūrah al-Barā'ah.'[540]

(3) 'Abdullāh ibn Fuḍālah (d. 86-96 AH)[541]

'Abdullāh ibn Fuḍālah narrated: 'When 'Umar decided to collect the *al-imām* [the master copy], he appointed some of his associates for this, and said: "Whenever you disagree on a point of language, write in the dialect of the *muḍar*, because the Qur'ān was revealed to a man of *muḍar*."'[542]

(4) 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr (d. 99 AH)[543]

'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr said: 'The Egyptians came over and met 'Uthmān who asked them: "what has made you disgruntled?" They replied: "The destruction of the *maṣāḥif*." 'Uthmān [then said]: "When people started to differ in the recital [of the Qur'ān], 'Umar feared strife might ensue. He said: 'Who is the best of reciters?' People said: 'Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ.' He then asked: 'Who is the best scribe.' People said: 'Zayd ibn Thābit.' At this, 'Umar ordered for the *muṣḥaf* to be written. It was written according to the recital of Sa'īd and the script of Zayd. [In this manner], he united the people. He would then read this [*muṣḥaf*] to them in the time of *ḥajj*. In current times, Ḥudhayfah wrote to me that a person would meet another and say: 'My [Qur'ānic] reading is better than yours,' until matters reached the extent that he started calling the other a disbeliever. When I saw this, I ordered people to read only according to the reading of the *muṣḥaf* compiled by 'Umar, and this is that *muṣḥaf*, and I ordered them to abandon all other readings. And what God did with you is better than what you could think of doing for yourselves."'[544]

(5) Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn (d. 110 AH)

Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn related: 'The Qur'ān had not been collected till the assassination of 'Umar.'[545]

(6) Unknown

Abū Isḥāq related the following on the authority of one of his associates:

---

540. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 17; Ibid., 38-39. See also: 'Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol. 2, 121, (no. 1726); 'Abdullāh ibn Wahb, *al-Jāmi'*, vol. 3, 28-29.
541. Ibn Ḥajar says that he lived till the times of Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik which was from 86-96 AH. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 317.
542. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣaḥif*, 16; See also: Al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 2, 243, (no. 4760).
543. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr 'ulamā' al-amṣār*, 64.
544. 'Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol. 2, 202, (no. 1983).
545. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 3, 294. See also: Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*, vol. 44, 376; Al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 2, 243, (no. 4757).

'When 'Umar collected the *muṣḥaf*, he asked: "Who is the greatest master of Arabic among the people?" He was told that it was Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ. He went on to inquire: "Who is the best scribe among the people?" He was told that it was Zayd ibn Thābit. So he said: "Let Sa'īd dictate and Zayd write it down." Thus, they made four copies of the text, and dispatched a copy each to Kūfah, Baṣrah, Shām (Syria), and Ḥijāz.'[546]

A simple reading of these narratives shows that they are contradictory to one another and also contradict the standard account of the collection of the Qur'ān mentioned in *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.

Some obvious points of contradiction are:

i. Both narratives of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī are in stark contradiction to one another. Whilst the first one says that 'Umar was the first to collect the Qur'ān in a *muṣḥaf*, the second one says that the Qur'ān had not been collected till his death. The narrative from Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān and the narrative recorded by al-Ṭabarī[547] (referred to earlier) on the authority of Zayd ibn Thābit, on the other hand, say that the collection began in the time of 'Umar and ended in the time of 'Uthmān.

ii. According to the narrative (mentioned last) in which Abū Isḥāq narrates from some of his associates, 'Umar sent copies of the Qur'ān he had collected to various parts of the Muslim territory. However, as per the standard version, this task was accomplished by 'Uthmān in his times.

iii. According to the narrative of 'Abdullāh ibn Fuḍālah, 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr and the narrative (mentioned last) in which Abū Isḥāq narrates from some of his associates, the *imām* or final copy was written by 'Umar in his times. However, according to the standard version, this was done by 'Uthmān in his times.

An analysis of the chains of narration of these narratives reveals the following information:

---

546. Al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 2, 245, (no. 4767).
547. Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, vol. 1, 31-33.

The chain of narration of both narratives from al-Ḥasan Baṣrī (who is al-Ḥasan ibn Abū al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī) is broken (*munqaṭi'*) because he never met 'Umar. According to al-Bukhārī,[548] he was born when two years remained in 'Umar's caliphate and died in 110 AH. Al-Suyūṭī[549] and Ibn Ḥajar[550] also regard it to be broken and along with Ibn Kathīr[551] say that this can only be interpreted to mean that he was the first to *suggest* that the Qur'ān should be collected.

Moreover, in the first narrative of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Mubārak ibn Fuḍālah is famous for *tadlīs* and most of this *tadlīs* is from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.[552] And the narrative under discussion has his *'an'anah*. Also, no *jarḥ* or *ta'dīl* is available on Muḥammad ibn 'Abdullāh ibn Khallād.

The chain of narration of the second narrative is also broken since Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥāṭib never met 'Umar: according to Ibn Sa'd,[553] he was born in the caliphate of 'Uthmān. Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn[554] says that it is not correct that he heard from 'Umar. He actually heard from his father who heard from 'Umar. About Muḥammad ibn 'Amr ibn 'Alqamah who is present in the chain, Ibn Ḥajar[555] says about him: *ṣadūqun lahū awhām*.

The chain of narration of the third narrative is broken. It can represented as:

'Abdullāh ibn Fuḍālah

↓

'Awf ibn Abī Jamīlah

↓

Hawdhah ibn Khalīfah

↓
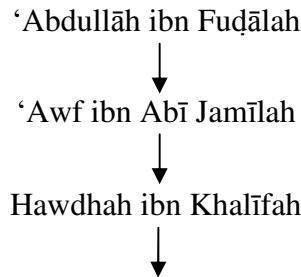
548. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 2, 289.
549. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 204-205.
550. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 9, 10.
551. Ibn Kathīr, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 35.
552. Ibn Ḥajar, *Ṭabaqāt al-mudallisīn*, 43.
553. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 5, 250.
554. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 31, 436-437.
555. Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 499.

$$\downarrow$$

Ismā'īl ibn Asad

$$\downarrow$$

Ibn Abī Dā'ūd

$$\downarrow \bullet$$
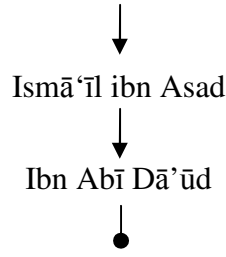
No authority mentions that 'Abdullāh ibn Fuḍālah narrates from 'Umar.

Though 'Awf ibn Abī Jamīlah has been regarded as trustworthy by authorities, here is some contrary evidence to his trustworthiness:

Abū Zur'ah and al-'Uqaylī have mentioned him in their respective books both titled *al-Ḍu'afā'*.[556]

Al-Ḥākim records:

I asked: '[What about] 'Awf ibn Abī Jamīlah?' He [al-Dāraquṭanī] replied: '*laysa bi dhāka*.'[557]

Al-Juzjānī records:

'Awf ibn Abī Jamīlah al-A'rābī would [carelessly] accept narratives from his right and left from the opinion of the [people of] Baṣrah and Kūfah.[558]

Al-Mizzī records:

Some of them are of the opinion that he is not trustworthy. He narrates from al-Ḥasan what no one else ever has.[559]

About Hawdhah ibn Khalīfah, al-Mizzī[560] records that in the opinion of Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn he is *ḍa'īf* in what he narrates from 'Awf.

The chain of narration of the fourth narrative is broken. As indicated earlier,

---

556. Abū Zur'ah 'Ubaydullāh ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-ḍu'afā'*, 1ˢᵗ ed. (Madīnah: Al-Jami'ah al-islāmiyyah, 1982), 659; Al-'Uqaylī, *Al-Ḍu'afā'*, vol. 3, 429.

557. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Umar al-Dāraquṭanī, *Su'ālāt al-Ḥākim*, 1ˢᵗ ed. (Riyāḍ: Maktabah al-ma'ārif, 1984), 261.

558. Al-Juzjānī, *Aḥwāl al-rijāl*, 114.

559. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 22, 240.

560. Ibid., vol. 30, 322-323.

'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr was born in 23 AH.[561] It was in precisely in the last days of 23 AH that 'Umar was assassinated and hence 'Urwah could not have been witness to the event referred to in the narrative.

The chain of narration of the fifth narrative is also broken. Ibn Sīrīn was born in 34 AH,[562] which is ten years after the assassination of 'Umar.

The chain of narration of the sixth narrative is not definite as it is not known who the person from whom Abū Isḥāq narrates was.

c) A Narrative which says that the first Collection was made by 'Uthmān

'Ubaydullāh ibn 'Abdullāh ibn 'Utbah said: 'The first person to collect the Qur'ān in one *muṣḥaf* and write it out was 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān. Then he placed it in the mosque and ordered that it should be read every morning.'[563]

This narrative is also against the standard versions of the collection done in the time of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. Al-Mizzī[564] records the death of 'Ubaydullāh ibn 'Abdullāh ibn 'Utbah to be 94 AH, 98 AH and 99 AH on the basis of al-Bukhārī, al-Wāqidī and al-Haytham ibn 'Adī respectively. Authorities of *rijāl*[565] do not record that he narrates from 'Uthmān. Hence the narrative in all probability is broken,

d) A Narrative which says that the first Collection was made by Sālim

Ibn Ashtah records in his *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif* by way of Kahmas through Ibn Buraydah that the first person to collect the Qur'ān in a *muṣḥaf* was Sālim who was the liberated slave of Abū Ḥudhayfah. He swore that he would not

561. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 7, 165. This is the opinion of Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ. Others give his year of birth to be even after 23 AH.

562. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 25, 352.

563. 'Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol. 1, 9, (no. 9). It also mentions a collection under 'Uthmān. See: Ibid., vol. 2, 122, (no. 1730).

564. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 19, 76.

565. See, for example: Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Al-Jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl*, vol. 5, 319; Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 19, 73-74; Al-Dhahabī, *Al-Kāshif*, vol. 1, 682; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 7, 22.

put on his cloak until he collects it; then he collected it.[566]

Al-Suyūṭī criticizes the chain of this narrative by saying that it is broken (*munqaṭi'*). He says that it can only be interpreted to mean that Sālim was one of the collectors of the Qur'ān whom Abū Bakr had entrusted with this task.[567]

V. Summary

Following is a summary of the flaws which make this narrative questionable.

i. The nature of the event is such that it should have been reported by many people. On the contrary, it can be seen that this narrative is a *gharīb* one in which each of the first three steps has only one person. Moreover, some of the major works of Ḥadīth like *al-Mu'aṭṭa'* of Imām Mālik and *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim and extant versions of early history works like Ibn Sa'd's *al-Ṭabaqāt* and al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk* are devoid of the details depicted in this narrative.

ii. The collected Qur'ān seems to be a personal endeavour for two reasons.

a. If the collection was an official one, why was the collected Qur'ān passed on to Ḥafṣah by 'Umar? Even if it is accepted that there was some sound reason for handing over the copy to Ḥafṣah, why did 'Uthmān, in his time, return this original to her once he had made copies of it. Similarly, the reluctance shown by Ḥafṣah to hand over the *muṣḥaf* when 'Uthmān asked for it is also inexplicable since it actually belonged to the state.

b. It was never put to any use by Abū Bakr or 'Umar. What then was the purpose and utility of this whole endeavour? If the purpose was to preserve the

---

566. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 205. This narrative also says that people named the collected Qur'ān as *muṣḥaf* overruling the opinion of some who were of the opinion that it should be named as *sifr* because this was the name given by the Jews to their Holy Book.
567. Ibid.

text of the Qur'ān, it was not disseminated thereafter. People were not stopped from writing their own Qur'āns neither were they told to tally what they had written with this prepared Qur'ān. Even in the ten years of 'Umar's reign which were replete with the dissemination of the Qur'ān, it was not consulted. It ended up in the custody of Ḥafṣah, a fate which can hardly afford it an official status. The fact that this collected Qur'ān fell in disuse right after it was compiled is also evident from the fact that it was discovered in the times of 'Uthmān that a verse of Sūrah al-Aḥzāb was missing from this collection.

iii. There are some contradictions in the narrative:

If, at the time of collection under Abū Bakr, the person with whom the verses of Sūrah al-Tawbah were found was Abū Khuzaymah, then the following questions arise:

a. Where was Khuzaymah at that time since it is known that at the time of the collection under Uthmān a missing verse of Sūrah al-Aḥzāb was only found with him. Was he left out or he did not come forward?

b. In the narratives of collection under Abū Bakr, Zayd stresses that he found all other verses except the two of Sūrah al-Tawbah; if he was right in his claim, no missing verses should have been found later. If he was not right then this would mean what he had collected was not properly checked to detect this omission? Not only did he not check it nor did Abū Bakr in the remaining part of his caliphate and 'Umar in the ten years of his caliphate ever read it for otherwise the mistake could have been detected.

c. In the narratives of the collection under 'Uthmān, the missing verse of Sūrah al-Aḥzāb was accepted by Zayd from Khuzaymah because his witness carried double weight. Now if at the time of collection under Abū Bakr, the missing

verses of Sūrah al-Tawbah were only found with Abū Khuzaymah, why did Zayd accept the verse without a second witness since Abū Khuzaymah's witness did not carry double weightage. If the answer to this question is that the second witness in this case was Zayd himself, then why is it specified in the narratives which record the collection under 'Uthmān that since Khuzaymah's witness carried double weight, the verse was accepted from him.

On the other hand, if the person with whom the missing verses of Sūrah al-Tawbah were found was Khuzaymah during the time of this collection under Abū Bakr, then why did he withhold the missing verses of Sūrah al-Aḥzāb with him at that time since in the narratives of the collection under 'Uthmān almost two decades later, this verse was found with him.

It has also been shown that the issue of missing verses has some other anomalies in it: there are some narratives who record that Sūrah al-Tawbah verses were found missing at the time of 'Uthmān's collection,[568] contrary to what most other narratives say that they were found missing in the time of Abū Bakr's collection. Similarly, some narratives say that the missing verse found at the time of Abū Bakr's collection was that of Sūrah al-Aḥzāb.[569]

iv. The methodology adopted in collecting the Qur'ān was not only questionable but also insufficient. It was questionable because Zayd alone, a young man in his early twenties at that time, was entrusted with such a monumental task the nature of which needed a committee of senior Companions. Similarly, Abū Bakr, who would generally consult the members of his *shūrā* in

---

568. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 17; Ibid., 38-39. See also: 'Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol. 2, 121, (no. 1726); 'Abdullāh ibn Wahb, *Jāmi' al-'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, vol. 3, 28-29.

569. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 14; Al-Dānī, *Al-Muqni'*, 2-4; Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Faṣl li al-waṣl al-mudraj*, vol. 1, 394.

all important affairs, is not found discussing the matter with them.

The methodology was insufficient because if there was some threat of extinction to the Qur'ānic text, a written text devoid of diacritical marks and vowel sounds would have been of no use for people who had not memorized the Qur'ān.

v. It has been shown that the standard version (if there is one) contradicts other accounts of the first collection in many ways. These other accounts contradict each other as well. A narrative attributes the first collection to 'Umar, another to 'Uthmān and still another says that the collection began in the time of 'Umar and ended in the time of 'Uthmān. In some narratives, one is not able to decide whether the incident they refer to took place in the time of Abū Bakr or in the time of 'Umar since the latter was also said to have been involved in the collection made by Abū Bakr.

vi. The chain of narration of the narrative hinges entirely upon Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī someone who though is generally regarded to be a champion in Ḥadīth, yet is guilty of *irsāl*, *tadlīs* and *idrāj* and some other blemishes. These flaws place an overall question mark of unreliability on his personality. It has also been shown that none of the eight chains of narration which come out from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī is flawless.

vii. It is questionable whether the little known 'Ubayd ibn al-Sabbāq even narrated from Zayd ibn Thābit. If he is a student of Zayd, why does not Imām al-Bukhārī mention him among his teachers at the place where he has given his biographical note in his *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, even though Zayd appears as 'Ubayd's teacher in his *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*. Moreover, as shown, Zayd had almost forty students some of whom were famous Companions of the Prophet. Why would he choose an obscure person for transmitting this narrative?

viii. Secondary narratives (though weak in their chains of narration but generally accepted by our classical scholars) show that the text of the Qur'ān was finalized with the help of two witnesses. Even though scholars have tried to rationalize these narratives by offering various explanations as to what is meant by these two witnesses and why they were required to authenticate the Qur'ān, none of them is convincing. It has been pointed out that these narratives have many contradictions between themselves and in the presence of these contradictions, nothing substantive can be adduced from them. However, even if for the sake of discussion these contradictions are disregarded, the narratives show that the text of the Qur'ān was finalized in the time of Abū Bakr. This would contradict the Sūrah al-Qiyāmah verses and some other narratives (discussed in chapter 1) which point to the fact that the text of the Qur'ān had been finalized in the lifetime of the Prophet.

VI. Conclusion

In the presence of the above referred to flaws, this narrative cannot be accepted. In the presence of a strong living tradition of transmission of the Qur'ān, there was no need to officially compile it in a single codex. Perhaps what best can be said is that Abū Bakr was the first to make a personal collection of the Qur'ān between two covers. The fact that he made a collection is mentioned in some narratives. Following are the persons who have reported these narratives. It may also be noted that Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī does not figure in any of the chains the variants of these narratives.

A. 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib

'Abd Khayr reported from 'Alī: 'May God have mercy on Abū Bakr; he was

the first to collect [the Qur'ān] between two covers.'[570]

B. 'Abd Khayr ibn Yazīd (d. ?)[571]

'Abd Khayr said: 'The first person to collect the Qur'ān between two covers was Abū Bakr.'[572]

C. Ṣa'ṣa'ah ibn Ṣūḥān (d. 60 AH approx)[573]

Ṣa'ṣa'ah said: 'The first person to collect the Qur'ān and give inheritance to *kalālah* was Abū Bakr.'[574]

D. 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr (d. 99 AH)[575]

Hishām reports from his father: 'Indeed it was Abū Bakr who collected the Qur'ān after the Prophet ie. brought it in one place.'[576]

E. 'Āmir ibn Shurāḥbīl al-Sha'bī (22-104 AH)[577]

Al-Sha'bī said: 'Abū Bakr was the first to collect the *muṣḥaf*.'[578]

----

570. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 3, 193; Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 11; Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 6, 148, (no. 30229); Ibid., vol. 7, 248, (no. 35751); vol. 7, 248, (no. 35752); Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, 230 (no. 280); Ibid., vol. 1, 354, (no. 513); Ibid., vol. 1, 354, (no. 514); Abū 'Arūbah al-Ḥarrānī, *Kitāb al-awā'il*, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2003), 130; Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī, *Al-Sharī'ah*, 2nd ed., vol. 4 (Riyāḍ: Dār al-waṭan, 1999), 1782, (no. 1241); Ibid., vol. 4, 1783, (no. 1242); Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*, vol. 30, 379; Ibid., vol. 30, 380; Ibid., vol. 30, 381; Al-Mustaghfirī, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1, 360, (no. 424); Arthur Jeffery, ed., *Muqaddimatān*, 23.

571. Books of *rijāl* say that he was from among the *mukhaḍrimūn* and lived for 120 years. See, for example: Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 6, 133.

572. Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 152; Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 12; Ibid; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*, vol. 30, 381.

573. Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi al-wafayāt*, vol. 16, 179.

574. Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 7, 259, (no. 35866); Ibid., vol. 6, 148, (no. 30231); Abū 'Arūbah, *Kitāb al-awā'il*, vol. 1, 128; Al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 2, 242, (no. 4752); Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-'Ilal wa ma'rifah al-rijāl*, 1st ed., vol. 2 (Beirut: al-Maktab al-islāmī, 1988), 58, (no. 1543); Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*, vol. 24, 88-89; Al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifah wa al-tārīkh*, vol. 2, 335-336; Al-Mustaghfirī, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1, 360, (no. 425); Arthur Jeffery, ed., *Muqaddimatān*, 23.

575. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr 'ulamā' al-amṣār*, 64.

576. Abū 'Arūbah, *Kitāb al-awā'il*, 130. See also: Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 12; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*, vol. 30, 381.

577. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 6, 450.

578. Arthur Jeffery, ed., *Muqaddimatān*, 23.

Chapter 3

Narrative on the Collection of the Qur'ān by 'Uthmān

Contents

I. Introduction

II. A Typical Text

III. Criticism and its Analysis

    A. *Matn*

        1. Issue of the Missing Verse

        2. State-Owned Collection in the Possession of Ḥafṣah

        3. Mode of Writing

        4. Faulty Methodology adopted by 'Uthmān

        5. Criticism on the Committee

        6. Absence of the Narrative in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* and in *al-Mu'aṭṭa'*

        7. Absence of the Narrative in some Major Works on Muslim History

    B. *Isnād*

        1. Al-Tirmidhī's Addition

        2. The Presence of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī and Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd

        3. Criticism on the *Isnād* of Sūrah al-Aḥzāb Narratives

IV. Further Criticism

        1. The Narrative is *Gharīb*

        2. Questionable Methodology adopted by 'Uthmān

        3. Nature of Dispute between the Armies

        4. Biography of the Personnel in the Narrative

        5. Contradiction between Various Accounts of Collection

V. Summary

VI. Conclusion

I. Introduction

Certain narratives say that in the time of the caliph ʻUthmān, disputes had arisen among the soldiers of the Syrian and ʻIrāqī armies in reciting the Qurʼān. At that time, they were fighting at the battle fronts of Armenia and Azerbaijan.[579] When ʻUthmān was informed of this state of affairs by Ḥudhayfah, he borrowed the *ṣuḥuf* kept with Ḥafṣah which had been prepared in the time of Abū Bakr. He then constituted a committee of four people to prepare copies of these *ṣuḥuf* in the dialect of the Quraysh. A verse of Sūrah al-Aḥzāb was detected to be missing in the original *ṣuḥuf*. It was inserted in its place and once the copies had been prepared, ʻUthmān dispatched them to important areas of the Muslim empire and collected and destroyed all other *maṣāḥif* which were in currency.

In this chapter, an analysis of the *matn* and *isnād* of this narrative and its textual variants shall be attempted.

II. A Typical Text

Narrated by Anas ibn Mālik: ʻḤudhayfah ibn al-Yamān came to ʻUthmān after he had been fighting alongside the people of Syria and ʻIrāq at the time of the conquest of Armenia and Azerbaijan. Their differences in the recitation of the Qurʼān alarmed him; so he said to ʻUthmān: "O Ruler of the Muslims! Save this nation before they differ about the Book [the Qurʼān], as Jews and the Christians did before." So ʻUthmān sent a message to Ḥafṣah [saying]: "Send us the *ṣuḥuf* of the Qurʼān so that we copy them out in *maṣāḥif* and then return them to you." Ḥafṣah sent them to ʻUthmān. ʻUthmān then ordered Zayd ibn Thābit, ʻAbdullāh ibn al-Zubayr, Saʻīd ibn al-ʻĀṣ and ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith [to copy the *ṣuḥuf* in *maṣāḥif*]; so they copied them. ʻUthmān told the three Quraysh men: "In case you disagree with Zayd ibn

---

579. Some alternative accounts depict that the disputes in reciting the Qurʼān had arisen right in Madīnah and ʻUthmān then embarked upon a fresh collection of the Qurʼān. These accounts shall also be discussed later in this chapter.

Thābit on any point in the Qur'ān, write it in the dialect of the Quraysh as the Qur'ān has been revealed in their dialect." They did so, and when they had copied the *ṣuḥuf* in *maṣāḥif*, 'Uthmān returned the *ṣuḥuf* to Ḥafṣah. 'Uthmān sent to every territory one copy of what they had copied, and ordered that all other *ṣuḥuf* and *maṣāḥif* be burnt.' Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī narrated from Khārijah ibn Zayd who narrated from Zayd ibn Thābit: 'I did not find a verse from Sūrah al-Aḥzāb when we made copies of the Qur'ān and I used to hear Allah's prophet reciting it. So we searched for it and found it with Khuzaymah ibn Thābit. [That verse was]: مِنَ المُؤمِنِينَ رِجَالٌ صَدَقُوا مَا (٣٣: ٢٣) عَاهَدُوا اللَّهَ عَلَيْهِ (among the believers are men who have been true in their covenant with Allāh, (33:23)). We inserted this verse at its place in its *sūrah* in the *muṣḥaf*.'[580]

Some narratives provide additional information regarding the script of a word that was written at that time. Al-Tirmidhī, for example, records just after he quotes the above narrative through his own chain:

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī said: 'On that day, they differed between التَّابُوْت and التَّابُوْه. The [three] Quraysh [members of the committee] opined that التَّابُوْت [is the correct script of the word], while Zayd said that it was التَّابُوْه. Their difference of opinion was referred to 'Uthmān who said: "Write التَّابُوْت because the Qur'ān has been revealed in the dialect of the Quraysh."'[581]

---

580. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1908, (no. 4702). See also: Ibid., vol. 4, 1906, (no. 4699); Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 10, 359-362, (no. 4506); Ibid., vol. 10, 364-365, (no. 4507); Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 5, 284, (no. 3104); Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 5, 6, (no. 7988); Al-Bayhaqī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 2, 41, (no. 2203); Ibid., vol. 2, 385, (no. 3806); Abū Ya'lā, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 92, (no. 92); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn*, vol. 4, 156, (no. 2991), Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Tamhīd*, vol. 8, 279; Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 153-154; Ibid., 155; Ibid., 156; Al-Nasā'ī, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1, 67; Al-Mustaghfirī, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1, 354-355, (no. 412); Al-Bayhaqī, *Shu'ab al-īmān*, vol. 1, 195-197, (no. 171); Sa'īd ibn Manṣūr, *Sunan*, 1st ed., vol. 3 (India: Dār al-salafiyyah, 1982), 938; 'Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol. 2, 117-118, (no. 1715), Ibid., vol. 2, 122-123, (no. 1730); Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 25-26; Ibid., 26-27; Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi 'al-bayān fī ta'wīl al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1, 33; Ibn Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 39-40; 'Abdullāh ibn Wahb, *Al-Jām'i*, vol. 3, 26-27; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*, vol. 19, 307; Ibid., vol. 19, 308; Ibid., vol. 39, 241; Ibid., vol. 60, 42; Aslam ibn Sahl al-Wāsiṭī, *Tārīkh Wāsit*, vol. 1, 250-252. (For a complete schematic illustration of this narrative, see: Appendix E).

581. Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 5, 284, (no. 3104). See also: Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 10, 362, (no. 4506); Al-Bayhaqī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 2, 385, (no. 3806); Al-Bayhaqī, *Shu'ab al-īmān*, vol. 1, 195-197, (no. 171); 'Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol, 2, 121-122, (no. 1727); Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 37; Al-Dānī, *Al-Muqni'*, 4-5; 'Abdullāh ibn Wahb, *Jāmi' al-'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, vol. 3, 26-27; Ibid., 29; Ibid., 30. Contrary to all other narratives, the first of these recorded by 'Abdullāh ibn Wahb says that it was Ubayy who insisted on التَّابُوْه and Sa'īd ibn al-Āṣ who was of the opinion that the correct script of the word is التَّابُوْت whereupon 'Uthmān said that it should be written according to

It may also be noted that there also exist independent narratives which report

the absence of the Sūrah al-Aḥzāb verse. A typical text reads:

Zayd ibn Thābit said: 'When we copied the *ṣuḥuf* in *maṣāḥif*, I did not find a
verse from Sūrah al-Aḥzāb which I used to hear from Allah's prophet. I did
not find it with anyone except with Khuzaymah ibn Thābit whose witness
was regarded by the Prophet to carry double weight. [That verse was]: مِنَ
الْمُؤْمِنِيْنَ رِجَالٌ صَدَقُوا مَا عَاهَدُوا اللَّهَ عَلَيْهِ (٣٣: ٢٣) (among the believers are men
who have been true in their covenant with Allāh, (33:23)).'[582]

III. Criticism and its Analysis

The narrative has invited criticism from some scholars both on its *matn* and on its

isnād. It shall be presented and analyzed in this section.

A. *Matn*

1. Issue of the Missing Verse

The narrative shows that a verse of Sūrah al-Aḥzāb was missing when this

collection was made. According to Raḥmānī,[583] it is highly improbable that a

missing verse be detected about thirteen years later from the Qur'ān collected by

Abū Bakr. This Qur'ān remained with him till his death and then with 'Umar till

---

the opinion of Sa'īd.

  582. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1795, (no. 4506). See also: Ibid., vol. 3,
1033, (no. 2652); Ibid., vol. 4, 1488, (no. 3823); Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 5,
188, (no. 21683); Ibid., (no. 21686); Ibid., vol. 5, 189, (no. 21695); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Musnad
al-Shāmiyyīn*, vol. 4, 253, (no. 3213); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, vol. 4, 182, (no.
3712); Ibid., vol. 5, 129, (no. 4841); Ibid., vol. 5, 129, (no. 4842); 'Abd al-Razzāq,
Muṣannaf, vol. 8 (Beirut: Al-Maktab al-islāmī, 1403 AH), 367, (no. 15568); Ibid., vol.
11, 235, (no. 20416); Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 6, 430, (no. 11401); Al-
Mustaghfirī, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1, 355, (no. 413); Abū Muḥammad 'Abd ibn
Ḥumayd, *Musnad*, 1ˢᵗ ed. (Cairo: Maktabah al-sunnah, 1988), 109, (no. 246); 'Umar ibn
Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol, 2, 121-122, (no. 1727); Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah
Dimashq*, vol. 15, 389-390; Ibid., vol. 16, 364; Kamāl al-Dīn Umar ibn Aḥmad ibn al-
Adīm, *Bughyah al-ṭalab fī tārīkh al-Ḥalab*, vol. 7 (n.p.: Dār al-fikr, n.d.), 3246; Al-
Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Faṣl li al-waṣl al-mudraj*, vol. 1, 406-407; Ibid., 407-408; Al-
Dhahabī, *Siyar*, vol. 2, 486.
  583. Raḥmānī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 137-138, 141-142.

he too died before it came into the custody of Ḥafṣah. Did none of the first two caliphs or Ḥafṣah read out this Qur'ān and if they did, were they not able to detect any missing verse? Moreover, the fact that the missing verse was only found with Khuzaymah or Abū Khuzaymah at this instance casts further doubt on this narrative. Zayd as many other Companions like Mu'ādh, Ubayy, 'Uthmān and 'Ubādah ibn al-Ṣāmit possessed copies of the written Qur'ān. How is it possible that the verse was only found with a single person?

Gilchrist surmises that the missing verse of Sūrah al-Aḥzāb was found with the same person (Khuzaymah ibn Thābit) as with whom the last verses of Sūrah al-Tawbah were found in the time of the collection by Abū Bakr. One of the narratives[584] says that Khuzaymah himself had come forward with the missing verses of Sūrah al-Tawbah at the time of collection under Abū Bakr. It needs to be explained if yet another verse was known to him, why he chose to remain silent about it at that time.[585]

The gist of 'Imādī's[586] criticism is presented below:

i. In the committee of four, it was Zayd ibn Thābit alone who remembered that a verse was missing in the codex collected in the time of Abū Bakr. None of the others remembered it.

ii. A narrative recorded by al-Bukhārī shows that the missing verse of Sūrah al-Aḥzāb was revealed about Anas ibn al-Naḍr, a paternal uncle of Anas ibn Mālik:

Thumāmah reports from Anas ibn Mālik, who says: 'In our opinion, the following verse was revealed about Anas ibn Naḍr: مِنَ المُؤمِنِيْنَ رِجَالٌ صَدَقُوا مَـــا عَاهَدُوا اللَّهَ عَلَيْــهِ (٣٣: ٢٣) (among the believers are men who have been true in

---

584. Reference is to: Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 17.

585. John Gilchrist, *Jam' al-Qur'ān: The Codification of the Qur'ān Text*, 1st ed. (Mondeor: MERCSA, 1989), 51-52.

586. 'Imādī, *Jam' al-Qur'ān*, 253-260.

their covenant with Allāh, (33:23)).'[587]

In other words, besides Khuzaymah ibn Thābit, Anas was well aware of this verse. So why is it that the missing verse was only found with Khuzaymah as the narrative says.

iii. It is said that the verse of Sūrah al-Aḥzāb was found with Khuzaymah and inserted in the Qur'ān because he carried the weight of two witnesses. The narrative which says that Khuzaymah carried this weight is also suspect.

A text of this narrative from the *Sunan* of Abū Dā'ūd reads as follows:

Narrated by 'Umārah ibn Khuzaymah's uncle, who was a Companion, that the Prophet bought a horse from a Bedouin.[588] The Prophet asked the Bedouin to follow him so that he could pay the horse's price to him. The Prophet walked at a brisk speed but the Bedouin continued to walk slowly [and was thus left behind]. On the way, some people started to pester the Bedouin and offered him a new price for the horse and they did not know that the Prophet had already bought it. The Bedouin called the Prophet and said: 'Do you want to buy the horse or shall I sell it [to someone else]?' When the Prophet heard these words of the Bedouin, he stopped and replied: 'Have I not already bought it from you?' The Bedouin said: 'No, I have not sold it to you.' The Prophet responded: 'In fact, I have already bought it from you.' At this, the Bedouin asked the Prophet to produce a witness [to this deal]. Khuzaymah ibn Thābit said: 'I bear witness you had bought it [from him].' The Prophet came over to Khuzaymah and asked him: 'How can you bear witness [when you were not present at that time].' He replied: 'On the basis of your testifying, O Messenger of God!' At this, the Prophet regarded the testimony of Khuzaymah to carry double weight.[589]

---

587. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1795, (no. 4505). See also: Ibid., vol. 3, 1032, (no. 2651).

588. His name was Sawwād ibn al-Ḥārith. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 8, 421.

589. Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, vol. 3, 308, (no. 3607). See also: Al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, vol. 7, 301, (no. 4647); Al-Ḥākim, *Al-Mustadrak*, vol. 2, 21, (no. 2187); Al-Bayhaqī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 10, 145, (no. 20302); Ibid., vol. 7, 66, (no. 13182); Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Salāmah al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ ma'ānī al-āthār*, 1st ed., vol. 4 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1399 AH.), 146, (no. 5654); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, vol. 22, 379, (no. 946); Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 4, 48, (no. 6243); Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 5, 215, (no. 21933); 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 8, 366, (no. 15565); Ibid., vol. 8, 366, (no. 15566); Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 4, 378-380; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, 139-140; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*, vol. 16, 367-369.

‘Imādī raises questions on both the *matn* of this narrative and on its *isnād*.

His primary criticism on the text of the narrative is that can it be accepted that a person as impeccable as the Prophet would have struck such a deal?[590] Could he have accepted the witness of one of his followers who was not even present at the time of the deal and whose witness the Bedouin would never have accepted? Could he have granted Khuzaymah the title of *dhū shahādatayn* (a person having the weight of two witnesses) on such a deal? All these questions cast doubts on the integrity of the person of the Prophet.

His criticism on the chain is summarized below:

i. In all the textual variants of this narrative it is only ‘Umārah ibn Khuzaymah (30-105 AH),[591] Khuzaymah ibn Thābit's son who reports this incident from his paternal uncle.

ii. The name of this paternal uncle who is alleged to be a Companion is not specified. It is only after three centuries that Ibn Mandah (d. 395 AH)[592] is able to unravel this secret; he determines the name to be: ‘Umārah ibn Thābit. Works such as *al-Istī‘āb fī ma‘rifah al-aṣḥāb* of Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr are devoid of his name.

iii. The central person in all the textual variants of this narrative is Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, who is not a trustworthy narrator at all.[593]

iv. It seems that ‘Umārah ibn Khuzaymah generally narrates from people who are also not very well known.

For example it is only he and Sālim ibn Abī al-Ja‘ad who narrate from Saburah

---

590. It may be noted that scholars like Ibn Kathīr, on the basis of this narrative, are of the opinión that this deal took place on the basis of two witnesses being afforded in the personality of Khuzaymah ibn Thābit. See: Ibn Kathīr, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 35-36.

591. Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 409.

592. His full name is Abū ‘Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Mandah. See: Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah al-ḥuffāẓ*, vol. 3, 1031.

593. For *jarḥ* about him, see chapter 2.

ibn al-Fākih[594] (ascribed variously as Ibn al-Fākihah, Ibn Abī al-Fākih and Ibn Abī al-Fākihah) about whom it is said the he was a Companion. He is not a well-known person.

Another not very well known Companion from whom 'Umārah ibn Khuzaymah and Ḥārith ibn Fuḍayl narrate is 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī al-Qurād al-Anṣārī also called 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Fākih. However, in *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*,[595] Abū al-Fataḥ al-Azdī says that 'Umārah ibn Khuzaymah is the sole person who narrates from him.

Similarly, 'Umārah ibn Khuzaymah is the only person who narrates from Kathīr ibn al-Sā'ib. There are at least three more persons by this name and some authorities have counted them as the same person. Even if there exist more than one Kathīr ibn al-Sā'ib, there is no doubt that they are not well known.[596]

v. This narrative is not found in *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī or in the *Sunan* of al-Tirmidhī. However the narrative of the Sūrah al-Aḥzāb verse being found with Khuzaymah ibn Thābit and thereby the verse being accepted because Khuzaymah's witness carries double weight is found in both these books. This is a clear case of inconsistency. Cannot it thus be concluded that the narratives of the collection of the Qur'ān have been concocted and later included in these two anthologies of Ḥadīth?

―――――――

Most points raised by Raḥmānī and 'Imādī on the issue of the missing verse are strong. In this regard, it might be of interest to note that none of the non-Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī narratives (discussion forthcoming) mentions any missing verse.

---

594. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 3, 393.
595. Ibid., vol. 6, 229.
596. Ibid., vol. 8, 371.

It is only narratives which contain Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī that report the incident of the missing verse.

'Imādī contends that at least Anas ibn Mālik should have known of the missing verse because it was revealed about Anas ibn al-Naḍr, a paternal uncle of his, as is evident from a narrative he has quoted. His critique is on a premise which his opponents do not contend. They do not say that the verse was not known to people. Several people including Zayd knew it and by the same token Anas ibn Mālik may have also known it by heart; their contention, on the other hand, is that it was not found in written form with any person except Khuzaymah ibn Thābit.[597] In this regard, the real criticism that comes to mind is that even if it is accepted that a verse was missing at this time, can it be conceded in the wake of various efforts undertaken by the first two caliphs to spread the Qur'ān that this verse be found in written form with only one person?

'Imādī's criticism on the text and chain of the Dhū Shahādatayn narrative is strong except for the fact that he has erroneously concluded that 'Umārah ibn Khuzaymah generally narrates from people who are not well known. Some of the well known Companions from whom 'Umārah ibn Khuzaymah narrates are:[598]

  i. 'Amr ibn 'al-Āṣ[599]

  ii. 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf[600]

  iii. 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās[601]

Another point which raises a question on this narrative is that there is a disagreement on the name of the Companion from whom 'Umārah ibn

---

597. See, for example: Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 8, 421.
598. Ibn Ḥajar mentions their names. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 7, 364.
599. See: 'Abd ibn Ḥumayd, *Musnad*, 121, (no. 294).
600. See: Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 19, 359.
601. See: Ibn Ḥibbān, *Al-Thiqāt*, vol. 2, 240.

Khuzaymah narrates. This casts doubt on the ascription of the narrative. It has already been referred to earlier that according to Ibn Mandah, his name is 'Umārah ibn Thābit. Ibn Sa'd[602] has pointed out on the authority of his teacher Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidī that 'Umārah ibn Khuzaymah has not specified the name of his uncle. According to al-Wāqidī, Khuzaymah ibn Thābit, who is 'Umārah ibn Khuzaymah's uncle, had two brothers: One of them was called Waḥwaḥ and the other 'Abdullāh. In the opinion of Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq (as recorded in a narrative by al-Ḥākim), Khuzaymah ibn Thābit had two brothers: 'Abdullāh and Daḥraj.[603] On the other hand, Ibn Ḥajar[604] says that Walī al-Dīn al-'Irāqī has mentioned in his book *Kitāb al-aṭrāf bi awhām al-aṭrāf* that his uncle was well known and that Abū Aḥmad al-'Askarī has stated in his book *al-Ṣaḥābah* that his name was 'Ubaydullāh.

It may also be noted that there is another chain of the narrative which does not contain 'Umārah ibn Thābit at its beginning.[605] 'Imādī seems to be unaware of it. This chain begins with Khuzaymah ibn Thābit. His grandson Muḥammad ibn 'Umārah ibn Khuzaymah ibn Thābit narrates from him.

<p align="center">Khuzaymah ibn Thābit</p>
<p align="center">↓</p>
<p align="center">Muḥammad ibn 'Umārah ibn Khuzaymah ibn Thābit</p>
<p align="center">↓</p>
<p align="center">Ibn Jurayj</p>
<p align="center">↓</p>
<p align="center">'Abd al-Razzāq</p>
<p align="center">↓</p>
<p align="center">●</p>
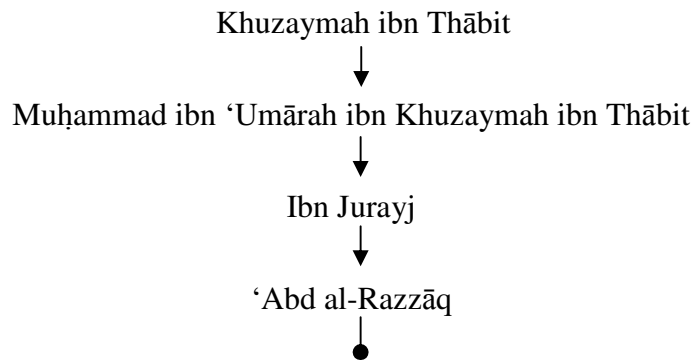
The problems with this chain are two:

---

602. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 4, 379.
603. Al-Ḥākim, *Al-Mustadrak*, vol. 3, 448, (no. 5696).
604. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 12, 404.
605. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 8, 366, (15566).

Firstly, as pointed out by Ibn Ḥajar, Muḥammad ibn 'Umārah ibn Khuzaymah ibn Thābit is not a well known person (*lā yakādu yu'raf*).[606]

Secondly, since Khuzaymah ibn Thābit died in 37 AH in the battle of Ṣiffīn[607] when 'Umārah ibn Khuzaymah was seven years old, there is no way in the world that Muḥammad ibn 'Umārah could have met or heard from his grandfather. It is perhaps because of this reason that Ibn Ḥajar has said that he narrates *mursal* narratives.[608]

2. State-Owned Collection in the Possession of Ḥafṣah

According to 'Imādī,[609] if ever a collection had taken place in the time of Abū Bakr, the collected Qur'ān should have belonged to the state. 'Uthmān would never have tolerated its possession by Ḥafṣah since it belonged to the state. At least, he would never have promised to return it to her once he had obtained it.

————————

This is a valid criticism.

3. Mode of Writing

According to Raḥmānī,[610] how could Zayd's preference be overruled by three other committee members when it is known that none of the other three were famous reciters or as adept as Zayd. Zayd had written and heard the Qur'ān from the Prophet. How would he be willing to give up a word he had learnt directly from the Prophet? In short, 'Uthmān could never have asked from Zayd to follow such an absurd directive.

---

606. Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Ta'jīl al-manfa'ah*, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dār al-kitāb al-'arabī, n.d.), 373.
607. Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 193.
608. Ibid.
609. 'Imādī, *Jam' al-Qur'ān*, 281.
610. Raḥmānī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 139-140.

Regarding the script of the word *al-tābūt*, 'Imādī[611] raises the question: What was the script of the word in the codex prepared by Abū Bakr from which the committee was making copies? Was it التَّــابُوْت or التَّابُوْه؟ If it was التَّــابُوْت, then why would Zayd insist on التَّابُوْه؟ If التَّابُوْه was written, then 'Uthmān would never have insisted on التَّــابُوْت because it was Abū Bakr and 'Umar with whose ratification it was written. And if he thought that his own opinion was the correct one, he would definitely have consulted other senior Companions.

Moreover, it is known that Zayd had learnt the Arabic script from the Makkans who belonged to the Quraysh. Thus it is highly improbable that he would have differed with the three Qurayshite committee members at all.

———————

This is a valid criticism.

4. Faulty Methodology adopted by 'Uthmān

It is accepted by all authorities that the copies made lacked diacritical and vowel signs. 'Imādī[612] argues that since 'Uthmān never sent any reciter with the copies made, people could read the verses variously because in the absence of diacritical and vowel signs, there would be no one standard in reading.

In other words, this methodology would never have been able to resolve the discrepancies and it would never have been possible for 'Uthmān to gather the *ummah* on one single reading of the Qur'ān.

While drawing details from Ibn Abī Dā'ūd's *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 'Imādī[613] points out that if some narratives are relied upon, then the whole effort practically failed because we still find differences in the codices of people after the 'Uthmānic

611. 'Imādī, *Jam' al-Qur'ān*, 282-283.
612. Ibid., 293, 310-311.
613. Ibid., 369.

collection. Among the *tābi'ūn*, he cites the names of various people who had verses in their codices which differed from the 'Uthmānic codices. For fear of space, he has not cited them.

This is a very weighty critique on the narrative. I have developed it further in a later section.

5. Criticism on the Committee

Schwally[614] initially raises questions on the constitution of the committee of four selected by 'Uthmān for the collection. Later after examining and dismissing various possibilities, they say that what can be said in conclusion is that perhaps the issue of the members of the committee is of no importance at all. The real importance in this regard is what did 'Uthmān exactly do. It seems the real thing that he did was to create a consensus on the text of the Qur'ān in consultation with other Companions by copying out the text found in the main codex which was the most important of the texts available in Madīnah. They further say that what thus becomes evident is that the word *jam'* (collection) is not appropriate at all for what 'Uthmān actually did neither does this word appear in the main narrative reported in this regard. It is certain secondary narratives which use this word as well as some works on the sciences of the Qur'ān.

Rāmyār[615] points out that all the three Qurayshite members of the committee were sons-in-law of 'Uthmān: 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith was married to his daughter Maryam, Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ was married to Umm 'Amr and 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr was married to 'Ā'ishah bint 'Uthmān. He says that on the basis of this

---

614. Noeldeke and Schwally, *Tarīkh al-Qur'an*, 286-292.
615. Rāmyār, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 365.

fact people have got the chance to comment on the committee members, and even though there were other more skilful people present, these three were fairly competent and no one differed with them.

———————

In this regard, I have presented my critique on the involvement of the committee members in a forthcoming section.

———————

6. Absence of the Narrative in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* and in *al-Mu'aṭṭa'*

'Imādī[616] points out that like the narrative on the collection of Abū Bakr, this narrative is also not found in both *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* and *al-Mu'aṭṭa'* – two major works of Ḥadīth.

———————

This is a strong objection. The extant versions of both these major works of Ḥadīth do not contain any narrative on the collection of the Qur'ān in spite of having sections which contain narratives about the Qur'ān, as has been pointed out in the previous chapter.

Its exclusion from the *al-Mu'aṭṭa'* of Imām Mālik, one of the earliest canonical works on Ḥadīth is very significant. It is known that Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī was one of the teachers of Imām Mālik and there are several narratives in the *al-Mu'aṭṭa'* which Imām Mālik records from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī. It indeed is strange that Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī's narrative about the collection of the Qur'ān has not been recorded by Imām Mālik. Furthermore, there is a narrative in the *al-Jāmi'*[617] of 'Abdullāh ibn Wahb from Imām Mālik who reports from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī

———————

616. 'Imādī, *Jam' al-Qur'ān*, 205, 272.
617. 'Abdullāh ibn Wahb, *Al-Jām'i*, vol. 3, 31.

regarding this collection.

The absence of the narrative from Imām Muslim's *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* is also very significant. It is known that he was a student of Imām al-Bukhārī and his conditions of accepting a narrative were more lenient than those of Imām al-Bukhārī. Moreover, there are many narratives in Imām Muslim's *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* which have Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī in their chains of narration. It is indeed strange that Imām Muslim never recorded Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī's narrative regarding the collection of the Qur'ān.

7. Absence of the Narrative in some Major Works on Muslim History

'Imādī[618] also brings to light the fact that Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī in his *Tārīkh al-l-rusul wa al-mulūk* and Ibn al-Athīr in his *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh* do not mention any collection of the Qur'ān in the time of 'Uthmān.

─────────────

As far as al-Ṭabarī is concerned, there is no mention of the details of the contents which this narrative describes. However, his *Tārīkh* does record that 'Uthmān had done something in unifying the Qur'ān. Thus al-Ṭabarī refers to a speech of 'Uthmān in which he answers various criticisms which were raised against him by those who had rebelled against him. One of the criticisms mentioned is that the Qur'ān was written on various books/tracts and he gathered them in one book. At this, 'Uthmān's answer is that the Qur'ān was one and it was revealed from the One and only and that in unifying the Book he was subservient to these people.[619]

On the other hand, it is not true that the narrative is not found in Ibn al-Athīr's

---

618. 'Imādī, *Jam' al-Qur'ān*, 284, 312-313.
619. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, vol. 2, 651.

al-Kāmil. Its contents are found in it with all the details that this narrative gives.[620]

B. *Isnād*

'Imādī has criticized the chain of narration of this narrative. His criticism can be summarized as follows:

1. Al-Tirmidhī's Addition

As pointed out earlier, following is the addition found in al-Tirmidhī, just after he quotes the main narrative through his own chain:

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī said: 'On that day, they differed between التَّابُوْت and التَّابُوْه. The [three] Quraysh [members of the committee] opined that التَّابُوْت [is the correct script of the word], while Zayd said that it was التَّابُوْه. Their difference of opinion was referred to 'Uthmān who said: "Write التَّابُوْت because the Qur'ān has been revealed in the language of the Quraysh."'[621]

Al-Tirmidhī's chain of narration of the main narrative is as follows:

Anas ibn Mālik

↓

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī

↓

Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd

↓

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mahdī

↓

Muḥammad ibn Bashshār

↓

Al-Tirmidhī

↓

●

In contrast, al-Bukhārī's chain of the main narrative is as follows:

---

620. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, 2nd ed., vol. 3, 8-9.
621. Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 5, 284, (no. 3104).

Anas ibn Mālik

↓

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī

↓

Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd

↓

Mūsā ibn Ismā'īl

↓

Al-Bukhārī

↓
●
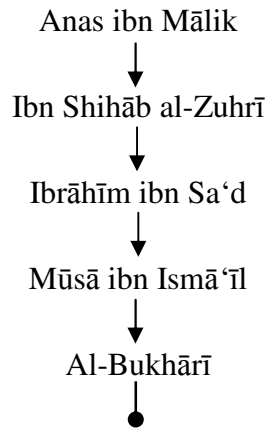
'Imādī[622] raises two primary questions on this:

1. From whom did Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī hear this addition?

2. How did the news reach al-Tirmidhī about Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī's addition because he does not mention the complete chain of narration regarding the Sūrah al-Aḥzāb narrative?

Now, if the chain of narration of this addition is different from the main narrative, then why was it not specified, and if its chain of narration is the same as that of the main narrative then the question arises: why did only al-Tirmidhī hear this addition from Muḥammad ibn Bashshār because it is known that Muḥammad ibn Bashshār is also a teacher/informant of al-Bukhārī as there are about two hundred and five narratives which are recorded by al-Bukhārī from him. So, if Muḥammad ibn Bashshār was aware of this addition, Imām al-Bukhārī would certainly have taken it from him.

Moreover, the word التَّـــابُوْت occurs twice in the Qur'ān (once in Sūrah al-Baqarah and once in Sūrah Ṭāhā), and nowhere does Imām al-Bukhārī mention of any such difference of opinion in writing it down.

In short, there exists no basis for this addition.

―――――――――

622. 'Imādī, *Jam' al-Qur'ān*, 271-275.

In this regard, the first question raised by 'Imādī carries weight. Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī has not specified his informant and this makes the part of the narrative which mentions this addition to be *mursal* thereby rendering it questionable.

As far as the second question he has raised, it is common for the *muḥaddithūn* to not cite the complete chain of narration. The narrators from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī to al-Tirmidhī himself are, in all probability, the same as that of the chain of the main narrative.

If Imām al-Bukhārī has not taken this addition from Muḥammad ibn Bashshār, it could be because of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī's *irsāl*.

It may also be noted that there are two other narratives which attribute the addition to two persons other than Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī. The narratives are recorded by 'Abdullāh ibn Wahb:

> Abū Salamah ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān said: ' 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān ordered some Arab youth to write the Qur'ān and Zayd ibn Thābit to dictate it to them. When they reached التَّابُوتُ, Zayd said: "Write it as التَّابُوه." They said: "We will only write: التَّابُوتُ." They mentioned the matter to 'Uthmān who said: "Write it as التَّابُوتُ for God has revealed the Qur'ān in eloquent Arabic to a person among us.'"[623]

According to Ibn Ḥajar, Abū Salamah ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf died in 94 AH / 104 AH and was born in early 20s AH.[624] Hence his narratives about the event are *mursal*.

> And Mālik ibn Anas narrated to us: 'People differed in [writing] the Qur'ān. In the language of the Anṣār, it was written as التَّابُوه and in the language of the Quraysh, it was التَّابُوتُ. It was written as التَّابُوتُ and 'Uthmān helped [them] in this matter.'[625]

---

623. 'Abdullāh ibn Wahb, *Al-Jāmi'*, vol. 3, 29.
624. Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 645.
625. 'Abdullāh ibn Wahb, *Al-Jāmi'*, vol. 3, 30.

Imām Mālik ibn Anas lived through 93-179 AH.[626] Hence this narrative is also *mursal*.

2. The Presence of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī and Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd

Imādī[627] has severely criticized the dubious personality of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī who is the key person in the chain of narrations of all the variants of this narrative. 'Imādī[628] also says that Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd is a weak narrator from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī.

───────────

Details about Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī and Ibrāhīm have already been recorded and discussed in the previous chapter. It may also be noted that this narrative is reported by some other pupils of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī too besides Ibrāhīm. 'Imādī has not referred to them. They are: Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah, Yūnus ibn Yazīd, Shu'ayb ibn Abī Ḥamzah and Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'īl ibn Mujammi'. Thus the complete report can be represented briefly as:[629]


```
                        Anas ibn Mālik
                              ↓
                      Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī

   Shu'ayb ibn    Ibrāhīm ibn   Yūnus ibn    Sufyān ibn    Ibrāhīm ibn
   Abī Ḥamzah        Sa'd         Yazīd       'Uyaynah      Ismā'īl
       ↓                                          ↓             ↓
   al-Ḥakam ibn                              'Abbās ibn    Yūnus ibn Bukayr
     Nāfi'                                    Muḥammad          ↓
       ↓                                          ↓
                                            Dā'ūd ibn Sulaymān
                                                  ↓
```

──────────────
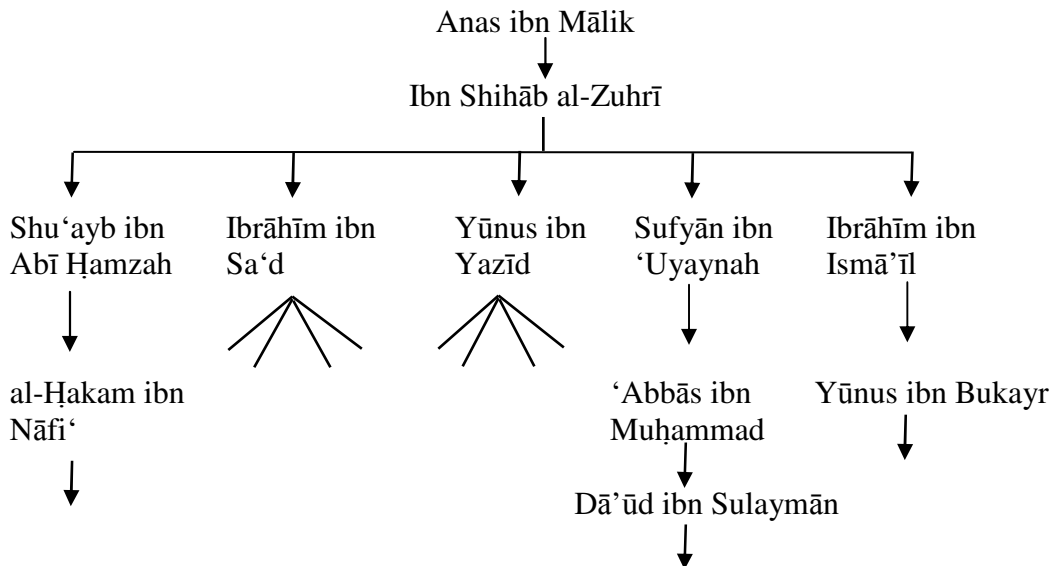
626. Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 516.
627. 'Imādī, *Jam' al-Qur'ān*, 260-261.
628. Ibid., 147, 275-276.
629. For a complete schematic illustration of this narrative, see: Appendix E.

The relevant narrators of all these chains have already been criticized in chapter two.

3. Criticism on the *Isnād* of the Sūrah al-Aḥzāb Narratives

'Imādī criticizes the chains of independent narratives which mention the absence of the Sūrah al-Aḥzāb verse from various aspects.[630] The gist of his criticism is detailed below:

First he quotes the variants of this narrative found in al-Bukhārī:

They are found at three places:

i. Kitāb Faḍā'il Qur'ān

ii. Kitāb al-Jihād

iii. Kitāb al-Tafsīr

In the first of these instances, it occurs right after the 'Uthmānic collection is mentioned and begins thus:

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī narrated from Khārijah ibn Zayd who narrated from Zayd ibn Thābit: 'I did not find a verse from Sūrah al-Aḥzāb when we made copies of the Qur'ān and I used to hear Allah's prophet reciting it. So we searched for it and found it with Khuzaymah ibn Thābit. [That verse was]: مِنَ الْمُــــؤْمِنِيْنَ رِجَالٌ صَدَقُوا مَا عَاهَدُوا اللَّهَ عَلَيْه (٢٣ :٣٣) (among the believers are men who have been true in their covenant with Allāh, (33:23)). We inserted it in its *sūrah* in the *muṣḥaf*.'[631]

The second of these is:

[Khārijah ibn Zayd reported from Zayd ibn Thābit: 'When we copied the *ṣuḥuf* into *maṣāḥif*, I found that a verse from Sūrah al-Aḥzāb was missing which I used to hear the Prophet recite. I did not find it with anyone except Khuzaymah ibn Thābit whose witness was regarded by the Prophet to carry double weight. It was: مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِيْنَ رِجَالٌ صَدَقُوا مَا عَاهَدُوا اللَّهَ عَلَيْه (٢٣ :٣٣) (among the believers are men who have been true in their covenant with Allāh,

---

630. 'Imādī, *Jam' al-Qur'ān*, 242-260.
631. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1908, (no. 4702).

(33:23)).'[632]

The third of these is:

Khārijah ibn Zayd reported from Zayd ibn Thābit: '[When] I copied the *ṣuḥuf* into *maṣāḥif*, I found that a verse from Sūrah al-Aḥzāb was missing which I used to hear the Prophet reciting. I did not find it with anyone except Khuzaymah ibn Thābit whose witness was regarded by the Prophet to carry double weight. It was: مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ رِجَالٌ صَدَقُوا مَا عَاهَدُوا اللَّهَ عَلَيْهِ (٣٣: ٢٣) (among the believers are men who have been true in their covenant with Allāh, (33:23)).'[633]

'Imādi[634] analyzes the chain of narration of the last narrative and shows that the second chain (*taḥwīl*) it bears is actually not trustworthy. In order to understand his critique, consider the chain of narration of this narrative:

حدثنا أبو اليمان أخبرنا شعيب عن الزهري و حدثنا إسماعيل قال حدثني أخي عن سليمان أراه عن محمد بن أبي عتيق عن بن شهاب عن خارجة بن زيد أن زيد بن ثابت رضي الله عنه قال...

'Imādī while quoting Ibn Ḥajar[635] says that as per his explanation of the narrative Ismā'īl refers to Ismā'īl ibn Abī Uways and his brother is Abū Bakr 'Abd al-Ḥamīd and Sulaymān is actually Sulaymān ibn Bilāl and the words أراه عن محمد بن أبي عتيق are of Ismā'īl and not of Sulaymān because though Sulaymān met Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, but according to the *muḥaddithūn* he did not directly narrate from him. In the opinion of 'Imādī, the real reason for this was that Sulaymān actually belonged to the *mawālī* of the Quraysh and was stationed in Madīnah while Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī lived in Aylā. The two could have met when Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī came to Madīnah before the time he had started narrating.

---

632. Ibid., vol. 4, 1795, (no. 4506). The narrator from al-Zuhrī is Shu'ayb ibn Abī Ḥamzah and the narrator from Shu'ayb is Abū a-Yamān al-Ḥakam ibn Nāfi'.
633. Ibid., vol. 3, 1033, (no. 2652).
634. 'Imādī, *Jam' al-Qur'ān*, 234-235.
635. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 6, 18.

Sulaymān died in 172 AH or 177 AH[636] which means that Sulymān could have seen Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124 AH) in his childhood.

Ismā'īl's full name is Ismā'īl ibn 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abdullāh ibn Uways and he is one of the *shuyūkh* of al-Bukhārī, who obviously regards him to be trustworthy. Ibn Ḥajar,[637] however, records: According to Mu'āwiyah ibn Ṣāliḥ, he and his father are *ḍa'īf*; al-Nasā'ī has also called him *ḍa'īf* and at another place called him *ghayr thiqah*. Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn says that he and his father would steal Ḥadīth. Al-Dūlābī has recorded in his *al-Ḍu'afā'* that he heard Naṣr ibn Salamah say that Ibn Abī Uways is a great liar (*kadhdhāb*).

In other words, according to 'Imādī, there is only one chain of this narrative worthy of consideration:[638]

Zayd ibn Thābit

↓

Khārijah ibn Zayd

↓

Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī

↓

Shu'ayb ibn Abī Ḥamzah

↓

Abū al-Yamān al-Ḥakam ibn Nāfi'

↓

al-Bukharī

↓

●
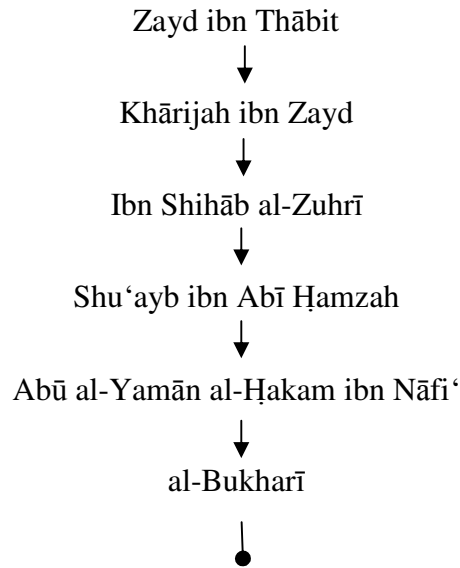
This chain too is not free of weakness. It is known that Abū al-Yamān Ḥakam ibn Nāfi' has not heard from Shu'ayb except a few narratives. (Details have

---

636. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 4, 154.
637. Ibid., vol. 1, 271-272.
638. In the first narrative (Kitāb Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān), the teacher of al-Bukhārī and the teacher of al-Bukhārī's teacher has not been mentioned. 'Imādī says that in the light of the other two narratives, these are Abū al-Yamān al-Ḥakam ibn Nāfi' and Shu'ayb ibn Abī Ḥamzah respectively.

already been referred to in the previous chapter while analyzing students of al-Zuhrī).

————————

It may be noted that 'Imādī's criticism on the chain is regarding narratives which are quoted in al-Bukhārī only. Since these narratives occur in other books with different chains as well, it is essential to analyze them as well.

These textual variants can be represented in the following shortened illustration:
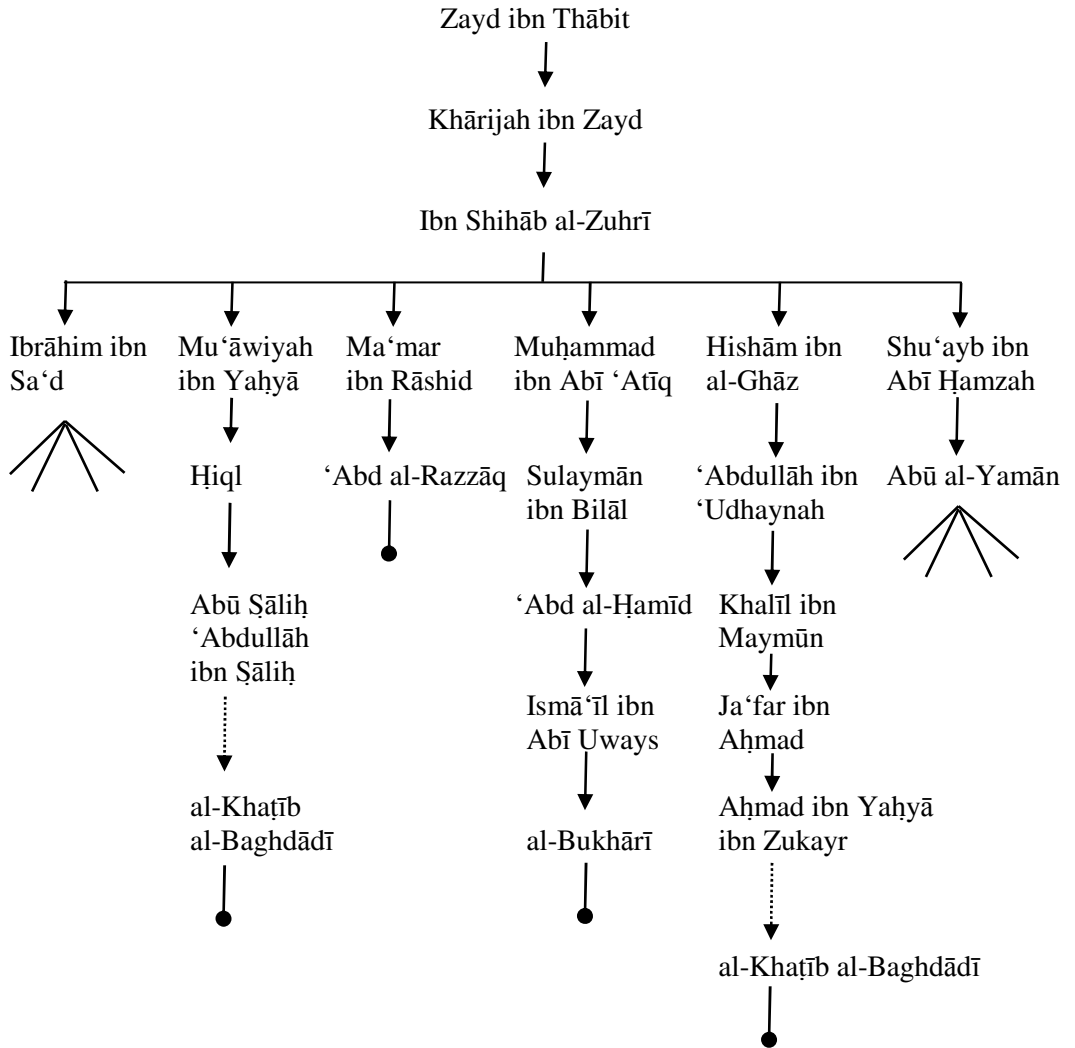
If all these narratives are analyzed, it comes to light that it is only Ibrāhīm ibn

Sa'd's narratives which specify that Khārijah had actually heard this addition from his father. The narratives of Mu'āwiyah ibn Yaḥyā, Muḥammad ibn Abī Atīq, Hishām ibn al-Ghāz, Ma'mar ibn Rāshid and Shu'ayb ibn Abī Ḥamzah[639] not only do not specify of him hearing from his father, one of the narratives from Ma'mar[640] even says that he is not even certain whether Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī heard it from Khārijah.

  As far as other narrators are concerned, whilst, the left-most and the right-most link are already discussed earlier (Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd is weak in narrating from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī and most narratives of al-Ḥakam ibn Nāfi' from Shu'ayb are subject to dubiousness), here is the criticism on the rest of the chain.

i. 'Abdullāh ibn Udhaynah

According to al-Ḥākim and al-Naqqāsh, he would narrate fabricated narratives and according to al-Dāraquṭanī, he is *matrūk al-ḥadīth*.[641] Ibn Ḥibbān records that he is *munkar al-ḥadīth*.[642]

ii. Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Zukayr

According to Al-Dāraquṭanī, he is *laysa bi shay'* in Ḥadīth.[643]

iii. Mu'āwiyah ibn Yaḥyā al-Ṣadafī

He is *ḍa'īf* according to Ibn Ḥajar.[644] According to al-Nasā'ī, he is *matrūk al-ḥadīth jiddaṇ*.[645] Al-Mizzī[646] records: Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn says: *hālikuṇ laysa bi*

---

  639. All of Shu'ayb's narratives are reported by Abū al-Yamān al-Ḥakam ibn Nāfi'. The weakness in this link has already been noted in chapter two.
  640. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 5, 189, (no. 21695). The actual words recorded are: حدثنا عبد الله حدثني أبي ثنا عبد الرزاق أنا معمر عن الزهري عن خارجة بن زيد أو غيره ان زيد بن ثابت قال
  641. Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vol. 3, 257.
  642. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Al-Majrūḥīn*, vol. 2, 18.
  643. Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vol. 1, 323.
  644. Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 538.
  645. Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Ḍu'afā' wa al-matrūkīn*, 96.

shay'; al-Juzjānī calls him *dhāhib al-ḥadīth*; Abū Zur'ah calls him *laysa bi qawī*.
Abū Ḥātim calls him *ḍa'īf al-ḥadīth*. Abū Dā'ūd and al-Dāraquṭanī call him *ḍa'īf*.

iv. Ismā'īl ibn Abī Uways

His full name is Ismā'īl ibn 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abdullāh ibn Uways and he is one of
the *shuyūkh* of al-Bukhārī, who obviously regards him to be trustworthy. Ibn
Ḥajar,[647] however, records: According to Mu'āwiyah ibn Ṣāliḥ, he and his father
are *ḍa'īf*; al-Nasā'ī has also called him *ḍa'īf* and at another place called him
ghayr thiqah. Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn says that he and his father would steal Ḥadīth. Al-
Dūlābī has recorded in his *al-Ḍu'afā'* that he heard Naṣr ibn Salamah say that Ibn
Abī Uways is a great liar (*kadhdhāb*).

  The only chain which appears flawless is the one recorded by 'Abd al-Razzāq
in his *Muṣannaf* and that too if Khārijah's tender age in narrating from his father
Zayd is disregarded, as referred to in the previous chapter.

IV. Further Criticism

In this section, I will present some further criticism which in my opinion arises on
the narrative.

1. The Narrative is *Gharīb*

It is known that Anas ibn Mālik, the narrator of this report, lived to be 103 years
and died in 93 AH. His narratives are reported by well over 200 students (229 to
be exact).[648] It is strange that from among these students this narrative is reported
by Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī only.

---

646. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 28, 222-223.
647. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 1, 271-272.
648. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 3, 354-363.

2. Questionable Methodology adopted by 'Uthmān

What exactly was the measure undertaken by 'Uthmān to resolve the differences in reading? While the primary narrative in al-Bukhārī explicitly says that 'Uthmān had directed the committee to write out the Qur'ān in the dialect of the Quraysh, here is what some authorities say:

a) 'Uthmān united the Muslims on one Reading

This is attributed to 'Alī[649] as expressed in a narrative. Ḥasan ibn Abī al-Ḥasan (22-110 AH) also hold this view.[650]

b) 'Uthmān united the Muslims on one *Muṣḥaf*

This is attributed to Qatādah ibn Di'āmah (d. 117 AH)[651] and to 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Mahdī (135-198 AH).[652]

  Some people have specified what uniting on one *muṣḥaf* means. Two such specifications can be identified. One of them is that people were united on whatever took place in the final review (*al-'arḍah al-akhīrah*)[653] and the other is that people were united on readings verifiable and known to the Prophet.[654]

c) 'Uthmān gathered the Muslims on One *Ḥarf*

This is attributed to al-Ḥārith ibn al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243 AH)[655] and al-Baghawī (d. 516 AH)[656].

  Scholars like al-Ṭabarī (d. 310 AH) and Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852 AH) are of the

---

649. Al-Bayhaqī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 2, 42, (no. 2204).
650. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*, vol. 39, 349-350.
651. Al-Dānī, *Al-Muqni'*, 6.
652. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 19.
653. Ibn Kathīr, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 50.
654. Al-Bāqilānī, *Al-Intiṣār li al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1, 65.
655. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 211.
656. Al-Baghawī, *Sharḥ al-sunnah*, vol. 4, 523.

opinion[657] that when in the time of 'Uthmān severe differences arose in reading the Qur'ān, he revoked the six out of the *Seven Aḥruf* and collected the Qur'ān in one *ḥarf* which was the *ḥarf* of the Quraysh.

A simple analysis of all these measures shows that none of them could have been enough to either unify the Muslims on one reading, or one *muṣḥaf* or one *ḥarf* in accordance with the opinion of various authorities pointed out above in this regard. This is because the measure adopted by 'Uthmān in all these three possibilities could not have eliminated erroneous readings which could be accommodated within the consonantal/orthographic structure of the Qur'ān unless either of the following two measures were adopted in addition:

i. introduction of vowel signs in the consonantal structure of the script.

ii. entrusting these copies to reciters who knew the correct reading(s) by heart.

As far as the first point is concerned, there seems to exist a consensus in Muslim literature that vowel signs were not present in the Qur'āns of those times and were introduced much later.

As far as the second point is concerned, though 'Aẓamī has said that Uthmān did send reciters with these copies of the Qur'ān, the source from which he has quoted this[658] itself does not mention any reference or proof in this regard.

According to him, Zayd ibn Thābit was sent to Madīnah, 'Abdullāh ibn al-Sā'ib was sent to Makkah, Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah was sent to Syria, 'Āmir ibn 'Abd Qays was sent to Baṣrah and Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī was sent to Kūfah with these codices.

---

657. Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, vol. 1, 34; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 9, 24.
658. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Qāḍī, *Al-Qira'āt fī naẓr al-mustashriqīn wa al-mulḥidīn*, 1st ed. (Cairo: Dār al-salām, 2005), 42-43.

No source specifies that Zayd ibn Thābit[659] was kept in Madīnah by 'Uthmān to teach the Qur'ān from the Madīnan copy.

Sources mention that 'Abdullāh ibn al-Sā'ib ibn Abī al-Sā'ib (d. 62 AH approx) was a reciter of Makkah but no source[660] specifies that he was sent there by 'Uthmān for this purpose.

No source[661] specifies that Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah (d. 50 AH) was sent to Syria by 'Uthmān for this purpose. He remained the governor of Baṣrah and then Kūfah.[662] Al-Dhahabī does not even mention his name among the reciters.[663]

It is known that 'Āmir ibn 'Abd Qays (d. 55 AH) was the governor of Baṣrah. However, there is no mention of him being sent by 'Uthmān with the Baṣran copy to Baṣrah.[664]

---

659. See for example: Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 2, 358-361; Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 3, 380; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb*, vol. 2, 537-540; Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 10, 24-31; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 2, 592-594; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 3, 344; 'Abd al-Bāqī ibn Qāni', *Mu'jam al-ṣahābah*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Madīnah: Maktabah al-ghurabā' al-athriyyah, 1418 AH), 228-230; Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, vol. 2, 426-441.

660. See for example: Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 5, 445; Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 5, 8; Al-Dhahabī, *Al-Kāshif*, vol. 1, 556; Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 14, 553; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 5, 201; 'Abd al-Bāqī ibn Qāni', *Mu'jam al-ṣahābah*, vol. 2, 130; Abū 'Abdullāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Uthmān ibn Qāyamaz ibn 'Abdullāh al-Dhahabī, *Ma'rifah al-qurrā' al-kibār*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Istanbul: Manshūrāt markaz al-buḥūth al-islāmiyyah, 1995), 132-135; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-ghābah*, vol. 3, 257-258.

661. See for example: Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb*, vol. 4, 1445-1448; Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, vol. 3, 21-32; Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 28, 369-374; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 10, 234; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 6, 197-199; 'Abd al-Bāqī ibn Qāni', *Mu'jam al-ṣahābah*, vol. 3, 87. Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 1, 191-193.

662. Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 543. Ibn 'Asākir has related many details of his life and dealt with his political assignments at length: He was appointed as the governor of Baṣrah (16-17 AH) by 'Umar and later deposed by him and appointed the governor of Kūfah, and remained its governor at the time of 'Umar's death. 'Uthmān deposed him in his times and then later Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān again appointed him as the governor of Kūfah, a position on which he remained till his death in 50 AH. See: Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*, vol. 60, 13-63.

663. Al-Dhahabī, *Ma'rifah al-qurrā' al-kibār*, 1st ed., 4 vols. Istanbul: Manshūrāt Markaz al-Buḥūth al-Islāmiyyah, 1995.

664. See for example, Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, vol. 4, 15-19; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 5, 76-77; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyah al-awliyā'*, vol. 2, 87-95; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*

Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 74 AH) taught the Qur'ān in a mosque for forty years in Kūfah since the time of 'Uthmān's reign. No source corroborates 'Aẓamī's information.[665]

Furthermore, it seems that no measure was adopted to set right what was in the memories of people. No order was issued by 'Uthmān to people to stop reading what was in their hearts and to only follow what was found in the copies sent by him. Could the few copies have sufficed to erase what was in the minds of people especially in an era where transmission and reading of the Qur'ān was heavily dependent on the oral tradition.

3. Nature of Dispute between the Armies

The central personality in all the primary narratives of the collection of the Qur'ān by Uthmān is of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124 AH).[666] Let us compare the reports (or lack of them) given by early historians who have not recorded the standard version regarding the nature of disputes which had arisen at the time of 'Uthmān between the Syrian and 'Irāqī armies at the front of Armenia and Azerbaijān.

Thus for example, since historians such as 'Umar ibn Shabbah (d. 262 AH) in his *Tārīkh al-Madīnah*, Aslam ibn Sahl Wasiṭī in his (d. 292 AH) *Tārīkh Wāsiṭ* and Ibn Nadīm (d. 385 AH) in his *al-Fihrist* have recorded the standard account of the 'Uthmānic collection,[667] but they have Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī in their chains, hence I have excluded them from the discussion. Also excluded because of Ibn

---

Madīnah Dimashq, vol. 26, 3-29.

665. See for example: Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 6, 172-174; Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 5, 72; Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 14, 408-409; Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, vol. 4, 267-272; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 5, 161; Al-Dhahābī, *Ma'rifah al-qurrā' al-kibār*, vol. 1, 146-151.

666. There are certain non-Zuhrī narratives too. Later in this chapter, I shall discuss the contradictions between them.

667. See: 'Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol. 1, 117-118, (no. 1715); Aslam ibn Sahl al-Wasiṭī, *Tārīkh Wāsiṭ*, 251-252; Ibn Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 39-40.

Shihāb al-Zuhrī's presence are narratives which exist in other works such as those of 'Abdullāh ibn Wahb (d. 197 AH) and Abū 'Ubayd Qāsim ibn Sallām (d. 224 AH).[668]

The narrative mentions that Ḥudhayfah reported disputes between the Syrian and the 'Irāqī armies at the battle fronts of Armenia and Azerbaijan. Although the narratives depicting the standard version only mention that Ḥudhayfah was alarmed at the differences between the people of 'Irāq and Syria in reading the Qur'ān, some of the variant texts describe that these differences led to violent disputes among them.

Ibn Ḥibbān records:

Anas ibn Mālik reports that people of 'Irāq and Syria gathered together for battle against Armenia and Azerbaijan. They recited the Qur'ān before one another and differed in it so much that they almost plunged into warfare.[669]

If contrary to the reports of the *muḥaddithūn*, the accounts of these battles given by the historians and some other scholars are read and analyzed, an entirely different picture emerges.[670] Historians of the first four centuries do not report that any dispute took place between the two armies on the issue of reading the Qur'ān. On the other hand, they report that the dispute which arose on that

---

668. 'Abdullāh ibn Wahb, *Al-Jām'i*, vol. 3, 26-31; Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 152-157.

669. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 10, 365, (no. 4507).

670. I must make an acknowledgement here. It is while going through 'Abdullāh Khurshīd al-Barrī's *Al-Qur'ān wa 'ulūmuhū fī Miṣr* that this 'different picture' came to my notice for the first time. If true, such is the profound nature of this new information that it totally changes the complexion of the whole issue, and puts it into a new perspective. Later I studied al-Barrī's sources directly and some other ones as well to gather more information on this issue. The current section is a result of this study. Thus I feel greatly indebted to al-Barrī for what I have presented here. It may also be pertinent to mention here that al-Barrī has referred to this 'different picture' while trying to determine the year in which the 'Uthmānic collection took place. For his views, see: 'Abdullāh Khurshīd al-Barrī', *Al-Qur'ān wa 'ulūmuhū fī Miṣr* (Cairo: Dār al-ma'ārif, n.d.), 28-45.

occasion between the two armies was regarding the distribution of the spoils of war. Historians like Sayf ibn 'Umar (d. 180 AH)[671] and some later historians have recorded that the dispute was because of the issue of leadership between the two generals of the Syrian and 'Irāqī armies.

I will now take a closer look at these accounts and at the geographical locations of the various cities of Armenia and Azerbaijan:[672]

According to al-Balādhurī,[673] Armenia was divided into the following four regions:

Armenia I: Sīsajān, Arrān, Taflīs, Bardha'ah, Baylaqān, Qabalah, Sharwān.

Armenia II: Jurzān, Ṣughdbīl, Fayrūzqubādh, Lakz.

Armenia III: Busfarrajān, Dabīl, Sirāj Ṭayr, Baghrawand, Nashwā.

Armenia IV: Shamisāṭ, Khilāṭ, Qalīqalā, Arjīsh, Bājunays

Following are the prominent historians who have narrated their accounts regarding the battles of the 'Irāqī and Syrian armies at the Armenian and

---

671. The problem with Sayf's narrative, as shall be seen later, is that it, contrary to all others, states that it was Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah who was sent to help Salmān ibn Rabī'ah and not the reverse.

672. The above map of Armenia has been taken from: Maḥmūd Shīt Khaṭṭāb, *Qādah al-fatḥ al-islāmiyyah fī Armenia*, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1998), 23.

673. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 197.

Azerbaijan fronts:

i. Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā (d. 130 approx.)

According to Abū Mikhnaf, al-Walīd ibn 'Uqbah attacked Armenia and Azerbaijan when they desisted from paying the tribute in 24 AH.[674] (Other historians are of the view that this event took place in 26 AH). The army centres of Kūfah were in Ray and in Azerbaijan. Ten thousand Kūfans were deputed at both these frontiers. Among them, six thousand were stationed at Azerbaijan and four thousand at Ray. At that time, there were forty thousand soldiers in Kūfah. Every year ten thousand from these forty thousand would go to these frontiers and in this manner a soldier would get his turn after four years.

Al-Walīd sent Salmān ibn Rabī'ah to lead the front battalion. He then followed and made his way up to Azerbaijan. He then sent 'Abdullāh ibn Shubayl with four thousand men into various territories of Azerbaijan. 'Abdullāh conquered Lawqān, al-Basīr and Ṭaylsāṇ. He then returned with the spoils and prisoners of war to al-Walīd ibn 'Uqbah. Later, al-Walīd made a peace settlement with them at 800, 000 dirhams. This settlement was in accordance with what had already been concluded with them in the time of 'Umar in 22 AH but which they never subsequently honoured.

Al-Walīd then sent Salmān with a 12000 army to Armenia. Salmān fought and killed many among his enemies and made the rest his prisoners. He returned to al-Walīd with a lot of war bounty.

Later when al-Walīd ibn 'Uqbah was at Ḥadīthah al-Mawṣil, he received a letter from Mu'āwiyah which said that the Romans were about to attack the Muslims and they needed help. At this, al-Walīd sent Salmān ibn Rabī'ah with

---

674. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, vol. 2, 591-592.

eight thousand soldiers and entered Rome with the Syrian army which was under the command of Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah al-Fihrī. Both leaders attacked Rome and conquered many forts and gathered a lot of war booty.

It is evident that there is no mention of any dispute between the armies in Abū Mikhnaf's account recorded by al-Ṭabarī.

ii. Sayf ibn 'Umar (d. 180 AH)

According to Sayf ibn 'Umar[675] 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Rabī'ah was deputed to guard the frontiers of Armenia when in 30 AH he was forced to ask for help. Hudhayfah ibn al-Yamān was diverted from the battle-front of Ray and sent to him at Bāb, a city in the Arrān territory of Armenia. Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ also accompanied him till both of them reached Azerbaijan. Sa'īd remained there while Hudhayfah went over to 'Abd al-Raḥmān at Bāb. Later, both Sa'īd and Hudhayfah returned.

Sayf ibn 'Umar says that in 32 AH,[676] 'Uthmān wrote to Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ to send Salmān ibn Rabī'ah with an army to the battle-front of Bāb. 'Uthmān also wrote to 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Rabī'ah, who was at that time at Bāb, to not engage in battle. However, he did not pay heed and was later killed in a battle with the Khazrs and the Turks at Balanjar. Salmān ibn Rabī'ah replaced his brother and the caliph sent Hudhayfah ibn al-Yamān from Kūfah to help him.

According to Sayf, in 33 AH,[677] Salmān ibn Rabī'ah was further reinforced at the behest of the caliph by a Syrian army led by Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah. Salmān was appointed his leader as well, but Ḥabīb refused to accept his leadership and matters reached the extent that the armies of the two exchanged hot words.

Aws ibn Mughīrah, a poet of the Kūfan army, is reported to have recited the

---

675. Ibid., 614.
676. Ibid., 627-628.
677. Ibid.

following couplets at this occasion:

وَ إِنْ تَضْرِبُوا سلمان نَضْرِب حَبِيْبَكُمْ
وَ إِنْ تَرْحَلُوا نَحْوَ ابنِ عَفَّانَ نَرْحَلُ

wa in taḍribū salmāna naḍrib ḥabībakum
wa in tarḥalū naḥwa ibn 'affāna narḥalu

(If you strike Salmān, we will strike Ḥabīb, and if you march towards 'Uthmān

ibn 'Affān, we also go to him.)

وَ إِنْ تُقْسِطُوا فَالثَّغْرُ ثَغْرُ أَمِيْرِنَا
وَهَذا أَمِيْرٌ فِي الكَتَائِبَ مُقْبِلُ

wa in tuqsiṭū fa al-thaghru thaghru amīrinā
wa hādhā amīruṇ fī al-katā'iba muqbilu

(If you do justice, this front belongs to our leader; look this leader of ours is

bringing over the armies.)

وَ نَحْنُ وُلاَةُ الثُّغْرِ كُنَّا حُمَاتَهُ
لَيالِيَ نَرْمِي كُلَّ ثَغْرٍ وَ نُنْكِلُ

wa naḥnu wulāt al-thaghri kunnā ḥumātahū
layāliya narmī kulla thaghriṇ wa nunkilu

(We are the administrators of this front and we used to protect it when we used

to spray arrows on this front and punish the enemies.)

iii. Al-Wāqidī (d. 207 AH)

(1) His Version found in his *Futūḥ al-Islām*

Amīr Mu'āwiyah, the governor of Syria, sent Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah to conquer

Armenia. When the latter reached Shamīsāt, he was forced to ask for help to fight

an army which had gathered there to fight him. The army was led by a person

called Mirzabān belonging to Rome. Ḥabīb wrote to Amīr Mu'āwiyah and Amīr

Mu'āwiyah wrote to 'Uthmān who then wrote to al-Walīd ibn 'Uqbah,[678] the governor of Kūfah to send an army of ten thousand to help Ḥabīb. As a result, he was sent a Kūfan army under the command of Salmān ibn Rabī'ah. Now Ḥabīb thinking that the victory might solely be attributed to the 'Irāqī army, did not wait for them and suddenly attacked the enemy at night and won the battle. When the 'Irāqī army reached Shamīsāt, they demanded that they too be given a share from the spoils. This led to a quarrel between the two armies which ended in a battle. The Kūfans won the day. The matter was ultimately referred to the caliph 'Uthmān who ordered that the spoils be distributed among both armies. Ḥabīb whole-heartedly accepted the decision and enforced it. He remained stationed where he was while Salmān continued his march forward, as directed by the caliph. Salmān conquered many areas of Armenia like Baylaqān, Masqat and Bāb until he was martyred in the battle that took place at Balanjar. 'Uthmān then sent Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah to complete the job, who ultimately conquered what remained of Armenia. 'Uthmān then sent Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān to govern Armenia. Later, 'Uthmān deposed him too and appointed Ash'ath ibn Qays who remained its governor till 'Uthmān's assassination.[679]

(2) His version found in *Futūḥ al-buldān*

A much shortened version of the above incident is reported from Ibn Sa'd, the scribe of al-Wāqidī, to al-Balādhurī. According to this version, as recorded in his *Futūḥ al-buldān*,[680] Ḥabīb surrounded the people of Dabīl and was stationed there until he met the [army of] Muriyan the Roman, whom he attacked at night and

---

678. He was the governor of Kūfah from 24-29 AH.
679. Summarized from: Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-islām li bilād al-'ajam wa Khurāsān*, (Egypt: Matba' al-maḥrūsah, 1309 AH), 138-144.
680. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 202.

killed and looted the spoils. It was then that Salmān ibn Rabī'ah arrived and demanded a share in the spoils. However, al-Balādhurī says that according to local authorities/narrators, this event took place at Qāliqalā and not at Dabīl.

(3) His version found in the *Tārīkh* of al-Ṭabarī

According to this version, the person who sent Salmān ibn Rabī'ah to the help of Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah was Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ,[681] the governor of Kūfah [and not al-Walīd ibn 'Uqbah]. The details are as follows: 'Uthmān asked Amīr Mu'āwiyah to send an army under the command of Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah to Armenia. Ḥabīb was thus sent there. Meanwhile Muriyan, the Roman, marched with an eighty thousand strong army to attack Ḥabīb. Ḥabīb wrote to Amīr Mu'āwiyah for help. He in turn wrote to 'Uthmān. 'Uthmān asked Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ to send an army to help him. Sa'īd then sent Salmān ibn Rabī'ah with an army of six thousand.[682]

   At another place, al-Ṭabarī mentions that according to al-Wāqidī, Armenia was conquered in 31 AH by Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah.[683]

iv. Ibn Sa'd (d. 230 AH)

Ibn Sa'd in his *al-Ṭabaqāt*[684] mentions that Salmān ibn Rabī'ah was sent to attack Balanjar where he died. This was in the caliphate of 'Uthmān during the governorship of Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ on Kūfah.

   He also mentions[685] that Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah was appointed as the governor of Armenia by Amīr Mu'āwiyah without any mention of the date of this event.

   Nowhere is there a mention of any dispute between the Syrian and 'Irāqī armies.

---

681. He was the governor of Kūfah from 29-34 AH.
682. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa al-mūluk*, vol. 2, 592.
683. Ibid., vol. 2, 620.
684. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 6, 131.
685. Ibid., vol. 7, 409.

v. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ (d. 240 AH)

He records that in 25 AH,[686] Walīd ibn 'Uqbah sent Salmān to conquer Bardha'ah with an army of twelve thousand soldiers. He conquered it and made prisoners.

He also records that according to another opinion, it was 'Umar who had sent Salmān to conquer Bardha'ah.

In the events of the year 29 AH,[687] he records:

(1) 'Uthmān appointed Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ as the governor of Kūfah. He attacked Armenia. Salmān advanced till Balanjar where he was killed. According to another opinion, it was 'Umar who had sent Salmān to Balanjar.

(2) Salmān attacked Baylaqān and a peace treaty was concluded with them and conquered other territories also till he was killed at Balanjar. In the meantime, he had asked Ḥabīb to come from Syria. He came over and a peace treaty was struck between him and the people of Jurzān.

vi. Al-Balādhurī (d. 279 AH)

He narrates the conquests of Azerbaijan and Armenia separately.

As far as the conquest of Azerbaijan is concerned,[688] he says that al-Walīd ibn 'Uqbah sent 'Abdullāh ibn Shubayl to conquer it in 25 AH when they broke their agreement. He subdued Mawqān, al-Babar and Ṭaylasāṇ. He returned with the war booty and prisoners and a peace treaty was concluded with them on the same conditions as the one concluded with Ḥudhayfah in the time of 'Umar.

Later when Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ became the governor of Kūfah, he conquered

---

686. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 90-91.
687. Ibid., 94.
688. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 323.

Mawqān and Jaylān.[689]

As far as the conquest of Armenia is concerned,[690] he has recorded the following two versions and given preference to the first because he says that it has been narrated to him by many authorities of the city of Qālīqalā and al-ʿAṭṭāf ibn Sufyān Abū al-Aṣbagh, a *qāḍī* of the city, has sent him a written account of it.

(1) When 'Uthmān became the caliph, he wrote to Amīr Muʿāwiyah, the governor of Syria to send Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah to conquer Armenia. According to another report, which to the author is more correct, 'Uthmān had actually written to Ḥabīb directly. Ḥabīb marched towards Armenia and stationed himself at Qālīqalā. In the battle which ensued, Ḥabīb won and remained there for some months. During this time, he heard that the patrician of Armaniyakus was going to attack them; so he wrote for help to 'Uthmān who wrote to Amīr Muʿāwiyah to send help to them. Amīr Muʿāwiyah sent him two thousand men for this purpose.

'Uthmān also wrote to Saʿid ibn al-ʿĀṣ, the governor of Kūfah, to send Salmān ibn Rabīʿah to help them. Since this help arrived late, Ḥabīb went ahead and attacked the Romans at night and killed their leader. When Salmān reached them, he demanded a share in the spoils of war. This resulted in a scuffle and some even threatened to kill Salmān. A poet from the Kūfans said:

وَ إِنْ تَقْتُلْ سلمانَ نَقْتُلْ حَبِيْبَكُمْ

وَ إِنْ تَرْحَلُوا نَحْوَ ابنِ عَفَّانَ نَرْحَلُ

wa in taqtul salmāna naqtul ḥabībakum
wa in tarḥalū naḥwa ibn ʿaffāna narḥalu

(If you kill Salmān, we kill your Ḥabīb, and if you head off towards Ibn ʿAffān, we also go to him.)

---

689. Ibid. 324.
690. Ibid., 200-207.

Ultimately, judgement was sought from 'Uthmān who said that the spoils only belong to the Syrians and asked Salmān to attack Arrān.

After capturing Qālīqalā, Ḥabīb marched on and captured various other cities like Mirbālā, Taflīs, al-Nashawā etc. Salmān also conquered many cities of Arrān like Baylakān and Bardha'ah. He was ultimately killed with four thousand Muslims near the river of Balanjar.

'Uthmān thought of appointing Ḥabīb all over Armenia, but ultimately appointed Ḥudhayfah and put Ḥabīb in charge of Syria and Mesopotamia. Ḥabīb died in 42 AH aged thirty five at Damascus.

(2) Salmān ibn Rabī'ah went to Armenia in the reign of 'Uthmān, captured prisoners and returned in 25 AH to al-Walīd ibn 'Uqbah who was at Ḥadīthah al-Mawṣil. Here a letter arrived from 'Uthmān saying that he had been asked by Mu'āwiyah to help the Muslims against the armies of Rome. At this, al-Walīd sent an army of eight thousand under Salmān ibn Rabī'ah and Mu'āwiyah sent another army with the same number of soldiers under Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah to help the Muslims. Both captured many forts and made prisoners. Salmān and Ḥabīb quarrelled over the leadership of the Muslims. A Kūfan poet said:[691]

$$\text{وَ إِنْ تَقْتُلْ سلمانَ نَقْتُلْ حَبِيْبَكُمْ}$$
$$\text{وَ إِنْ تَرْحَلُوا نَحْوَ ابنِ عَفَّانَ نَرْحَلُ}$$

wa in taqtul salmāna naqtul ḥabībakum
wa in tarḥalū naḥwa ibn 'affāna narḥalu

(If you kill Salmān, we kill your Ḥabīb, and if you head off towards Ibn 'Affān, we also go to him.)

---

691. Ibid., 201.

vii. Al-Ya'qūbī[692] (d. 292 AH)

According to him, 'Uthmān sent Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah to conquer Armenia in 30 AH. He mentions the fact that 'Uthmān later sent Salmān ibn Rabī'ah to his help and the two had a dispute with one another. However, he does not specify the nature of this dispute and says that even till 'Uthmān's death, the two had not reconciled.

Salmān was sent forward until he reached Baylaqān and took it in control and later also Bardha'ah. According to another opinion, Ḥabīb conquered Jurzān and Salmān was sent to Sharwān and he conquered other territories also until he and four hundred of his men died in the battle at the river Balanjar. 'Uthmān then made Ḥudhayfah in charge of Armenia and later appointed Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah in his place.

viii. Aḥmad ibn A'tham al-Kūfī (d. 314 AH)

His account seems to be entirely based on the one given by al-Wāqidī in his *Futūḥ al-Islām.*[693]

ix. Abū 'Arūbah[694] (d. 318 AH[695])

His account seems to be based entirely on the one given by al-Balādhurī in his *Futūḥ al-buldān* referred to above except for the fact that it does not mention what happened after a scuffle arose between Salmān and Ḥabīb over the issue of the spoils of war. A poet from the Kūfans said:

---

692. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, 168.
693. Aḥmad ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, 1ˢᵗ ed., vol. 2 (Hyderabad: Maṭba' majlis dā'irah al-ma'ārif al-'uthmāniyyah, n.d.), 108-116.
694. Abū 'Arūbah, *Kitāb al-awā'il*, 149.
695. Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah al-ḥuffāẓ*, vol. 2, 775.

وَ إِنْ تَقْتُلْ سلمانَ نَقْتُلْ حَبِيْبَكُمْ

وَ إِنْ تَرْحَلُوا نَحْوَ ابنِ عَفَّانَ نَرْحَلُ

wa in taqtul salmāna naqtul ḥabībakum

wa in tarḥalū naḥwa ibn 'affāna narḥalu

The above account is enlisted under a heading which says that this was the first

enmity which arose between the people of 'Irāq and the people of Syria.

x. Qudāmah ibn Ja'far[696] (d. 337 AH)

His account is almost entirely the same as on the one given by al-Balādhurī in his

Futūḥ al-buldān referred to earlier regarding the conquests of Armenia and

Azerbaijan.

xi. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr[697] (d. 463 AH)

Under the biography of Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah, while quoting an opinion he says

that it is said that it was 'Uthmān who sent him to Azerbaijan and Salmān was

sent to help him. The two quarrelled over the spoils of war. A poet from the

people of Salmān said:

وَ إِنْ تَقْتُلْ سلمانَ نَقْتُلْ حَبِيْبَكُمْ

وَ إِنْ تَرْحَلُوا نَحْوَ ابنِ عَفَّانَ نَرْحَلُ

wa in taqtul salmāna naqtul ḥabībakum

wa in tarḥalū naḥwa ibn 'affāna narḥalu

xii. Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī[698] (d. 463 AH)

His *Tārīkh* of Baghdād does not mention any details of the battles at Armenia and

Azerbaijan. The only thing he does mention is the martyrdom of Salmān ibn

---

696. Qudāmah ibn Ja'far, *Al-Khirāj wa ṣanā'ah al-kitābah*, 1ˢᵗ ed., ('Irāq: Dār al-rashīd, n. d.), 324-330.

697. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb*, vol. 1, 320-321.

698. Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 9, 206.

Rabī‘ah at Balanjar in Armenia in 29, 30 or 31 AH.

xiii. Muṭṭahhir ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī[699] (d. 507 AH)

He records that while defending one of the objections raised against him by his enemies, ‘Uthmān said that if he had revoked other *aḥruf* and compiled the Qur’ān on one *ḥarf* it was because Ḥudhayfah had come over to him and reported differences in reading the Qur’ān and differing the way the People of the Book did. He said that if this was a right step that he took, then it is from God and if it was not a right one, then it was from Ḥudhayfah.

xiv. Ibn ‘Asākir (d. 571 AH)

He has quoted two accounts, one of which is almost the same account as that of al-Balādhurī given above and is recorded on the authority of Rāshid ibn Sa‘d.[700] The only difference is that here Ḥabīb wrote to Mu‘āwiyah for help and not to ‘Uthmān directly. Mu‘āwiyah wrote to ‘Uthmān who wrote to the governor of ‘Irāq (it is not mentioned whether the governor was al-Walīd ibn ‘Uqbah or Sa‘īd ibn al-‘Āṣ). The governor then sent an army under the leadership of Salmān ibn Rabī‘ah.

The difference in opinion which arose was due to the spoils of war as recounted by al-Balādhurī.[701]

The second account he has quoted is from Sayf ibn ‘Umar. This account is an enlarged version of the account recorded by al-Ṭabarī from Sayf. Sayf’s account in al-Ṭabarī and Ibn ‘Asākir are exactly similar in words for the first part:

---

699. Muṭṭahhir ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī, *Al-Bad’ wa al-tārīkh*, vol. 5 (Būr Sa‘īd: Maktabah al-thaqāfah al-dīniyyah, n.d.), 203.

700. Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*, vol. 12, 72-76. In another narrative, the account is attributed to both Rāshid ibn Sa‘d and ‘Aṭiyah ibn Qays. In three other narratives, it is attributed to al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, Sa‘īd ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and Ibn Abī Dhu’ayb respectively.

701. At another place, where he has referred to this incident, he has mentioned that a dispute had arisen between Salmān and Ḥabīb but he does not mention the reason for this dispute. See: Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*, vol. 21, 472.

كتب إلي السري عن شعيب عن سيف عن محمد وطلحة قالا صرف حذيفة عن غزو الـــري
إلى غزو الباب مددا لعبد الرحمن بن ربيعة وخرج معه سعيد بن العاص فبلغ معــــه أذربيجـــان
وكذلك كانوا يصنعون يجعلون للناس ردءا فأقام حتى قفل حذيفة ثم رجعا[702]

أخبرنا أبو القاسم بن السمرقندي أنا أبو الحسين بن النقور أنا أبو طاهر المخلص أنا أبو بكر
بن سيف أنا السري بن يحيى أنا شعيب بن إبراهيم أنا سيف بن عمر عن محمد وطلحة قال
وصرف حذيفة عن غزو الري إلى غزو الباب مددا لعبدالرحمن بن ربيعة وخرج معه ســــعيد
بن العاص فبلغ معه أذربيجان وكذلك كانوا يصنعون يجعلون للناس ردءا فأقام حتى قفـــل
حذيفة ثم رجعا[703]

Hudhayfah ibn al-Yamān was diverted from the battle-front of Ray and sent to
the battle-front of Bāb [a city in the Arrān territory of Armenia] to help 'Abd
al-Raḥmān ibn Rabī'ah. Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ also accompanied him till both of
them reached Azerbaijan, and this was a normal practice for them: they would
make people helpers. Sa'īd remained there until Hudhayfah came back [from
Bāb]. Later, both Sa'īd and Hudhayfah returned.[704]

However, from here onwards the account of Sayf recorded by Ibn 'Asākir adds
many significant details. One of these is regarding differences in reading the
Qur'ān. He says that on the return trip from Azerbaijan, Ḥudhayfah related to Sa'īd
that he had witnessed something very disturbing and if it was not rectified, people
might end up going astray in reading the Qur'ān. He reported that he had witnessed
this disturbing phenomenon when the Syrian army had arrived to help them.

The cause of his alarm was that various people were regarding their reading to
be superior to others. Thus the people of Ḥimṣ read the Qur'ān according to the
reading of Miqdād ibn Aswad and regarded their reading to be superior to the
reading of the Kūfans. Similarly, the Kūfans and the Syrians would regard their
own reading to be superior.

---

702. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, vol. 2, 614.
703. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*, vol. 39, 241.
704. Ibid., vol. 39, 241-242.

It is evident that it is Ibn 'Asākir who for the first time has recorded these details about people regarding one another's reading to be superior. These readings may not have reached the form of a scuffle the way matters had worsened in the distribution of spoils of war, but the fact is that they were enough to alarm Ḥudhayfah.

Moreover, as referred to earlier, Ibn 'Asākir simultaneously records that differences also arose because of a dispute in spoils of war.[705]

xv. Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597 AH)

In the events of 25 AH,[706] Ibn al-Jawzī in his *al-Muntaẓam* has recorded Abū Mikhnaf's account in the *Tārīkh* of al-Ṭabarī referred to earlier.

xvi. Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630 AH)

In the events of 25 AH,[707] he has quoted Abū Mikhnaf's account as found in the *Tārīkh* of al-Ṭabarī referred to earlier. However he has not attributed it to Abū Mikhnaf or to anyone else.

In the events of 30 AH,[708] he has mentioned that Hudhayfah ibn al-Yamān was diverted from the battle-front of Ray and sent to Bāb. Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ also accompanied him till both of them reached Azerbaijan. Sa'īd remained there while Hudhayfah went over to 'Abd al-Raḥmān at Bāb. Later, both Sa'īd and Hudhayfah returned to Kūfah. During this journey, Ḥudhayfah disclosed to Sa'īd that he was very alarmed and perturbed at what he had witnessed regarding differences in reading the Qur'ān. He said that he saw the people of Ḥimṣ

---

705. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*, vol. 12, 74-76.
706. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 4, 345.
707. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, vol. 2, 477-478. He has also mentioned the account of al-Wāqidī mentioned in Al-Ṭabarī as per which the person who sent Salmān to help Ḥabīb was Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ. However, he has not attributed it to anyone.
708. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, vol. 3, 8-9.

regarded their reading to be superior to others and they derived their reading from Miqdād ibn Aswad and that the people of Syria regarded their reading to be superior to others and that the people of Kūfah made similar claims. They read according to the reading of 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd. Similarly, the people of Baṣrah also expressed the superiority of their reading which was according to that of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and they would call his *muṣḥaf*: *lubāb al-qulūb*.

When they reached Kūfah, Ḥudhayfah informed the people of this situation and warned them of what he feared. The Companions and many Followers of the Companions agreed with him. The companions of Ibn Mas'ūd however disagreed. This angered Ḥudhayfah and also those who agreed with him. Ḥudhayfah said that he will go to the caliph and ask him to interfere. During this conversation Ibn Mas'ūd abused him and Ḥudhayfah angrily went off towards 'Uthmān.

Later, when he informed 'Uthmān of this, he too became alarmed at the situation and sent for Ḥafṣah's *muṣḥaf* so that copies could be made from it.

In the events of 32 AH,[709] he has combined the reports of 32 AH and 33 AH of Sayf mentioned above in the *Tārīkh* of al-Ṭabarī and after quoting the couplets of Aws ibn Mughīrah has said that this dispute on the issue of leadership was the first difference of opinion that arose between the people of Kūfah and Syria.

xvii. Abū al-Fadā'[710] (d. 732 AH)

He mentions that in the year 30 AH, differences in reading the Qur'ān came to the notice of 'Uthmān who whereby ordered that copies of the Qur'ān collected by Abū Bakr be made and distributed and all others be destroyed.

---

709. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, vol. 3, 26-27. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Usud al-ghābah*, vol. 1, 549. He has not attributed these accounts of 30 AH, 32 AH and 33 AH to Sayf or to anyone else. It is evident that as far as 30 AH is concerned, he has added some more details to the account given by Sayf.

710. Abū al-Fadā' Ismā'īl ibn 'Alī, *Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, vol. 1 (Cairo: 1325 AH), 264-266.

xviii. Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzī (d. 742 AH)

He records[711] that 'Uthmān sent Salmān and Ḥabīb to Azerbaijan and the two quarrelled over the issue of the spoils of war. A poet from the people of Salmān said:

وَ إِنْ تَقْتُلْ سلمانَ نَقْتُلْ حَبِيْبَكُمْ

وَ إِنْ تَرْحَلُوا نَحْوَ ابنِ عَفَّانَ نَرْحَلُ

wa in taqtul salmāna naqtul ḥabībakum
wa in tarḥalū naḥwa ibn 'affāna narḥalu

xix. Al-Dhahabī (d. 748 AH)

In the events of 24 AH,[712] he mentions a summarized version of the account of Abū Mikhnaf as mentioned in the *Tārīkh* of al-Ṭabarī referred to earlier.

In the events of 29 AH,[713] he says that Azerbaijan broke its agreement whereupon Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ attacked and conquered it.

xx. Ibn al-Wardī[714] (d. 749 AH)

Relying most probably on the account of Ibn al-Athīr, he gives the date of the 'Uthmānic collection as 30 AH. The reason for the collection being disputes in reading the Qur'ān.

xxi. Ibn Kathīr (d. 774 AH)

While referring to the events of 25 AH,[715] he mentions the account of Abū Mikhnaf recorded by al-Ṭabarī in his *Tārīkh*, as referred to earlier.

---

711. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 5, 399-400.

712. Abū 'Abdullāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Uthmān ibn Qāyamaz ibn 'Abdullāh al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, 1st ed., vol. 3 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'arabī, 1407), 309.

713. Ibid., vol. 3, 326.

714. 'Umar ibn Muzaffar ibn al-Wardī, *Tārīkh*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1417 AH), 144.

715. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*, vol. 7, 149-150. Ibn Kathīr names his source to be Abū Mikhnaf in this regard.

While referring to the events of 31 AH,[716] he says that according to al-Wāqidī, Armenia was conquered by Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah in this year.

While referring to the events of 32 AH,[717] he says that after the death of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Rabī'ah, at the battle-front of Bāb, Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ appointed Salmān ibn Rabī'ah as the administrator of Bāb. 'Uthmān sent an army under Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah to help him. The two quarrelled over the issue of leadership and this was the first difference of opinion which arose between the people of Kūfah and Syria.

xxii. Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808 AH)

He has relied almost totally on the account given by Ibn al-Athīr.

In the events of the year 25 AH,[718] he gives the account of Abū Mikhnaf recorded by al-Ṭabarī in his *Tārīkh* without actually attributing it to Abū Mikhnaf.

In the events of the year 30 AH,[719] he gives the account Ibn al-Athīr has recorded for the year 30 AH referred to above.

In the events of 32 AH,[720] he gives the account Ibn al-Athīr has recorded for the year 32 AH referred to above.

Analysis of the Accounts

The above accounts can be summarized in the form of the following chart:

---

716. Ibid., vol. 7, 158. Ibn Kathīr does not attribute this account to Sayf or to anyone else.
717. Ibid., vol. 7, 160. Ibn Kathīr does not attribute this account to Sayf or to anyone else.
718. Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, 571-572. He has not attributed the account to Abū Mikhnaf though it is evident that it is his account he is referring to.
719. Ibid., vol. 2, 583. Here again, he has not attributed the account to Sayf though it is evident that it is his account he is referring to.
720. Ibid., vol. 2, 585-586. Here again, he has not attributed the account to Sayf though it is evident that it is his account he is referring to.

S. No		Reason for Dispute			Date
		Spoils of War	**Leadership of the Army**	**Reading the Qur'ān**	
i.	Abū Mikhnaf (d. 130 AH)				24 AH
ii.	Sayf ibn 'Umar (d. 180 AH)				30 AH
					32 AH
			✓		33 AH
iii.	Al-Wāqidī (d. 207 AH)	✓			i. 24-29 AH[1]
					ii. 29-34 AH[ii]
iv.	Ibn Sa'd (d. 230 AH)				29-34 AH
v.	Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ (d. 240 AH)				29 AH
vi.	Al-Balādhurī (d. 279 AH)	✓			29-34 AH
vii.	Al-Ya'qūbī (d. 292 AH)	?			30 AH
viii.	Aḥmad ibn A'tham (d. 314 AH)	✓			24- AH
ix.	Abū 'Arūbah (d. 318 AH)	✓			--
x.	Qudāmah ibn Ja'far (d. 337 AH)	✓			
xi.	Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (d. 463 AH)	✓			--
xii.	Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī (d. 463 AH)	--	--		--
xiii.	Al-Maqdisī (d. 507 AH)			✓	--
xiv.	Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571 AH)			✓[iii]	30-33 AH
		✓[iv]			unknown
xv.	Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597 AH)				24 AH
xvi.	Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630 AH)				25 AH
				✓	30 AH
			✓		32 AH
xvii.	Abū al-Fadā' (d. 732 AH)			✓	30 AH
xviii.	Al-Mizzī (d. 742)	✓			--
xix.	Al-Dhahabī (d. 748 AH)				24 AH
xx.	Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749 AH)			✓	30 AH
xxi.	Ibn Kathīr (d. 774 AH)				25 AH
			✓		32 AH
xxii.	Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808 AH)				25 AH
				✓	30 AH
			✓		32 AH

A little deliberation on the chart above shows that the first historian[721] to report

---

i. As per *Futūḥ al-Islām* of al-Wāqidī.

ii. As per *Tārīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk* of Al-Ṭabarī and *Futūḥ al-buldān* of al-Balādhurī.

iii. As per Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*, vol. 39, 241.

iv. As per Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*, vol. 12, 76.

721. Although al-Maqdisī (d. 507 AH) in his *al-Bad' wa al-tārīkh* referred to above has mentioned 'Uthmān basing his action of revoking all other *aḥruf* on the report of

that the dispute that arose between the Syrian and 'Irāqī armies was because of differences in reading the Qur'ān is Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571 AH): He reports[722] that when Ḥudhayfah was returning from the battlefront of Bāb in Armenia to Kūfah via Azerbaijan with Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ, he told him that he had heard people of various territories regarding their reading to be superior to one another. If this report is researched through in the works of early historians, one finds that it is found in the *Tārīkh*[723] of al-Ṭabarī on the authority of Sayf too;[724] however, in the *Tārīkh* of al-Ṭabarī, Sayf's report does not mention Ḥudhayfah reporting any differences of reading to Sa'īd while they were returning to Kūfah. It just mentions the following account, as referred to earlier:

> 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Rabī'ah was deputed to guard the frontiers of Armenia when in 30 AH he was forced to ask for help. Hudhayfah ibn al-Yamān was diverted from the battle-front of Ray and sent to him to Bāb, a city in the Arrān territory of Armenia. Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ also accompanied him till both of them reached Azerbaijan. Sa'īd remained there until Hudhayfah came back [from Bāb]. Later, both Sa'īd and Hudhayfah returned.[725]

Moreover, Sayf's account recorded by al-Ṭabarī does not contain any information on people reading the Qur'ān differently. It is Sayf's account in Ibn 'Asākir that records that people of one area started to regard their reading as superior to the others. However, there is no report of any scuffle or brawl on this

---

Ḥudhayfah regarding differences in reading the Qur'ān, it is clear that his report is not based on the records provided by the historians; it is rather based on the report of the *muḥaddithūn*. See for example, a narrative quoted by Ibn Abī Dā'ūd in which 'Uthmān is defending charges against himself. For details, see: Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 45-46.

722. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*, vol. 39, 241-242.

723. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, vol. 2, 614.

724. One glaring problem with Sayf's report is that according to it Salmān was still living in 33 AH. Almost all other historians record his death in 29, 30 or 31 AH. See for example, Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 94; Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 9, 206. Ibn Ḥibbān reports 25 AH as the year of his death. See: Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr 'ulamā' al-amṣār*, 101. Al-Mizzī has reported that 25 AH could also be the year of his death. See: Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 11, 241.

725. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, vol. 2, 614.

issue between the people of the 'Irāqī and Syrian armies.

Also Sayf's account (both in al-Ṭabarī and in Ibn 'Asākir) differs from all other accounts in the respect that it says that Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah was sent as the leader of the Syrian army to help Salmān ibn Rabī'ah who was the leader of the Kūfan army. All other accounts say that it was the reverse.

As far as historians prior to Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571 AH) are concerned, al-Wāqidī (d. 207 AH), al-Balādhurī (279 AH), al-Ya'qūbī (292 AH), Abū 'Arūbah (d. 318 AH), Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (463 AH) and Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597 AH) do not report any differences of reading the Qur'ān between the people of the 'Irāqī and Syrian armies. Even after Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571 AH), authorities of *rijāl* like al-Mizzī (d. 742 AH) and historians like al-Dhahabī (d. 748 AH) and Ibn Kathīr (d. 774 AH) do not report any differences of reading the Qur'ān during the interaction of Syrian and the 'Irāqī armies.

As is evident from the chart above, prominent historians after Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571 AH) who have perhaps relied on his account and reported reading the Qur'ān as the cause of dispute are Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630 AH), Abū al-Fadā' (d. 732 AH), Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749 AH) and Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808 AH).

Two prominent *muḥaddithūn*, al-Ḥākim (d. 405 AH) in his *al-Mustadrak*[726] and al-Bayhaqī (d. 458 AH) in his *al-Sunan al-kubrā*[727] have reported the incident (without mention of any date) of interaction of the Syrian and 'Irāqī armies against attack by the Romans. During this interaction, the dispute which arose was about the spoils of war. Details of these reports show that they are very similar to what al-Balādhurī has reported in his *Futūḥ al-buldān*.[728] Since the

---

726. Al-Ḥākim, *Al-Mustadrak*, vol. 3, 389, (no. 5472).
727. Al-Bayhaqī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 6, 335, (no. 12706).
728. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 200-207.

name of the governor of Irāq/Kūfah is not mentioned in the accounts of al-Ḥākim and al-Bayhaqī, one cannot ascertain whether this event took place in the reign of al-Walīd ibn 'Uqbah (25-29 AH) or that of Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ (29-34 AH).

Since early historians mention two reasons for the dispute between Syrian and 'Irāqī armies, is one in a position to give preference to one of the two? A short analysis of this would be in order.

Firstly, the most reliable report in this regard seems to be the first of the two recorded by al-Balādhurī. The reason, as he himself has mentioned, is that this has been narrated to him by many authorities of the city of Qālīqalā and al-'Aṭṭāf ibn Sufyān Abū al-Aṣbagh, a *qāḍī* of the city, has sent him a written account of it. This report says that the difference in the two armies took place because of the spoils of war.[729] Al-Wāqidī's account in his *Futūḥ al-Islām* also supports this to a great extent.

Secondly, the first person to mention that the difference was because of leadership is Sayf ibn 'Umar as recorded by al-Ṭabarī. However, as indicated earlier, Sayf's report suffers from discrepancies: it mentions, contrary to all other reports, that Salmān ibn Rabī'ah was sent to conquer Armenia and that it was Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah who was sent to help him.

Thirdly, one can say that the second version recorded by al-Balādhurī is very similar to the one recorded by al-Ṭabarī on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf. However, while Abū Mikhnaf's account recorded by al-Ṭabarī does not record any difference of opinion arising between the two armies, the one recorded by al-Balādhurī does say that a difference of opinion arose because of leadership. It

---

729. As indicated earlier, al-Balādhurī himself has rejected the second of the two accounts recorded by him on this basis. It may be noted that this second account mentions that the difference between the armies arose because of leadership.

seems that in all probability al-Balādhurī too has recorded his version on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf though not naming him as his source and also recorded it with more details (ie. telling us of a dispute on the issue of leadership). If this version is dismissed by al-Balādhurī in favour of his version recorded first, then another version (besides that of Sayf) which speaks of differences because of leadership looses its weight.

Finally, as indicated earlier, some *muḥaddithūn* like al-Bayhaqī and al-Ḥākim too have recorded versions which depict a dispute between the two armies because of the issue of the spoils of war.

On the basis of this analysis, one can say that it is more probable that the differences that actually arose between the two armies related to the spoils of war.

4. Biography of the Personnel in the Narrative

There are six prominent personnel which occur in this narrative. The caliph 'Uthmān, Ḥudhayfah and the committee of four people which was assigned the task of copying out the Qur'āns.

What follows is a brief description of how early historians have reported their biographies:

a) 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān

Ibn Sa'd[730] gives a detailed biographical note on 'Uthmān but there are no details whatsoever on the fact that he had taken some step to resolve the differences in reading the Qur'ān, a feat which should have found mention in this biographical note.

Such details are mentioned as his ancestors and family, his acceptance of Islam

---

730. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 3, 53-83.

and the way he was persecuted for it. He later migrated to Abyssinia; the Prophet left him in charge of Madīnah when he left for the battle of Dhāt al-Riqā'. Details of his clothes, physical appearance are recorded. His succession to 'Umar and pledge of allegiance by the masses is also described in some detail. Also depicted are the details of the rebellion against him and his assassination.

Also recorded is the fact that he would read the whole of the Qur'ān in one *rak'at* and the details of the inheritance he left. His burial and funeral ceremony is also described in some detail and also recorded are the remarks of other Companions of the Prophet about him.

However, Ibn Sa'd, in his biographical note on Ubayy,[731] has recorded on the authority of Ibn Sīrīn that 'Uthmān had gathered twelve people to have the Qur'ān collected.

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal[732] (d. 241 AH) in his *Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥābah* records many narratives which depict the various distinguishing features and achievements of 'Uthmān. He records a narrative which speaks of his adeptness in the discipline of distribution of inheritance (*'ilm al-farā'iḍ*); another speaks of his great love for reading the Qur'ān; another portrays how he would cry when standing by a grave; still another mentions as minute a detail as the fact that he took a bath every day ever since he accepted Islam. It is strange that one of his allegedly crowning achievements is not even referred to in this book.

---

731. Ibid., vol. 3, 501. In this note it is said that Zayd and Ubayy were among these twelve. It may be noted that there is a great discrepancy in the year of death of Ubayy. However, in this regard, if the opinion of al-Wāqidī is relied upon because as pointed by Schwally (*Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 282) al-Wāqidī had inquired about this date from the family of Ubayy, then the year of his death comes to be 22 AH in the reign of 'Umar. This of course means that Ubayy could not have been involved in the collection done under 'Uthmān. This casts doubt on the narrative, besides the fact that it is *mursal*. Other narratives which depict Ubayy's presence in the collection also become suspect (texts forthcoming) as a result. For details about al-Wāqidī's opinion, see: Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 2, 271-272.

732. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, 448-527.

Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ[733] (d. 240 AH) mentions various details of the reign of 'Uthmān. Nowhere is there a mention of any collection of the Qur'ān. Similarly, Ibn Qutaybah[734] (d. 276 AH) in his somewhat detailed biographical note on 'Uthmān mentions various events of his rule but does not mention of his collection.

b) Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān (d. 36 AH)

In his biographical note on him, Ibn Sa'd[735] records that he took part in the battle of Uḥud and the battle of trench in the time of the Prophet and in all subsequent battles; 'Umar appointed him the governor of Madā'in. He also records that he died in Madā'in after the assassination of 'Uthmān.

There is no mention of his reporting any differences in reading the Qur'ān.

The brief biographical notes in al-Bukhārī's (d. 256 AH) *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*,[736] Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's (d. 463 AH) *al-Istī'āb*,[737] vol. 1, 334-335 and Ibn Ḥajar's (d. 852 AH) *al-Iṣābah*,[738] vol. 2, 44 are devoid of any such mention. Al-Dhahabī's (d. 748 AH) somewhat detailed note in his *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*[739] also lacks this mention.

c) Zayd ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī

Ibn Sa'd's short biographical note on Zayd has already been referred to in the previous chapter. There is no mention of his role in the collection at the time of 'Uthmān.[740]

A historical work which is completely devoid of any mention of the collection of

---

733. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 89-107.
734. Ibn Qutaybah, *Al-Ma'ārif*, 110-117.
735. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 6, 15; Ibid., vol. 7, 317.
736. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 3, 95.
737. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's *Al-Istī'āb*, vol. 1, 334-336.
738. Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 2, 44.
739. Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, vol. 2, 361-369.
740. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 2, 358-361.

the Qur'ān by Zayd in the times of Abū Bakr and 'Uthmān is al-Bukhārī's (d. 256 AH) *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr* even though it contains a brief biographical note on Zayd.[741]

Similarly, al-Fasawī's (d. 277 AH) *al-Ma'rifah wa al-tārīkh*,[742] Ibn Qutaybah's (d. 286 AH) *al-Ma'ārif*[743] and al-Nasā'ī's (d. 303 AH) *Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥābah*[744] give brief biographical accounts on Zayd ibn Thābit. None of these three mentions anything regarding his involvement in any such task in the time of 'Uthmān.

Although Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ's (d. 240 AH) *Tārīkh* does not mention biographical accounts and is a year wise record of events, it does not contain any record on the collections of the Qur'ān what to speak of Zayd's involvement in them; it does mention that he was a scribe of the Prophet and later of Abū Bakr and 'Umar;[745] his assignment as governor of Madīnah in the time of 'Umar;[746] he is also reported to have been present at the time of 'Uthmān's murder;[747] 'Uthmān deputed him as the governor of Madīnah in the year he led the Muslims at *ḥajj*;[748] or the fact that there exists a discrepancy in his year of death.[749]

Ibn Ḥajar mentions in his *al-Iṣābah* that he collected the Qur'ān in the time of Abū Bakr; however, no mention is found of any role of his in the time of 'Uthmān in any such task.[750]

d) 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām (2-73 AH)

There is no mention of his role in *al-Iṣābah*.[751]

---

741. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, 3, 380.
742. Al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifah wa al-tārīkh*, vol, 1, 260-262.
743. Ibn Qutaybah, *Al-Ma'ārif*, 149.
744. Al-Nasā'ī, *Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥābah*, 55.
745. Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 49, 66, 89.
746. Ibid., 74, 88.
747. Ibid., 102.
748. Ibid., 106.
749. Ibid., 127, 138.
750. Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 2, 592-594.
751. Ibid., vol. 4, 89-94.

His biography is not found in Ibn Sa'd's *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*.

The brief biographical notes in al-Bukhārī's (d. 256 AH) *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*,[752] Ibn Qutaybah's (d. 276) *al-Ma'ārif*[753] and al-Fasawī's (d. 277 AH) *al-Ma'rifah wa al-tārīkh*[754] do not mention his role in the collection of the Qur'ān.

A somewhat detailed note by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr[755] (d. 463 AH) too fails to record any such fact.

Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571 AH)[756] has perhaps given the most detailed biography of 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr spanning over a hundred pages. This too has no such information.

Al-Mizzī's (d. 742)[757] biographical note is also devoid of this mention.

Al-Dhahabī's (d. 748 AH)[758] *Siyar* is also without any such mention.

Even a person as late as Ibn Ḥajar[759] (d. 852 AH) does not mention his role in a somewhat detailed biographical note in his *al-Iṣābah*.

e) 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥishām (d. 94 AH)

Ibn Sa'd mentions his brief biography but there is no mention of his role in the collection at the time of 'Uthmān.[760] In this biographical note are found such details as the fact that he was ten years old at the death of Muḥammad, his widowed mother Fāṭimah bint Walīd ibn Mughīrah was married to 'Umar who reared him, was a very noble and generous person and took part in the battle of Jamal with 'Ā'ishah, which obviously was a couple of years after 'Uthmān's

---

752. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 5, 6.
753. Ibn Qutaybah, *Al-Ma'ārif*, 127-130.
754. Al-Fasawī, *Al-Ma'rifah wa al-tārīkh*, vol, 1, 299.
755. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb*, vol. 3, 905-910.
756. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*, vol. 28, 140-257.
757. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 14, 508-511.
758. Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, vol. 3, 363-380.
759. Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, vol. 4, 89-95. His *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* is also devoid of it. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 5, 187-189.
760. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 5, 5-6.

death and that he died in the caliphate of Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān.

f) Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ[761] (d. 58 AH)

Ibn Sa'd mentions his brief biography but there is no mention of his role in the collection at the time of 'Uthmān.[762] In his biographical note, such details as the fact that at the death of the Prophet, he was at his request, granted land by 'Umar, was made the governor of Kūfah and held this post for almost five years (25-29 AH). Various incidents of this tenure are described with some detail. When he returned to Madīnah, he was among those who defended 'Uthmān against the rebels.

In his very brief biographical note, al-Bukhārī[763] does not mention any information of his role in the collection of the Qur'ān in his *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*.

It is known that he remained the governor of Kūfah from 29-34 AH. Given the nature of the task, he could only have played a role in the committee prior to being assigned this duty.

5. Contradiction between Various Accounts of Collection

There are various other narratives which give a different account of the collection made by 'Uthmān. These accounts not only contradict the standard version,[764]

---

761. One may note that his name is also mentioned by many narratives which present different versions of the collection. I have alluded to them later in this chapter.

762. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 5, 30-34.

763. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 3, 502.

764. A narrative mentioned by al-Dānī (Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān ibn Sa'īd al-Dānī, *Al-Muqni'* (Damascus: Dār al-fikr, 1983), 4-5) has a different composition of the committee. Other than this, it is the same as the standard account. Two new names appear besides Zayd ibn Thābit, Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām. They are Abdullāh ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ and Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās. Schwally says that the name of the former is unlikely since his father became 'Uthmān's enemy after the latter deposed him from the governorship of Egypt in 28 AH. He further says that the name of the latter was perhaps inducted by the narrators so that there is someone in the committee from among the family of the Prophet. See: Noeldeke and Schwally, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 281-284.

Another anamoly in this narrative recorded by al-Dānī is that it says that the verses which Zayd remembered at this instance were the closing verses of Sūrah al-Tawbah. On

they contradict one another too.

Before these contradictions are pointed out, presented below is a list[765] of these narratives:

i. 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib

'Īzār ibn Jarwal reported: ' …Suwayd said: "By God! I will not narrate to you anything except what I heard from 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. I heard him saying: 'Do not commit excesses against 'Uthmān and do not say anything except what is befitting to him [or say what is befitting to him] regarding the *maṣāḥif* and their burning. By God! Whatever he did with them was done in consultation with all of us. He had said: "What do you say about this reading? The news has reached me that someone among them would say: 'My reading is better than yours,' and in this way it was as if matters would end up in disbelief." We said: "What is your opinion?" He said: "It is our opinion that we gather people on one *muṣḥaf* and this will result in eradicating any difference and rival groups." We said: "You have formed a fine opinion." It was said: "Who has the most command of Arabic among people and who is the most competent reader among them?" They said: "Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ is the most eloquent and the most competent reader is Zayd ibn Thābit." He said: "Let one of them write and the other dictate. Both did so and people became united on a *muṣḥaf*." ['Alī said:] By God! Had I been the ruler of the Muslims, I would have done exactly what 'Uthmān did.'"[766]

ii. Muṣ'ab ibn Sa'd

(1) Variant I

Muṣ'ab ibn Sa'd reported: ' 'Uthmān stood up and gave a sermon to the people. He said: "O people, it is now thirteen years since your Prophet left you, and you are still disputing about the Qur'ān. You refer to the reading of Ubayy and that of 'Abdullāh; a person [would go as far as to] say: 'By God! Your reading is not in order!' I therefore bind you on oath to bring to me any part of the Book of God that you have in your possession." Thus, people

---

the contrary, the standard version mentions that the missing verse found at this instance was that of Sūrah al-Aḥzāb.

765. I have excluded from this list a narrative by Layth ibn Sa'd ('Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol. 2, 122-123, (no. 1730) since it, in principle, has the same content as the standard version.

766. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 29-30. See also: Ibid., 19; Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 157; Al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, vol. 2, 42, (no. 2204); 'Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol. 2, 118-119, (no. 1719); Ibid., 119; Al-Dānī, *Al-Muqni'*, 8; Al-Mustaghfirī, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1, 359, (no. 421).

would come with leaf pages and leather [pieces] with [parts of] the Qur'ān on them, until there accumulated a large number of them. After this was done, 'Uthmān came in and called them one by one, and upon oath asked each: "Have you heard [this part of the Qur'ān that you have brought forth] from the Messenger of God such that he dictated it to you." He would answer in the affirmative. When this was done, 'Uthmān said: "Who is the best scribe among you?" They said: "The scribe of the Prophet, Zayd ibn Thābit." Then he asked: "Who has the greatest command over Arabic?" They said: "Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ." 'Uthmān said: "In that case, let Sa'īd dictate and Zayd write." Hence, Zayd wrote down [the text], and ['Uthmān] prepared the codices and distributed them among the people. I have heard some of the Companions of Muḥammad say: "He has done a good thing."'[767]

(2) Variant II

Muṣ'ab ibn Sa'd said: ' 'Uthmān heard the *qirā'at* of Ubayy, 'Abdullāh and Mu'ādh. He then delivered a sermon to the people and said: "O people, it is now fifteen years since your Prophet left you, and you have disputed about the Qur'ān. I therefore bind you on oath to bring to me any part of the Qur'ān you have heard from the Prophet." Thus, people would come with stone tablets and shoulder-bone tablets and bark of palm trees on which the Qur'ān was written. 'Uthmān would ask each person who would come with such pieces: "Have you heard this from the Prophet?" Then he asked: "Who has the greatest command over Arabic?" They replied: "Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ." He then said: "Who is the best scribe among you?" They replied: "Zayd ibn Thābit." 'Uthmān said: "In that case, let Zayd write and Sa'īd dictate." And 'Uthmān had the *maṣāḥif* written and then distributed in the territories. I have not seen anyone criticize this measure undertaken by 'Uthmān.'[768]

iii. Kathīr ibn Aflaḥ

Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn reports from Kathīr ibn Aflaḥ who said: 'When 'Uthmān resolved to write the *maṣāḥif*, he gathered twelve men from the Quraysh and Anṣār – Ubayy ibn Ka'b and Zayd ibn Thābit were among them. They sent for the bundle of *maṣāḥif* which was in the house of 'Umar. It was brought over, and 'Uthmān was overseeing their whole project– Then if they would differ among themselves about anything, they would defer it.' Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn said: 'I asked Kathīr [ibn Aflaḥ] and he was among those who wrote out the

---

767. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 31. See also: 'Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol. 2, 118, (no. 1718); Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*, vol. 39, 243; Arthur Jeffery, ed., *Muqaddimatān*, 44-45; Ibid., 51-52.

768. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 31-32. See also: Al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 2, 248, (no. 4780). Abū Shāmmah says that Mu'ādh's name seems to be erroneously mentioned here because he had already died in the caliphate of 'Umar. His reading may have persisted after him with some of his companions and it is actually from them that 'Uthmān heard his reading. See: Abū Shāmmah, *Al-Murshid al-wajīz*, 65.

Qur'ān: "Do you know why they would defer it?" He said: "No."' Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn said: 'I think it was because they wanted to find someone who would be closest [in time] to the *al-'arḍah al-akhīrah* and they would then write according to what he told them.'[769]

iv. Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn

Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn said: 'A person would read [the Qur'ān] and [upon hearing it] his companion would say: "You have committed disbelief in what you have recited." The matter was reported to 'Uthmān; he considered this to be a grave matter. So he gathered twelve men from the Quraysh and Anṣār – Ubayy ibn Ka'b and Zayd were among them. He sent for the bundle of *maṣāḥif* kept in the house of 'Umar. 'Uthmān was overseeing the whole project.' – Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn said: 'Kathīr ibn Aflaḥ reported to me that he was among those who wrote out for them and when they would differ from one another, they would defer it. I asked him: "Why would they defer it." He replied: "I do not know."' Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn said: 'I think – and you should not be hasty enough to consider this to be a certainty – that it was because when they differed in something they would defer it until they found someone who would be closest [in time] to the *al-'arḍah al-akhīrah* and they would then write according to what he told them.'[770]

v. Abū Qilābah

Ayyūb reports that Abū Qilābah said: 'During the caliphate of 'Uthmān, a teacher would teach the [Qur'ānic] reading of a person and another teacher would teach the [Qur'ānic] reading of [another] person. Thus, it used to happen that the students would learn these readings and disagree. The matter reached a point that they would take their dispute to the teachers – Ayyūb says that he is quite sure that he [ie Abū Qilābah] said: Matters reached the extent that one [teacher] rejected the reading of the other. This situation came to the notice of 'Uthmān, who delivered a sermon saying: "You are here by me, yet you disagree on the reading and pronunciation of the Qur'ān. Therefore, those who are far away from me in the provinces must be in a greater dispute, making greater errors. O Companions of Muḥammad! Come together and write a complete version [of the Qur'ān] for the Muslims."'[771]

vi. Ma#lik ibn Abi# 'A%mir

---

769. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 33. See also: Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 209-210; Al-Mustaghfirī, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1, 358, (no. 420).

770. 'Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol. 2, 118, (no. 1716). See also: Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 33.

771. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 28-29. See also: Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, vol.1, 33; Al-Dānī, *Al-Muqni'*, 6-7; Ibid., 7.

قال أبو قلابة فحدثني مالك بن أنس قال أبو بكر قال هذا مالك بن أنس قال كنت فيمن أملي عليهم فربما

اختلفوا في   كتاب المصاحف الآية فيذكرون الرجل قد تلقاها من رسول الله ولعله أن يكون غائبا أو في

بعض البوادي فيكتبون ما قبلها وما بعدها ويدعون موضعها حتى يجيء أو يرسل إليه فلما فـــرغ مــن

المصحف كتب إلى أهل الأمصار أني قد صنعت كذا محوت كذا ما عندي فامحوا ما عندكم

Abū Qilābah added: "Ma#lik ibn Anas[772] reported to me – Abu# Bakr ibn Abi# Da#'u#d said that Ma#lik ibn Anas refers to Ma#lik ibn Anas – who said: 'I was among those to whom the Qur'ān was dictated. Sometimes they would disagree on a verse. Then they would remember a person who had received it from the Messenger of God, and who would happen to be absent or be in the outskirts. In such a situation, they would write the verses that come before and after it, and would leave a place for it, until that person had returned or was summoned. When the text was completed [in this way, 'Uthmān] wrote to the people in the provinces: "I have done such and such a thing [in copying the text] and I have destroyed the other material that I have, and you should destroy the other material you have."'"[773]

vii. Anas ibn Malik al-Qushayri#

حدثنا إِبْرَاهِيمُ بن أبي دَاوُد قال ثنا أبو عُمَرَ الْحَوْضِيُّ قال ثنا حَمَّادُ بن زَيْدٍ قال ثنا أَيُّوبُ عن أبي قِلاَبَةَ

قال حدثني رَجُلٌ من بَني عَامِرٍ يُقَالُ له أَنَسُ بن مَالِكٍ قال اخْتَلَفُوا في الْقُرْآنِ على عَهْدِ عُثْمَانَ حتى اقْتَتَلَ

الْغِلْمَانُ وَالْمُعَلِّمُونَ فَبَلَغَ عُثْمَانَ فقال عِنْدِي تَكْذِبُونَ به وَتَخْتَلِفُونَ فيه فَمَنْ نَأَى عَنِّي كان أَشَدَّ تَكْذِيبًا

وَأَكْثَرَ لَحْنًا وقال لأَصْحَابِ مُحَمَّدٍ ﷺ اجْتَمِعُوا فَاكْتُبُوا للنَّاسِ قال فَكَتَبُوا قال فَحَدَّثَنِي أَنَّهُمْ إذَا تَدَارَءُوا

في آيَةٍ قالوا أَقْرَأَهَا هذه رسول الله ﷺ فُلاَنًا فَيُرْسِلُ إلَيْهِ وهو على رَأْسِ ثَلاَثٍ من الْمَدِينَةِ فَيُقَالُ كَيْفَ

أَقْرَأَكَ رسول الله ﷺ كَذَا وَكَذَا فيقول كَذَا وَكَذَا فَيَكْتُبُونَهَا وقد تَرَكُوا لها مَكَانًا

Abu# Qila#bah says that a person from the Banu# 'A%mir called Anas ibn Ma#lik[774] narrated to him: "People differed in the Qur'a#n in the times of 'Uthma#n and matters reached the extent that students and teachers started fighting one another. This news reached 'Uthma#n. He said: 'You are denying it and differing in it here by me; Those who are far away from me must be in a greater denying, making greater errors.' He said to the Companions of Muh@ammad: 'Come together and write [the Qur'a#n] for

---

[772]. Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, vol. 1, 33. There seems to be some sort of *tas@h@i#f* here. As is evident from a narrative (Ibn Abi# Da#'u#d, *Kita#b al-mas@a#h@if*, 34), this person is Ma#lik ibn Abi# 'A%mir who is the grandfather of Ima#m Ma#lik. This narrative not only specifies him by name, it also records that he was among the scribes whow wrote the *mas@a#h@if* in the times of 'Uthma#n (rta).

[773]. Ibn Abi# Da#'u#d, *Kita#b al-mas@a#h@if*, 29. See also: Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, vol. 1, 33 (this variant erroneously records the name of Anas Ma#lik); Al-Muttaqi#, *Kanz al-'umma#l*, vol. 2, 246-247.

[774]. He is actually Anas ibn Ma#lik al-Qushayri# al-Ka'bi# (and distinct from Anas ibn Ma#lik, the Prophet's attendant). See: Al-Da#ni#, *Al-Muqni'*, 7. Al-Muttaqi# records his name with reference to al-Khat@i#b al-Baghda#di#'s *al-Muttafiq wa al-muftariq*. See: Al-Muttaqi#, *Kanz al-'umma#l*, vol. 2, 247.

the people.'" Abu Qila#bah said: "It has been narrated to me that if they would have any dispute about a verse, they would say: 'This verse has been read out by the Messenger of God to such and such a person.' So they would send for him and he would be three miles away from Madi#nah. It would be said to him: 'How did the Messenger of God read out this and this verse to you?' He would reply: 'In such and such a manner.' They would then write it down and they would have left a space for it."[775]

viii. Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥāṭib

Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥāṭib said: ' 'Umar made up his mind to collect the Qur'ān; so he stood up among the people and said: "Any person who has any portion of the Qur'ān received from the Messenger of Allah should bring it over to us." They had written this on pages and tablets and bark of palm trees and would not accept anything from a person unless two people testified to it. 'Umar was then assassinated while he was collecting the Qur'ān. And then 'Uthmān stood up among the people and said: "Any person who has any portion of the Qur'ān should bring it over to us." And he would not accept anything from a person unless two people testified to it. So Khuzaymah ibn Thābit came over and said: "I think that you have missed writing down two verses." They asked: "What are they?" He said that I got the following from the Messenger of Allah: لَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مِّنْ أَنفُسِكُمْ عَزِيزٌ عَلَيْهِ مَا عَنتُّمْ حَرِيصٌ عَلَيْكُم بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَؤُوفٌ رَّحِيمٌ (١٢٨ :٩) (now there has come to you a Messenger from among yourselves; grievous to him is your suffering; anxious is he over you, gentle to the believers, compassionate (9:128)) till the end of the *sūrah*. 'Uthmān said: "I bear witness that they are from God and where do you advise us to place them." He said: "Place them at the end of the last revelation of the Qur'ān. So it was placed at the end of Sūrah al-Barā'ah."'[776]

ix. Zayd ibn Thābit

(1) Variant I

This is recorded in full in the previous chapter in the section: 'Contradiction with Other Accounts of First Collection'.

(2) Variant II

This is recorded in full in the previous chapter in the section: 'Contradiction with Other Accounts of First Collection'.

---

[775]. Al-T@ah@a#wi#, *Mushkil al-a#tha#r*, vol. 8, 132-133. See also: Ibn H@azm, *Al-Ih@ka#m*, vol. 4, 653; Al-Da#ni#, *Al-Muqni'*, 6-7; Ibid., 7; According to al-Suyu#t@i#, this narrative is also recorded by Ibn Ashtah. See: Al-Suyu#t@i#, *Al-Itqa#n*, vol. 1, 209.

776. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 17. See also: 'Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol. 2, 121, (no. 1726); 'Abdullāh ibn Wahb, *Jāmi' al-'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, vol. 3, 28-29.

(3) Variant III

Zayd reports: 'Ḥudhayfah returned from a battle he had fought at the front of Armenia. The people of 'Irāq and Syria were present there. So the people of 'Irāq who read the Qur'ān on the recital of 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd would read what the people of Syria had never heard, and the people of Syria who read the Qur'ān on the reading of Ubayy ibn Ka'b would read what the people of 'Irāq had never heard. The people of 'Irāq started to call the people of Syria as disbelievers. At this, 'Uthmān asked me to write a *muṣḥaf* for him. So I wrote it. When I completed it, it was presented to him.'[777]

x. Bukayr ibn 'Abdullāh

Bukayr narrated: 'There were some people in 'Irāq; one of them asked [someone] about a verse. He read it [in response]. The person who had asked said: "I reject what you read." Such instances spread among the people and they differed in the Qur'ān. 'Uthmān was told about it and he ordered to collect the *maṣāḥif* and had them burnt and then he had what was written distributed in various cities.'[778]

xi. Mūsā ibn Jubayr

Mūsā ibn Jubayr reports that 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān called up Ubayy ibn Ka'b, Zayd ibn Thābit and Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ and said to Ubayy: 'You are the most learned of people about what was revealed to the Prophet and you used to teach the Qur'ān in his times and 'Umar also would direct people to learn it from you. So dictate the Qur'ān to them [so that they write] in the *maṣāḥif* for I see people have differed in it.' So Ubayy would dictate the Qur'ān to them and Zayd and Sa'īd would write it.[779]

xii. 'Aṭā' ibn Abī Rabāḥ

'Aṭā' related: 'When 'Uthmān decided to copy the Qur'ān into the *maṣāḥif*, he sent for Ubayy ibn Ka'b. Ubayy used to dictate to Zayd ibn Thābit, who used to write, and with him was Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ, who used to correct the text. This codex was according to the reading of Ubayy and Zayd.'[780]

---

777. 'Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol. 2. 117-118, (no. 1715).

778. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 30. See also: 'Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol. 2, 121, (no. 1725).

779. Abū Shāmmah, *Al-Murshid al-wajīz*, 69.

780. Al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 2, 249, (no. 4789). The Arabic words of this narrative سعيد بن العاص يعربه have been translated Keeling in view the following words of

xiii. Mujāhid ibn Jabr

Mujāhid reported: ' 'Uthmān ordered Ubayy ibn Ka'b to dictate, Zayd ibn Thābit to write, and Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ and 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith to correct [the written text].'[781]

xiv. Sawwār ibn Shubayb

Sawwār ibn Shubayb says: 'I entered upon 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr with a group. I asked him: "Why did 'Uthmān destroy the *maṣāḥif* and why did he take the lands into [government] custody." He said: "Get up because you are Kharijites." We replied: "By God we are not Kharijites." He then said: "A man who was a great liar and would lure people to believe him came to 'Umar, the caliph of the believers and said: 'O Ruler of the Muslims! People have differed in their reading [of the Qur'ān].' 'Umar then resolved to collect all the *maṣāḥif* and write them on one reading, but he was stabbed which proved fatal. In the time of the rule of 'Uthmān, the same person approached him and reminded him of it. He then collected all the *maṣāḥif* and sent me to 'Ā'ishah and I came back with the *ṣuḥuf* on which the Prophet had the Qur'ān written. We then compared the collected *maṣāḥif* with these *ṣuḥuf* and rectified all mistakes after which he ordered that all other copies of the Qur'ān be destroyed."'[782]

xv. Aslam *mawlā* 'Umar

Aslam *mawlā* 'Umar said: 'People differed with each other regarding the Qur'ān. A person would meet in a battle front and say: "I have a portion of the Qur'ān you do not have; Ubayy taught me this and this." Another person would say: "Ibn Mas'ūd taught me this and this." When 'Uthmān saw all this, he sought advice from the reciters of the Qur'ān from among the Companions of the Prophet. They came to the conclusion that they should collect the Qur'ān in one *muṣḥaf* and then its copies be spread in the cities and all the *ṣuḥuf* be burnt. He called four people: three from the Quraysh and one from the Anṣār: 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām, Sa'īd ibn al 'Ās and Zayd ibn Thābit. He then said: "Write it down." So they wrote it in this present arrangement. He [further] said: "In whatever

---

some other similar narratives: سعيد بن العاص يقيم عربيته (Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ would correct its Arabic). See: 'Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol. 2, 122-123, (no. 1730); 'Abdullāh ibn Wahb, *Jāmi' 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 27.

781. Al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 2, 249, (no. 4790).

782. 'Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol. 2, 116, (no. 1711). According to al-Suyūṭī, this narrative is also found in Ibn Ashtah's *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*. See: Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 2, 323.

you differ with Zayd, write in accordance with your opinion because the Qur'ān has been revealed in the dialect of the Quraysh." So they wrote the Qur'ān in one *muṣḥaf* until they completed their task. Then some *maṣāḥif* were copied from this *muṣḥaf*. He then sent a *muṣḥaf* to each city and directed them to adhere to this *muṣḥaf*.'[783]

xvi. Abū Muḥammad al-Qurashī

Ḥibbān ibn Yaḥyā narrates from Abū Muḥammad al-Qurashī that 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān wrote a letter to his territories [which said:] 'A group of people from various territories gathered before me and read the Qur'ān before one another and differed greatly [in this reading]. One of them said: "I have read the Qur'ān from Abū al-Dardā," and another said: "I have read the Qur'ān from 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd," and another one said: "I have read the Qur'ān from 'Abdullāh ibn Qays." When I heard their differences in reading the Qur'ān whereas not much time had elapsed since the Prophet's death and I regarded this to be a displeasing matter, I became anxious for this *ummah* on account of their differences in the Qur'ān and feared that they would differ in their religion once the remaining Companions of the Prophet would also pass away – Companions who had read the Qur'ān in his times and heard it from his mouth. [This difference would be much the same] as the one which arose between the Christians regarding the Gospel after Jesus had passed away. And I wanted to make a remedy for this. So I sent a message to 'Ā'ishah, mother of the believers to send me the Qur'ān on parchments which had been written from the mouth of the Prophet when the Almighty had inspired it to Gabriel and Gabriel had inspired it to Muḥammad and had revealed it to him and when the Qur'ān was [still] fresh. So I directed Zayd ibn Thābit to undertake this task and I was not available for this task because of involvement in the affairs of people and in settling issues between them and Zayd was the best of memorizers of the Qur'ān. Then I called some scribes of Madīnah and their learned men. Among them were Nāfi' ibn Ṭarīf and 'Abdullāh ibn Walīd al-Khuzā'ī and 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Lubābah and directed them to copy four *maṣāḥif* from the leather pieces [on which it was written] and to memorize it.'[784]

A simple reading of all these narratives shows that each of them portrays that a new collection was undertaken by 'Uthmān[785] in contrast with the standard narrative recorded in al-Bukhārī, as per which 'Uthmān only had taken the

---

783. Abū Shāmmah, *Al-Murshid al-wajīz*, 68-69.
784. 'Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol. 2, 120, (no. 1722).
785. In this regard, however, there is one conspicuous narrative (no. xvi) which is an exception to all others. It says that copies were made of the collection which was made in the time of Muḥammad and which at the time of 'Uthmān resided with 'Ā'ishah.

Qur'ān collected by Abū Bakr and had it copied out in the dialect of the Quraysh.[786]

An analysis of these narratives shows that in this regard the new collection itself has four distinct versions. They are:

i. The new collection was made by using in some manner the collection made by Abū Bakr, which at that time resided with Ḥafṣah.[787]

ii. A new collection was made and checked against the collection made by Abū Bakr, which at that time resided with Ḥafṣah.[788]

iii. A new collection was made and checked against the *muṣḥaf* of Muḥammad, which at that time resided with 'Ā'ishah.[789]

iv. An entirely new collection was made. There is no mention of using Abū Bakr's collection for this purpose.[790]

It is obvious that all these four versions are contradictory to one another.

Moreover, a deeper analysis of the narratives shows that within versions two and four there exist contradictions between narratives which are classified under them.

Following are these contradictions:

Version 2

Variant I (quoted by al-Ṭabarī) and Variant II (quoted in the *Muqaddimah kitāb*

---

786. If some of the missing details are supplied like the fact that the Qur'ān was copied from Ḥafṣah's *muṣḥaf*, the narrative of Aslam, mawlā 'Umar (no. xv) can also be viewed as a variant of the primary narrative.

787. The narratives of Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn and Kathīr ibn Aflaḥ (no. iii and no. iv)

788. The first variant of the narrative of Zayd ibn Thābit (no. ix (1)) explicitly and the second (no. ix (2)) implicitly.

789. The narrative of Sawwār ibn Shubayb (no. xiv)

790. The narratives of 'Alī (rta) (no. i), Muṣ'ab ibn Sa'd (no. ii (1) and (2)), Abū Qilābah (no. v), Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥātib (no. viii), Bukayr ibn 'Abdullāh (no. x), Zayd ibn Tha#bit (no. ix (3)), Mu#sā ibn Jubayr (no. xi), 'Aṭā' ibn Abī Rabāḥ (no. xii), Mujāhid ibn Jabr (no. xiii) and Aslam mawla 'Umar (rta) (no. xv).

al-mabānī) have the same chain of narration as far as the first four persons are concerned. It is after 'Umārah ibn Ghaziyyah that these chains diverge. However, both contradict one another completely. Some of the stark contradictions have already been pointed out in the previous chapter.

Moreover, they also contradict the standard versions of the collection of the Qur'ān by Abū Bakr and by 'Uthmān respectively, as recorded in the *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* of Imām al-Bukhārī.

Version 4

i. The narratives of Muṣ'ab ibn Sa'd show that the collection made by 'Uthmān was made on the basis of a person testifying under oath that what he had brought forward as the Qur'ān was heard by him from the Prophet. On the other hand, the narrative of Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥāṭib says that this collection was made on the evidence of two witnesses. Moreover, the narratives of Mūsā ibn Jubayr (no. xi), 'Aṭā' ibn Abī Rabāḥ (no. xii) and Mujāhid ibn Jabr (no. xiii) say that this collection was made through the dictation of Ubayy.

ii. In contrast to the standard version as per which it was Ḥudhayfah who, after visiting the Syrian and 'Irāqī armies on the war fronts of Armenia and Azerbaijan brought the existence of differences in reading the Qur'ān to the notice of 'Uthmān, the narrative of Abū Qilābah (no. v) says that differences in reading took place right in Madīnah and were reported to 'Uthmān. These differences had arisen between teachers of the Qur'ān. On the other hand, the second variant of Muṣ'ab ibn Sa'd explicitly says that 'Uthmān directly heard the differences of people reciting in accordance with the readings of Ubayy, Ibn Mas'ūd and Mu'ādh.[791]

---

791. It may also be noted that the narrative of Abū Muḥammad al-Qurashī (no. xvi) says that the differences came to the notice of 'Uthmān when he directly heard people

iii. One of the variants of Muṣ'ab ibn Sa'd (no. ii(1)) mentions that in the sermon delivered by 'Uthmān he said that thirteen years have passed since the Prophet had died and the other (ii(2)) says that fifteen years had passed on his demise.[792]

iv. Both variants of Muṣ'ab ibn Sa'd mention that while in the collection made Zayd dictated, Sa'īd wrote down the Qur'ān. On the other hand, the narratives of Mūsā ibn Jubayr (no. xi), 'Aṭā' ibn Abī Rabāḥ (no. xii) and Mujāhid ibn Jabr (no. xiii) say that Ubayy dictated and Zayd wrote down the Qur'ān. In addition, while the narrative of Mūsā ibn Jubayr says that Sa'īd was also among the scribes, the narratives of 'Aṭā' ibn Abī Rabāḥ and Mujāhid ibn Jabr say that Sa'īd was actually responsible for correcting mistakes.

v. The standard version mentions a committee of four who were deputed for the task: 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr, Zayd ibn Thābit, Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ and 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām.

Both variants of Muṣ'ab ibn Sa'd say that the committee consisted of two people: Zayd ibn Thābit and Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ.

The narratives of Kathīr ibn Aflaḥ (no. iii) and Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn (no. iv) say that the committee consisted of twelve people. They do not name them. They only mention that Zayd ibn Thābit, Ubayy ibn Ka'b and Kathīr ibn Aflaḥ were among them.

The narratives of Mūsā ibn Jubayr (no. xi) and 'Aṭā' ibn Abī Rabāḥ (no. xii) say that the people deputed were three: Ubayy, Zayd and Sa'īd. The narrative of

---

differ in reciting the Qur'ān before him.

792. Ibn Ḥajar, on the basis of these two variants of Muṣ'ab ibn Sa'd has tried to determine the year in which this collection took place. He says that if the first variant which mentions thirteen years is considered, then the date of 'Uthmān's sermon comes out to be Rabī' al-Awwal of 24 AH since the Prophet died in Rabī' al-Awwal of 11 AH; if the second variant which mentions fifteen years is considered, then the date of 'Uthmān's sermon comes out to be Rabī' al-Awwal of 26 AH. In a series of calculations, discounting and accounting some months, he concludes the date to be 25 AH. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 9, 14.

Mujāhid ibn Jabr (no. xi) puts the count to four by including 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām in the above three.

The third narrative of Zayd ibn Thābit shows, that he was alone in this task of writing out.

Analysis of the *Isnāds*

1. 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib

Variants which do not have Muḥammad ibn Abān in their chain have no flaws.

Some of the variants have the words *'an rajuliṇ* (from a person). If all the variants are studied then this person in all probability is 'Izār ibn Jarwal.

2. Muṣ'ab ibn Sa'd

All authorities state that Muṣ'ab died in 103 AH.[793] According to al-Bayhaqī,[794] Muṣ'ab and 'Uthmān never met. This means that the chain is broken.

The second variant of Muṣ'ab ibn Sa'd, which contains only one narrative, has Ismā'īl ibn 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd. Ja'far ibn Ḥayyān[795] records about him: *wa kāna ḥāfizaṇ mutqinaṇ wa gharā'ibu ḥadīthihī tukthir*.

Moreover, all versions of both variants have Abū Isḥāq al-Sabī'ī who is a known *mudallis*.[796] All the versions contain his *'an'anah* and therefore are rendered suspect.

3. Kathīr ibn Aflaḥ

Ibn Ḥajar[797] writes about Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Zayd known as Shādhān (found

---

793. See for example: Al-Dhahabī, *Al-Kāshif*, vol. 2, 267; Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 533.
794. Abū Shāmmah, *Al-Murshid al-wajīz*, 65.
795. 'Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja'far ibn Ḥayyān al-Aṣbahānī, *Ṭabaqāt al-muḥaddithīn bi Aṣbahān*, 2nd ed., vol. 3 (. Beirut: Mu'assasah al-risālah, 1992), 64.
796. See, for example: Ibn Ḥibbān, *Al-Thiqāt*, vol. 5, 177.
797. Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vol. 1, 347.

in the chain of narration of this narrative): *lahū manākīr wa gharā'ib.*

4. Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn

He lived through 33-110 AH[798] and thus his narratives from 'Uthmān are broken.

5. Abū Qilābah

He died in 104 AH and indulges in a lot of *irsāl*.[799]

6. Ma#lik ibn Abi# 'A‰mir

Ayyu#b ibn Abi# Tami#mah al-Sakhtiya#ni# is a *mudallis*[800] and all the variants have his *'an'anah.*

7. Anas ibn Ma#lik am-Qushayri#

Ayyu#b ibn Abi# Tami#mah al-Sakhtiya#ni# is a *mudallis*[801] and all the variants have his *'an'anah.*

8. Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥāṭib

Al-Mizzī records the opinions of various authorities that Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥāṭib died in 104 AH. He also records that 'Amr ibn 'Alī al-Fallās has said that he was 72 when he died and Muḥammad ibn Sa'd and Abū Ḥātim say that he was born in the rule of 'Uthmān, who was martyred in 35 AH.[802] Thus Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥāṭib's narratives from 'Uthmān are broken.

9. Zayd ibn Thābit

---

798. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 25, 354.
799. Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 304.
[800]. Ibn H@ajar, *T@abaqa#t al-mudallisi#n*, 19.
[801]. Ibn H@ajar, *T@abaqa#t al-mudallisi#n*, 19.
802. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 31, 437.

Variant I

This chain has already been analyzed in the previous chapter under 'Contradiction with other Accounts of First Collection.'

Variant II

This chain has already been analyzed in the previous chapter under 'Contradiction with other Accounts of First Collection.'

Variant III

In this narrative Khārijah ibn Zayd report from his father Zayd. It has already been show in the pevious chapter that in all probability Khārijah was 15 or 16 at the time of his father's death.

Moreover, the chain also contains Ḥafṣ ibn 'Umar. Though regarded trustworthy by most authorities, he is *ḍa'īf* in the eyes of al-Dāraquṭanī.[803]

10. Bukayr ibn 'Abdullāh

The narrative is broken because Bukayr died in 117 or 120 or 122 or 127 or 128 AH as per various authorities.[804] and could not have witnessed the events unless he was well over one hundred years old. His biographical note in *Tahdhīb al-kamāl* shows that he does not narrate from any Companion except Maḥmūd ibn Labīd (a minor at the demise of the Prophet).[805]

11. Mūsā ibn Jubayr

The chain is not complete. It begins with the words: Yaḥyā ibn 'Abdullāh ibn Abī

---

803. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 2, 351.
804. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 4, 245-246.
805. Ibid., vol. 4, 242-244.

Qatādah reports from Mūsā ibn Jubayr. The latter is suspect. Ibn Ḥibbān[806] says

that he would err and his narratives would be against sounder narrators (*yukhṭī wa*

yukhālifu). Ibn Ḥajar[807] records that according to Ibn al-Qaṭṭān he is not known

(*lā yuʿrafu ḥāluhū*). Ibn Ḥajar also says that he is unknown (*mastūr*).[808]

12. 'Aṭā' ibn Abī Rabāḥ

The chain is incomplete. It begins with the words: *wa rawa 'Aṭā' 'an 'Uthmān*

ibn 'Affān. Moreover, 'Aṭā narrates *mursal* narratives from 'Uthmān.[809]

13. Mujāhid ibn Jabr

The chain is incomplete. It begins with the words: *wa rawā Mujāhid anna*

'Uthmān. Moreover, Mujāhid died in 101 or 102 or 103 or 104 AH at the age of

83.[810] Hence, he could not have narrated from 'Uthmān.

14. Sawwār ibn Shubayb

Al-Rabīʿ ibn Badr ibn 'Amr who narrates from Sawwār is *matrūk* according to

Ibn Ḥajar.[811] Ibn Ḥibbān says that he would mix up chains of narration (*yuqallib*

al-asānīd) and would narrate fabricated narratives from trustworthy as well as

weak narrators.[812] Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn is reported to have said that he is *ḍaʿīf* and is

also reported to have said *laysa hadīthuhū bi shay'*.[813] According to al-ʿIjlī, he is

ḍaʿīf.[814]

---

806. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Al-Thiqāt*, vol. 7, 451.
807. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 10, 302.
808. Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 550.
809. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 7, 180.
810. Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 520.
811. Ibid., 206.
812. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Al-Majrūḥīn*, vol. 1, 297.
813. Ibid.
814. Al-ʿIjlī, *Maʿrifah al-thiqāt*, vol. 1, 350.

Al-Mizzī[815] records: At one instance Abū Dā'ūd regarded him to be *ḍa'īf*, and at another instance *lā yuktabu ḥadīthuhū*. Abū Ḥātim's opinion about him is: *ḍa'īf al-ḥadīth* and *dhāhib al-ḥadīth*. Al-Juzjānī says that he is *wāhī al-ḥadīth*.

Al-Dāraquṭanī calls him *matrūk al-ḥadīth*.[816]

15. Aslam mawlā 'Umar

This narrative has no chain.

16. Abū Muḥammad al-Qurashī

In this narrative, the narrator below Abū Muḥammad al-Qurashī is Ḥibbān ibn Yaḥyā and the one below Ḥibbān is Ismā'īl ibn 'Ayyāsh. I am unable to find who Ḥibbān ibn Yaḥyā is in the narrative. However, if he does not belong to Syria, then the narrative is suspect because Ismā'īl ibn 'Ayyāsh is only reliable in narratives which he narrates from the Syrians (*idhā ḥaddatha 'an ghayr-i ahl al-shām iḍṭaraba wa akhṭa'a*).[817]

V. Summary

If all the material presented in this section is analyzed, one finds several flaws in the narrative.

  i. It is only one person: Anas ibn Mālik reports the standard version. The nature of the event required that many people should have reported this narrative. Moreover, even from Anas' over two hundred students, only one person: Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī reports this narrative. To couple this is the fact that books of Ḥadīth like the *al-Mu'aṭṭa'* of Imam Mālik and the *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* of Imām

---

815. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 9, 64-65.
816. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Umar al-Dāraquṭanī, *Sunan*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-ma'rifah, 1966), 99.
817. Al-'Uqaylī, *Al-Ḍu'afā' al-kabīr*, vol. 1, 88.

Muslim spite of having sections on the Qur'ān do not record any such collection made by 'Uthmān.

ii. Evident from this narrative is the questionable methodology which 'Uthmān adopted in eradicating the differences in reading the Qur'ān. Even in the alternative accounts of collection and in the interpretation of the western scholars regarding the 'Uthmānic collection, one is faced with this stark question: copies of the Qur'ān which are devoid of vowel sounds and which, were sent without any readers to specify the correct recital could have been of no use in eliminating any differences of reading.

iii. The details given by some early works, which do not record the standard version regarding the differences which actually occurred between the armies of Syria and 'Irāq present a different picture of these differences as has been referred to earlier. The dominant opinion which these works mention regarding the difference is that they were actually regarding the issue of the spoils of war.

iv. It is highly improbable that a missing verse be detected thirteen years later in the Qur'ān collected by Abū Bakr. Did none of the first two caliphs or Ḥafṣah read it out, and if they did, the were not able to find a verse missing in it? Even if it is accepted that a verse was missing at this time, can it be conceded in the wake of various efforts undertaken by the first two caliphs to spread the Qur'ān that this verse be found in written form with only one person? Furthermore, the narrative which regards Khuzaymah's witness to carry double weight is itself questionable.

v. If ever a collection has been made by Abū Bakr, it would have been in state custody and 'Uthmān would never have tolerated its possession by Ḥafṣah. At least, he would never have promised to return it once he obtained it from her to make copies.

vi. The alternative accounts of collection all portray of a fresh collection, which of course contradicts the primary account which only mentions that copies were made of Ḥafṣah's copy. Moreover, it has been shown that these alternative accounts contain contradictions between themselves.

vii. The chains of narration of the primary narrative, those of the independent narratives which depict the absence of the Sūrah al-Aḥzāb verse, those of the Dhū Shahādatayn narratives and those of the narratives which depict alternative accounts of collection are not free from flaws. These flaws have been referred to earlier. The gravest flaw in the chain of narration of the primary narrative and in those of the independent narratives which depict the absence of the Sūrah al-Aḥzāb verse is that they are dependent on just one dubious person: Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, which makes them very questionable.

It can be concluded that all these narratives are questionable and nothing can be established on their basis.

VI. Conclusion

It has been shown that the primary narrative which describes the 'Uthmānic collection and other related historical reports are not reliable, and cannot be depended upon. Perhaps all that happened was that 'Uthmān had burnt some spurious codices of the Qur'ān, as is alluded to in some sources discussed. In this way, he rooted out any abrogated or inauthentic verses which were found in some copies of the Qur'ān, and destroyed copies in which correct sequence of the Qur'ān had been tampered with.

———————

Chapter 4

Narratives on the Collection of the Qur'ān by 'Alī

Contents

I. Introduction

II. Representative Texts: Sunnī Sources

III. Existing Interpretations

IV. Analysis of Existing Interpretations and Narratives

   A. *Matn*

   B. *Isnād*

V. Representative Texts: Shiite Sources

VI. Existing Interpretations

VII. Analysis of Existing Interpretations and Narratives

   A. *Matn*

   B. *Isnād*

VIII. Overall Analysis and Conclusion

I. Introduction

Certain narratives recorded in both Sunnī and Shiite sources report that right after the death of the Prophet, 'Alī collected the Qur'ān. Both the Sunnī and Shiite accounts of this collection differ significantly.

In this chapter, these narratives will be examined from both these sources.

II. Representative Texts: Sunnī Sources

Four people report these narratives:

i. 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib

ii. Al-Yamān

iii. 'Ikramah mawlā Ibn 'Abbās

iv. Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn

Following are the details:

i. 'Alī

'Abd Khayr reported from 'Alī that when he saw people in despair and frustration at the death of the Prophet, he swore that he would not wear his cloak on his back until he had collected the Qur'ān. Then he sat in his house and collected the Qur'ān. So it was the first *muṣḥaf* in which the Qur'ān had been collected – collected from his heart and this [*muṣḥaf*] is with the descendents of Ja'far.[818]

---

818. Al-Ḥaskānī, *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*, 26-27. See also: Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, vol. 14, 22; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyah al-awliyā'*, 4th ed., vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-kitāb al-'arabī, 1405 AH), 67; Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah al-ḥuffāẓ*, vol. 2, 661; Ibn Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 44. Ibn Nadīm's narrative specifies that 'Alī completed this task in three days.

ii. Al-Yamān

'Abd Khayr reports from al-Yamān: 'When the Prophet died, 'Alī swore or made a pledge that he would not put on his cloak on his back until he had collected the Qur'ān between two covers. So he did not put on his cloak on his back until he had collected the Qur'ān.'[819]

iii. 'Ikramah

'Ikramah said:[820] 'After people had pledged their allegiance to Abū Bakr, 'Alī sat in his house. So, Abū Bakr was told: "He is averse to pledging allegiance to you." He then sent for 'Alī and asked him: "Do you dislike pledging allegiance to me." 'Alī replied: "By God! No." Abū Bakr then asked: "What kept you away from me." 'Alī replied: "I saw that additions were being made in the Book of God and I said to myself that I would only wear my cloak to go out for any of the prayers until I have collected it." Abū Bakr then remarked: "What a good opinion you have formed."' Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn said: 'I asked him:[821] "Did they compile the Qur'ān according to its sequence of revelation?" He replied: "If all men and jinn get together to arrange it in that sequence, they would not be able to do so."' Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn said: 'I considered him to be correct in forming this opinion.'[822]

iv. Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn

Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn said: 'When the Prophet died, 'Alī swore that he would not wear his cloak except for the Friday prayer until he had collected the Qur'ān in a *muṣḥaf*. He did so. Then after some days, Abū Bakr sent for him and said: "Are you averse to pledging allegiance to me O Abū al-Ḥasan?" He replied: "By God! The truth is that I had sworn not to wear my cloak except for the Friday prayer." He then pledged allegiance and returned.' Abū Bakr ibn Abī Dā'ūd said: 'The only person who has mentioned the word *muṣḥaf* is Ash'ath and he is *layyin al-ḥadīth*. Others have narrated the words " … until I collected the Qur'ān," which mean that he had finished memorizing it because

---

819. Al-Ḥaskānī, *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*, 27.

820. Although a preceding narrator is not sure whether Muḥammmad ibn Sīrīn has reported from 'Ikramah or not (since his words are *fīma aḥsibu*), other variants show that it is in fact 'Ikramah who has reported this incident. See for example: 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 5, 450, (no. 9765).

821. It is evident from another variant that Ibn Sīrīn actually asked 'Ikramah. See: Ibn Ḍurays, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 36.

822. Ibn Ḍurays, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 35-36. See also: Ibid., 36; 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 5, 450, (no. 9765); Al-Ḥaskānī, *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*, 27. The words recorded in *Shawāhid al-tanzīl* are: *fa innī khashītu an yanqalib al-qur'ān* (thus I fear that the Qur'ān might be messed up).

he who has memorized the Qur'ān is called he who has collected it.'[823]

III. Existing Interpretations

Ibn Ḥajar[824] (d. 852 AH), while commenting on the narrative of Ibn Sīrīn quoted by Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, says that it is weak because of its *inqiṭā'* (break in the chain). And if it is considered to be correct, then it means that the word 'collection (*jam'*)' here means 'memorization'. He goes on to say that the words: *ḥattā jama'tuhū bayna al-lawḥayn* (until I collected it between two tablets) which occur in certain texts of this narrative are additions from the narrator. He is also of the view that what has been narrated from 'Abd Khayr[825] is more correct and therefore to be relied upon.

Ibn Kathīr[826] (d. 774 AH) also says that there is *inqiṭā'* in this narrative. He is also of the view that the word *jam'* which the narratives attribute to 'Alī refers to memorization and not to a physical collection. He gives preference to what Abū Bakr ibn Abī Dā'ūd himself has said[827] that no one except Ash'ath has reported the word '*muṣḥaf*' and he is *layyin al-ḥadīth* and others have narrated the words:

823. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 16. See also: Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 6, 148, (no. 30230); Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Tamhīd*, vol. 8, 300-301; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Istī'āb*, vol. 3, 973-974; Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 2, 338; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*, vol. 42, 398; Ibid., vol. 42, 399; Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Kamāl al-Dīn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn Sābiq al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb al-khulafā'*, 1st ed., (Egypt: Maṭba'ah al-sa'ādah, 1952), 185; Al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 2, 249, (no. 4792); Al-Mustaghfirī, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1, 358, (no. 420); Al-Ḥaskānī, *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*, 26; Ibid., 27-28; Ibid., 28. In the very last of these references (Ibid., 28), the words قال حدثني seem to be missing between Ḥasan ibn Isḥāq and Abū Ma'mar and between 'Abd al-Wārith and Ayyūb Sakhtiyānī. This is evident from another edition of *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*. See: Al-Ḥākim Al-Ḥaskānī, *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*, vol. 1 (n.p.: Mu'assasah chāp wa nashr, 1411 AH), 38.

824. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 9, 9-10. The *inqiṭā'* obviously is because Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn was never a witness to the event.

825. Reference is to the following narrative of 'Abd Khayr recorded by Ibn Abī Dā'ūd (*Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 11-12) through various chains:

'Abd Khayr reports that 'Alī said: 'May God have mercy on Abū Bakr; he was the first to collect [the Qur'ān] between two covers.'

826. Ibn Kathīr, *Faḍāi'l al-Qur'ān*, 51.
827. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 16.

ḥattā ajma‘a al-qur’āna implying 'I completed its memorization,' because the words: *yaḥfizu al-qur’āna* can mean: *qad jama‘a al-qur’āna*. His reason for this preference is that no *muṣḥaf* has been reported from 'Alī, whether in the alleged chronological order or any other order. He says that there are certain *maṣāḥif* whose script is attributed to 'Alī but are written the way the 'Uthmānic *muṣḥaf* is written. Some of them carry the words: *katabahū 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib*. This of course is a serious grammatical mistake[828] and it is beyond imagination that a person who was the inventor of Arabic grammar would commit it. Thus their ascription to 'Alī is doubtful.

Al-Zurqānī,[829] while commenting on the narrative of 'Ikramah, says that it was a written collection and like other collections, it was a personal collection and did not possess the characteristics of the one collected by Abū Bakr and referred to earlier. To this Abū Shahbah[830] adds that the narrative of Ibn Sīrīn also does not say that 'Alī was the first to collect the Qur’ān. Hence it can be construed to mean that it was a personal collection like many others.

Schwally[831] is sceptical of the collection of the Qur’ān made by 'Alī. He says that the sources which mention these narratives are mostly Qur’ānic commentaries or books of history which have been influenced by Shiism. All these narratives are subjective and contradict strongly established historical incidents. The narratives which mention the collection of the Qur’ān by Zayd or later in the time of 'Uthmān do not mention any collection by 'Alī. Also, 'Alī himself does not allude to his collection neither in the time of his own caliphate nor earlier, and it is certain that the Shiites never had any Qur’ān collected by

---

828. The grammatically correct expression is: *katabahū 'alī ibn abī ṭālib*.
829. Al-Zurqānī, *Manāhil al-‘irfān*, vol. 1, 183.
830. Muḥammad Abū Shahbah, *Al-Madkhal*, 273.
831. Schwally, *Tārīkh al-Qur’ān*, 243-244.

'Alī. He further says[832] that it is not possible to arrange the Qur'ān in its chronological sequence in such a short span. If it is supposed that the time was enough then, the sheer stupendous nature of the task makes it very improbable that it was undertaken as Muḥammad himself had mixed old revelations with new ones in the Qur'ān he was directed to compile. It is because of this impossible nature of the task that no details of the *sūrah* lists are found until after quite sometime. Moreover, the first six *sūrahs* of 'Alī's Qur'ān as given by *al-Itqān*[833] do not match all available chronological lists. He concludes that he made no such collection and concedes that all this criticism does not negate the fact that 'Alī could have made a personal collection like other Companions had done so.

Al-Ya'qūbī[834] (d. 292 AH) on the other hand says that what 'Alī had collected after the death of the Prophet was brought over by him on a camel and it had seven parts. He then gives details of the *sūrahs* each part consisted of, and at the end of each part was written the total number of its constituent *sūrahs*. Following is this scheme:

---

832. Ibid., 278-279.
833. I have not been able to locate this list in extant copies of *al-Itqān*.
834. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 2, 135-136.

Part I (Juz' Baqarah) = 886 verses	Part II (Juz' 'Imrān) = 886 verses	Part III (Juz' (Juz' Nisā') = 886 verses
1. Baqarah (2) 2. Yūsuf (12) 3. 'Ankabūt (29) 4. Rūm (30) 5. Luqmān (31) 6. Ḥamīm al-Sajdah (41) 7. Dhāriyāt (51) 8. 'Insān (76) 9. Sajdah (32) 10 Nāzi'āt (79) 11. Takwīr (81) 12. Infiṭār (82) 13. Inshiqāq (84) 14. A'lā (87) 15. Bayyinah (98)	1. 'Imrān (3) 2. Hūd (11) 3. Ḥajj (22) 4. Ḥijr (15) 5. Aḥzāb (33) 6. Dukhān (44) 7. Raḥmān (55) 8. Ḥāqqah (69) 9. Ma'ārij (70) 10 'Abas (80) 11. Shams (91) 12. Qadr (97) 13. Zilzāl (99) 14. Humazah (104) 15. Fīl (105) 16. Quraysh (106)	1. Nisā' (4) 2. Naḥl (16) 3. Mu'minūn (23) 4. Yā Sīn (36) 5. Shūrā (42) 6. Wāqi'ah (56) 7. Mulk (67) 8. Muddaththir (74) 9. Mā'ūn (107) 10 Masad (111) 11. Ikhlāṣ, (112) 12. 'Aṣr (103) 13. Qāri'ah (101) 14. Burūj (85) 15. Tīn (95) 16. Naml (27)

Part IV (Juz' Mā'idah) = 886 verses	Part V (Juz' An'ām) = 886 verses	Part VI (Juz' A'rāf) = 886 verses
1. Mā'idah (5) 2. Yūnus (10) 3. Maryam (19) 4. Shu'arā' (26) 5. Zukhruf (43) 6. Ḥujurāt (49) 7. Qāf (50) 8. Qamar (54) 9. Mumtaḥinah (60) 10. Ṭāriq (86) 11. Balad (90) 12. Alam Nashrah (94) 13. 'Ādiyāt (100) 14. Kawthar (108) 15. Kāfirūn (109)	1. An'ām (6) 2. Isrā' (17) 3. Anbiyā' (21) 4. Furqān (25) 5. Mūsā wa Fir'awn (28) 6. Mū'mīn (40) 7. Mujādalah (58) 8. Ḥashr (59) 9. Jumu'ah (62) 10. Munāfīqūn (63) 11. Qalam (68) 12. Nūḥ (71) 13. Jinn (72) 14. Mursalāt (77) 15. Ḍuḥā (93) 16. Takāthur (102)	1. A'rāf (7) 2. Ibrāhīm (14) 3. Kahf (18) 4. Nūr (24) 5. Ṣu'ād (38) 6. Zumar (39) 7. Jāthiyah (45) 8. Muḥammad (47) 9. Ḥadīd (57) 10. Muzzammil (73) 11. Qiyāmah (75) 12. Nabā' (78) 13. Ghāshīyah (88) 14. Fajr (89) 15. Layl (92) 16. Naṣr (110)

Part VII
(Juz' Anfāl) = 886 verses

1. Anfāl (8)
2. Barā'ah (9)
3. Tā Hā (20)
4. Malā'ikah (35)
5. Ṣāffāt (37)
6. Aḥqāf (46)
7. Fatḥ (48)
8. Ṭūr (52)
9. Najm (53)
10. Ṣaff (61)
11. Taghābun (64)
12. Ṭalāq (65)
13. Muṭaffifīn (83)
14 & 15. Mu'awwidhatān (Falaq, Nās 113 & 114)

As specified in the chart, al-Ya'qūbī mentions that each of these parts consisted of 886 verses; he has also specified the total number of *sūrahs* in each of these seven parts:

Part I: 16 *sūrahs*

Part II: 15 *sūrahs*

Part III: 17 *sūrahs*

Part IV: 15 *sūrahs*

Part V: 16 *sūrahs*

Part VI: 16 *sūrahs*

Part VII: 16 *sūrahs*

As pointed out by Jeffery,[835] there are a total of 109 *sūrahs* and the missing ones are Fātiḥah (1), Ra'd (13), Sabā (34), Taḥrīm (66), 'Alaq (96).

---

835. Jeffery, *Materials*, 183.

Jeffery goes on to criticize this arrangement and says that it cannot be relied upon. A gist of his criticism is:

i. It is dependent on the *sūrah* division of 'Uthmān's text which ' 'Alī's codex was hardly likely to follow.'

ii. This arrangement is in contradiction to what other sources say that 'Alī had collected the Qur'ān in its chronological sequence.

iii. The list itself lacks accuracy. Part I which is said to contain 16 *sūrahs*, actually has only 15. Part II which is said to contain 15 *sūrahs*, actually has 16. Part III which is said to contain 17 *sūrahs*, actually has only 16 and Part VII which is said to contain 16 *sūrahs*, actually has only 15.

Schwally[836] is of the opinion that this list was most probably formulated in the Umayyad period.

Rāmyār[837] also says that this list is dubious and reflects an effort on the part of the author to arrange the first seven *sūrahs* (*sab' ṭiwāl*) of the Qur'ān in separate groups, and looks to be an effort by someone in the third century when counting the words and verses of the Qur'ān came in currency.

Ma'rifah[838] also calls this arrangement as a concoction and asserts that it is against the consensus of scholars according to whom the sequence of 'Alī's *muṣḥaf* was chronological. He says that this is an effort to arrange the Qur'ān in seven equal parts, with each part having 886 verses.

Ibn Nadīm has recorded the following about 'Alī's *muṣḥaf*:

'Abd Khayr reports from 'Alī that when he found people were in a state of frustration and despair at the time of the death of the Prophet, he swore that he

---

836. Schwally, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 245.
837. Rāmyār, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 325.
838. Muḥammad Hādī Ma'rifah, *Al-Tamhīd fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1 (Qum: Maṭba'ah mahr, 1396 AH), 230.

would not take off his cloak from his back until he had collected the Qur'ān. So he sat in his house for three days until he had collected the Qur'ān. It was the first *muṣḥaf* in which the Qur'ān was collected from his heart. This *muṣḥaf* was safely lodged with the family of Ja'far and in my times I saw a *muṣḥaf* written by 'Alī in the custody of Abū Ya'lā Ḥamzah al-Ḥasanī. Owing to the passage of time, some of its pages were missing and it was found with the family of Banū Ḥasan. The arrangement of the *sūrahs* in this *muṣḥaf* was as follows …[839]

Jeffery[840] while commenting on Ibn Nadīm's narrative says 'the probability is that the reference is to a copy of the 'Uthmānic text made by or for 'Alī rather than to his own pre-'Uthmānic text.'

IV. Analysis of Existing Interpretations and Narratives

A. *Matn*

An analysis of the opinion of the scholars shows that their comments are not available on the *matns* all the four representative narratives.[841] Hence their analysis of the narratives is not comprehensive. However, if in a nutshell, their opinions are evaluated while disregarding this fact, it can be said that they can be classified into two categories:

i. The narratives refer to memorization of the Qur'ān by 'Alī after the death of the Prophet.[842]

ii. The narratives refer to a written personal collection made by 'Alī after the death of the Prophet.[843]

The first of these options is unlikely because although the word *jama'* can refer

---

839. Ibn Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 44. Unfortunately, the text after these words is missing.

840. Jeffery, *Materials*, 184.

841. One possible reason for this could be that the content of narratives found in narratives attributed to 'Alī and Yamān is fragmentary and seems to be a part of an incident reported in the narratives of 'Ikramah and Ibn Sīrīn.

842. Thus, for example, as referred to earlier, Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Ḥajar hold this view. See: Ibn Kathīr, *Faḍāi'l al-Qur'ān*, 51; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 9, 9-10.

843. Thus, for example, as referred to earlier, Al-Zurqānī and Schwally hold this view. See: Schwally, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 278-279; Al-Zurqānī, *Manāhil*, vol. 1, 183.

to both memorization of the complete Qur'ān and to its written collection, there are strong indications in these narratives that here it has been used for a written collection. Perhaps the strongest of these indications is that variants from ʿAlī,[844] Yamān[845] and from Ibn Sīrīn[846] (other than the one that contain Ashʿath) refer to the fact that the collection made by ʿAlī was in written form between two covers.

If the narratives refer to a personal written collection, then the following questions arise on it:

Firstly, some of the variants mention that ʿAlī took to this task because additions were being made to the Qur'ān.[847] The reaction depicted by Abū Bakr is contrary to common sense. His response: 'What a good opinion you have formed,' is inappropriate on such a grave situation. If additions were really being made, how could he have not been more concerned and taken additional measures to safeguard the Qur'ān? He should have very naturally inquired about the nature of these additions and about the people responsible for it. Moreover, if additions were being made in the Book of God, it seems strange that of all the people, it was a single person who came to know of these additions.

Secondly, if ʿAlī thought that additions were being made in the Book of God, why is it that he did not take the initiative to inform other Companions about such an alarming situation. On the contrary, narratives say that it is only after he was asked about his delay in pledging allegiance that he informed them of this.

Thirdly, it is alleged by classical scholars that it was after the battle of

---

844. Al-Ḥaskānī, *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*, 26-27. See also: Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalā'*, vol. 14, 22; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyah al-awliyā'*, vol. 1, 67; Ibn Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 44. Al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah al-ḥuffāẓ*, vol. 2, 661.

845. Al-Ḥaskānī, *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*, 27.

846. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Tamhīd*, vol. 8, 300-301; Ibn Saʿd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 2, 338.

847. Ibn Ḍurays, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 35-36; Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 6, 148, (no. 30230).

Yamāmah that Abū Bakr at the behest of 'Umar undertook the collection of the Qur'ān (see chapter 1). It is strange, as pointed out by Schwally also, that at that time no use was made of this Qur'ān collected by 'Alī. Moreover, Abū Bakr is seen displaying two contradictory attitudes. In the narratives under discussion, he seems very pleased that 'Alī is undertaking this task. However, in the narratives which depict the collection of the Qur'ān after the battle of Yamāmah, he is seen very hesitant in attempting the task of collection.

Fourthly, as such, the overall picture which emerges is very fragmentary and seemingly incomplete. Neither is there any report of Abū Bakr asking 'Alī to bring over the collected Qur'ān nor is 'Alī found bringing it over to him at his own initiative. It seems that the whole endeavour had no further role in Muslim history, though common sense demands that it should have.

Fifthly, as Ibn Ḥajar has pointed out, 'Alī himself has specified that it was Abū Bakr who was the first to collect the Qur'ān between two covers:

> 'Abd Khayr reports that 'Alī said: 'May God have mercy on Abū Bakr; he was the first to collect [the Qur'ān] between two covers.'[848]

As a result, two contradictory reports are found about the first collection of the Qur'ān between two covers.

Sixthly, there is no narrative in the six canonical books of Ḥadīth regarding any collection made by 'Alī in spite of the fact that they contain chapters which record narratives on the collections made by the first three caliphs. As pointed out by Schwally, it is only *tafsīr* or history books which have been influenced by Shiism which mention such narratives.

---

848. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 11-12.

Seventhly, some variants[849] of the narratives speak of a chronological collection. What exactly was the purpose of arranging the Qur'ān chronologically. Had it been of any significance, would not have the Prophet done so?

Moreover, the ascription of such a collection from ʿAlī is also not very sound. There is nothing reported from ʿAlī himself about the nature of arrangement in which he compiled the Qur'ān. It is only later people like ʿIkramah or Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn who report that this collection was chronological.

In the narrative from ʿIkramah quoted above, the endeavour of this chronological collection is in fact attributed to a group of people. The words are: 'Did **they** compile the Qur'ān according to its sequence of revelation?' (*allafūhū kamā unzila, al-awwal fa al-awwal*); the words are not: 'Did **he** compile the Qur'ān according to its sequence of revelation?' (*allafahū kamā unzila, al-awwal fa al-awwal*).

In the following narrative from Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn, an unidentified narrator says: 'People reckoned that ʿAlī had written it in the chronological order' (*fa zaʿamū annahū katabahū ʿalā tanzīlihī*). The word *zaʿamū* has an obvious ring of vagueness around it:

> Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn said: 'I have been told that ʿAlī delayed pledging allegiance to Abū Bakr. So Abū Bakr met him and said: "Are you averse to pledging allegiance to me?" He replied: "By God the truth is that I had sworn not to wear my cloak except for the Friday prayers until I have collected the Qur'ān."' One of the narrators said: 'People reckoned that ʿAlī had written it in the chronological order.' Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn said: 'If that book is obtained it would have a lot of knowledge.' Ibn ʿAwn said: 'I asked ʿIkramah about it and he did not know of any such book.'[850]

A possible answer to some of the questions raised above is that they are a classic case of *argumentum e silentio*: Perhaps Abū Bakr did express this concern

---

849. See, for example: Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Al-Tamhīd*, vol. 8, 300-301; Al-Ḥaskānī, *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*, 27-28.

850. Ibn Saʿd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol, 2, 338.

and perhaps others besides 'Alī were aware of additions being made in the Book of God and perhaps the collection made by 'Alī did have some role in the collection made later by Abū Bakr but all this has not been reported, as is the case with many historical incidents.

The response to this critique is as follows: If the nature of an incident is such that if it ever happened, then common sense demands that it should have been reported and that a report of silence would be considered improbable and unlikely, then it cannot be regarded as a case of such a fallacy.

The cited critique of the scholars on the arrangement of the *muṣḥaf* reported by al-Ya'qūbī is strong.

B. *Isnād*

As referred to earlier, these narratives are reported from the following four persons.

i. 'Alī

ii. Al-Yamān

iii. 'Ikramah, mawlā of Ibn 'Abbās

iv. Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn

Our traditional scholars have referred to the *inqiṭā'* in the chain of narrations. It is evident that this *inqiṭā'* is obvious in the case of Ibn Sīrīn's Narratives. However, it needs to be examined in the case of 'Ikramah's narratives. While, this *inqiṭā'* is obviously not present in the case of narratives of 'Alī. No information is available on the identity of al-Yamān as will be shown later.

I will now analyze these chains.

The following charts reflect the chains of the narratives reported by these three narrators:

1. 'Alī's Narratives

'Alī

↓

'Abd Khayr

↓

al-Suddī

↓

al-Ḥakam ibn Ẓuhayr

Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Maymūn

Muḥammad ibn 'Uthmān ibn Abī Shaybah

↓

Sā'd ibn Muḥammad

↓

Abū Nu'aym

↓

Abū 'Alī al-Ḥaddād

Mas'ūd al-Jammāl   Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad

Ibn Salāmah

Yūsuf ibn Khalīl

↓

Isḥāq ibn Ṭariq

↓

al-Dhahabī

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ḥammād

↓

[ ]

↓

al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abbās

↓

Ibn al-Munādā

↓

Ibn Nadīm

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ḥammād

↓

al-Ḥārith

↓

Abū al-Qāsim

↓

Abū 'Alī

↓

Father of Abū 'Abdullāh al-Ṭabarī

↓

Abū 'Abdullāh al-Ṭabarī

↓

al-Ḥaskānī

Observations

i. In the above chain, al-Ḥakam ibn Ẓuhayr is suspect. Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn[851] has said about him: *laysa ḥadīthuhū bi shay'*. 'Abd al-Raḥmān reports that his father Abū

---

851. Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Al-Jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl*, vol. 3, 118.

Ḥātim[852] has called him *matrūk al-ḥadīth, lā yuktabu ḥadīthuhū*. Abū Zurʻah[853] says that he is *wāhī al-ḥadīth*. Al-Nasāʼī also regards him to be *matrūk al-ḥadīth*.[854]

Al-Bukhārī[855] says that he is *munkar al-ḥadīth*; Ibn Ḥajar[856] has referred to him as *matrūk*.

ii. Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Maymūn has been mentioned by Asadī among the *ḍuʻafāʼ* and said that he is *munkar al-ḥadīth*.[857]

iii. In the chain recorded by Ibn Nadīm, there is a missing person (indicated by a blank box in the chart above) between al-Ḥasan ibn ʻAbbās and ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ḥammād. This is evident from the words of the former who says: *ukhbirtu ʻan ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ḥammād* (I have been informed by ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ḥammād through someone).

iv. Muḥammad ibn ʻUthmān ibn Abī Shaybah is suspect in the eyes of some authorities. Ibn Ḥajar[858] records that according to ʻAbdullāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal he is a liar and Ibn Khirāsh says that he fabricates narratives.

2. Al-Yamān's Narrative

al-Yamān

↓

ʻAbd Khayr

↓

al-Suddī

↓

al-Ḥakam ibn Ẓuhayr

↓

Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Maymūn

↓
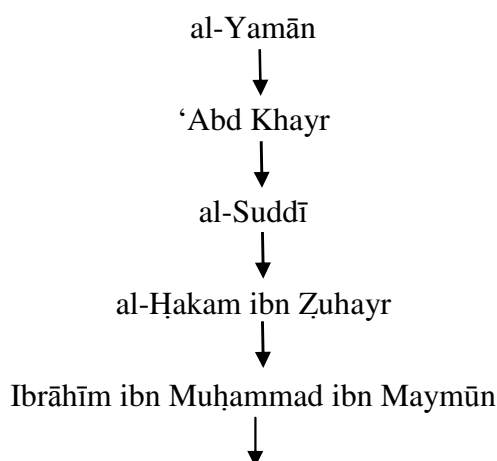
852. Ibid.
853. Ibid.
854. Al-Nasāʼī, *Al-Ḍuʻafāʼ*, 30.
855. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ḍuʻafāʼ*, 31.
856. Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 175.
857. Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vol. 1, 107.
858. Ibid., vol. 5, 280.

Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr

Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb

al-Ḥaskānī
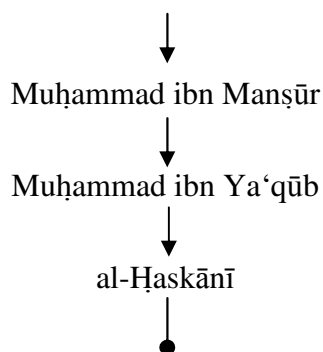
Observations

i. Al-Yamān is a *majhūl* person. No authority specified that ʿAbd Khayr narrates from such a person. ʿAbd Khayr himself is a companion of ʿAlī. One possibility is a *taṣḥīf*. ʿAbd Khayr ibn Yazīd was erroneously written as ʿAbd Khayr *ʿan* al-Yamān. [(عبد خير عن اليمان) as (عبد خير بن يزيد)].

ii. The *jarḥ* on al-Ḥakam ibn Zuhayr and Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Maymūn has already been pointed out.

3. 'Ikramah' Narratives

'Ikramah mawlā Ibn ʿAbbās

Ayyūb

Maʿmar ibn Rashid

ʿAbd al-Razzāq
Khalīfah

Ḥafṣ ibn ʿUmar
ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān

al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAbbās

Abū al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿUqdah
(Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Saʿīd)

al-Ḥaskānī

Ibn Sīrīn

ʿAwf ibn Abī Jamīlah

Naḍr ibn Shumayl   Hawdhah ibn

Aḥmad ibn Manṣūr   Bishr ibn Mūsā

Muḥammad ibn
Makhlad ibn Ḥafṣ

Aḥmad

Ibn Durays
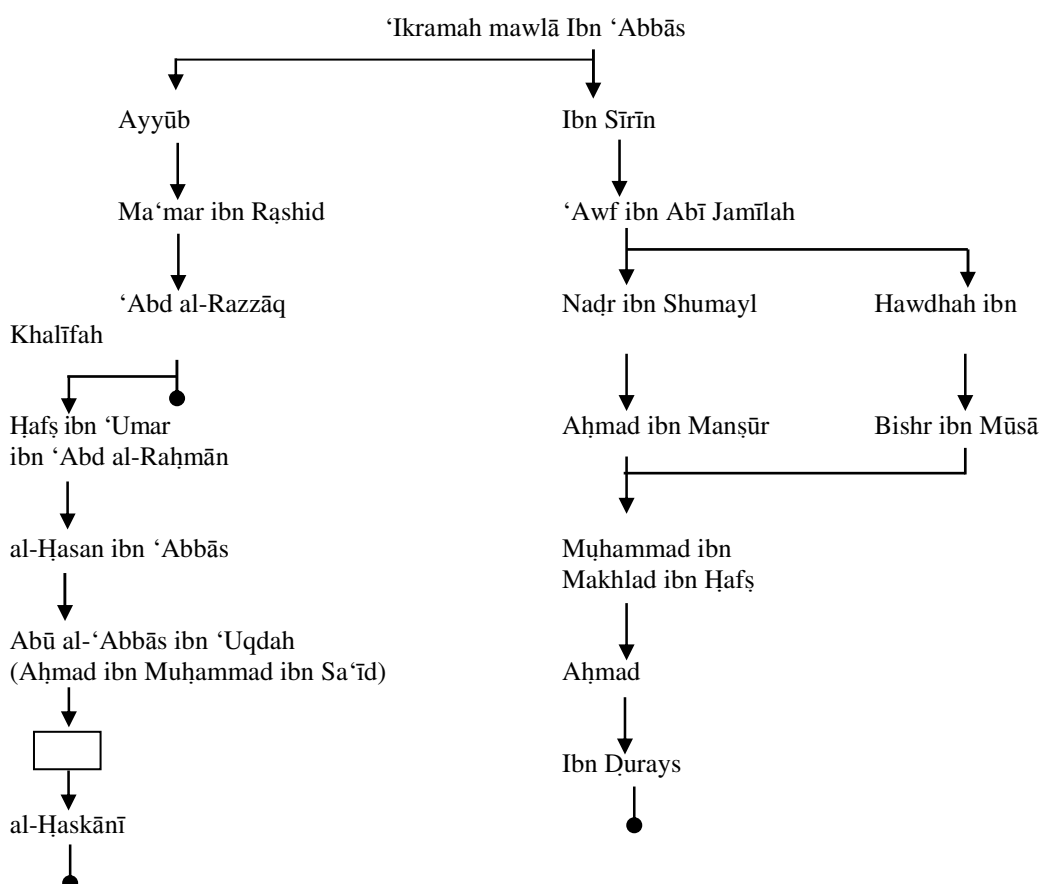
Observations

i. 'Ikramah died in 107 AH at the age of 84. Hence he was born in 23 AH.[859] This means that he was not a witness to the event reported in the narrative, which thus must also be regarded as *munqaṭiʿ*.

He could have heard this narrative from 'Alī. However, Abū Zurʿah[860] says that his narratives from 'Alī are *mursal*. So one cannot be even certain if he has heard this narrative from 'Alī.

The following *jarḥ* is also found about him:

> 'Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥārith said: 'I came to 'Alī ibn 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās and found that 'Ikramah was chained near the door of Ḥasan. I said to him: "Do you not fear God." He replied: "This hideous person fabricates lies about my father."'[861]

ii. Though the *muḥaddithūn* have generally regarded 'Awf ibn Abī Jamīlah to be a trustworthy person, the *jarḥ* on him has already been cited in chapter 2. It has also been referred to earlier that in the opinion of Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn, Hawdhah ibn Khalīfah is *ḍaʿīf* in what he narrates from 'Awf.[862]

iii. In the opinion of Abū Ḥātim, Maʿmar ibn Rāshid makes mistakes in what he has narrated whilst residing in Baṣrah[863] and it is known that Ayyūb ibn Abī Tamīmah al-Sakhtiyānī is a Baṣran.[864]

iv. Ḥalbī in his *Kashf al-ḥathīth* records about Abū al-'Abbās ibn 'Uqdah (Aḥmad

859. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr ʿulamā' al-amṣār*, 82.

860. Abū Saʿīd ibn Khalīl al-'Alā'ī, *Jāmiʿ al-taḥṣīl fī aḥkām al-marāsīl*, 2nd ed. (Beirut: 'Ālam al-kutub, 1986), 239.

861. Al-'Uqaylī, *Al-Ḍuʿafā' al-kabīr*, vol. 3, 373-374.

862. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 30, 322-323.

863. Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Al-Jarḥ wa al-taʿdīl*, vol. 8, 256; Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 28, 309.

864. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 1, 409; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Al-Jarḥ wa al-taʿdīl*, vol. 2, 255.

ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd):[865] Some regard him to be *ḍa'īf* and others as reliable (*ḍa''afahū ghayru wāḥidin wa qawwāhū ākharūn*). According to al-Dhahabī, he would not fabricate narratives but would narrate *gharā'ib* and *manākīr*, and narrate a lot from unknown people (*kathīr al-riwāyah 'an al-majāhīl*).

v. There is an unspecified narrator between al-Ḥaskānī and al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abbās rendering this variant as broken (*munqaṭi'*).

vi. Al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abbās is regarded as extremely weak by both Sunnī and Shiite works. In fact, Ibn Ḥajar has quoted al-Najāshī's *jarḥ* on him:

> Ibn Najāshī[866] has called him *ḍa'īfun jiddan*. He has a book on the blessings of Sūrah al-Qadr which has inauthentic narratives, discrepancies in its words and cannot be relied upon. And 'Alī ibn al-Ḥakam said: 'He is *ḍa'īf* and his narratives cannot be relied upon.' And it is said that he used to fabricate Ḥadīth.[867]

Al-Najāshī's words are:

> He is *ḍa'īfun jiddan*. He has a book on Sūrah al-Qadr – a book which has inauthentic narratives and discrepancies in its words.[868]

---

865. Abū al-Wafā' Ḥalbī, *Kashf al-ḥathīth*, 52.

866. Al-Najāshī is also called Ibn Najāshī because one of his ancestors was known as al-Najāshī. See: Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Ardabīlī, *Jāmi' al-ruwāt*, vol. 1 (Qum: Maktabah Ayātullāh al-'Uẓmah al-Mar'ashah, 1403 AH), 54-55.

867. Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vol. 2, 216.

868. Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn al-'Abbās al-Najāshī, *Rijāl* (Qum: Mu'assasah al-nashr al-islāmī, 1407 AH), 60-61.

4. Ibn Sīrīn's Narrative

Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn

Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī — Ash'ath ibn Sawār — 'Abdullāh ibn 'Awn — Ḥasan ibn Dīnār

Abd al-Wārith — Ismā'īl ibn 'Ullayah

Muḥammad ibn Fuḍayl

Yazīd ibn Hārūn — Ayyūb

Abū Mu'āwiyah al-Ḍarīr

Abū Ma'mar al-Muq'ad

Yaḥyā ibn Sulaymān ibn Yaḥyā

Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl

Ibn Abī Shaybah ● — Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm

Hishām ibn Yūnus

Ḥasan ibn Isḥāq

Ibn Abī Dā'ūd

Muḥammad ibn Qāsim ibn Zakariyyā

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥajjāj

'Uthmān ibn Muḥammad

Ibn Sa'd

'Alī (father)

Muḥammad ibn Naṣr

'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar ibn Isḥāq

Abū Ja'far ibn Maslamah

Ḥusayn ibn Fahm

Abū al-Qāsim Fārisī

Muḥammad ibn Ḥattām

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn

Aḥmad ibn Ma'rūf

al-Ḥaskānī ●

Abū al-Naḍr

Khalf ibn Qāsim

Ibn 'Asākir ●

Muḥammad ibn 'Abbās

'Alī ibn Ḥijr

al-Ḥaskānī ●

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr ●

Abū Muḥammad

'Abdullāh ibn Maḥmūd

Abū Bakr Anṣārī

Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ya'qūb

Ibn 'Asākir ●

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz

al-Ḥaskānī ●

Observations

As pointed out earlier by Ibn Ḥajar, there is *inqiṭā'* in these narratives.

Now if it is considered that Ibn Sīrīn's informant was 'Ikramah, as is the case with the narratives attributed to 'Ikramah, even then the issue of *inqiṭā'* stands as 'Ikramah was not a witness to the events reported in these narratives, as pointed out earlier.

V. Representative Texts: Shiite Sources

Some of the representative narratives about the collection of 'Alī recorded in Shiite Sources shall now be cited.

i.

When 'Alī saw their betrayal and insincerity, he confined himself to his house and set about to arrange and collect the Qur'ān. He did not leave his house until he had collected it and it was [scattered] in sheets and wood pieces having inclined edges and thin pieces of leather.

When he had collected all of it and written it down by his hand,[869] the abrogating and the abrogated verses, Abū Bakr sent for him to come and pledge allegiance to him. 'Alī sent his response thus: 'I am busy and I have sworn to myself that I would not wear my cloak except for the prayer until I have arranged and collected the Qur'ān.'

So they kept silent and left him alone for some days. He then collected it in a single cloth and sealed it and went to the people who were gathered around Abū Bakr in the Prophet's mosque. He then loudly declared to them: 'O People! Ever since the death of the Prophet, I have been busy in his ceremonial bath and then with the Qur'ān until I have collected all of it in this single cloth. There is not a verse revealed which I have not collected and there is not a verse which the Prophet has not recited to me and not taught me its explanation.'

Then 'Alī told them: '[This is] lest you might say in future: "We were not

---

869. Ma'rifah while explaining the meanings of these terms says that while *tanzīl* refers to the meaning of a verse in relation to the circumstances in which it was revealed, the *ta'wīl* refers to its meaning for all times. See: Ma'rifah, *Al-Tamhīd fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1, 229.

aware of it."'[870] He went on to say: 'You should not say on the Day of Judgement that I had not called you to my help and I had not reminded you of my right and I had not called you to the Book of God from the beginning to the end of the Book.'

'Umar replied: 'What you have with you is of no use to us because of what we have with us of the Qur'ān.' 'Alī then [went and] entered his house.[871]

ii.

Ṭalḥah said: '...O Abū al-Ḥasan! There is something I want to ask you about. I saw you come out with a sealed cloth and say: "O People! I have remained busy with the ceremonial bath, enshrouding and burial of the Prophet and then I turned my attention to the book of God until I collected all of it and not a letter was left out." So I have not seen that book which you wrote and compiled. And I saw 'Umar when he became the caliph ask you to send it over to him but you refused. Then 'Umar called over people and wrote out verses of the Qur'ān over which two witnesses testified, and left out verses on which only one person testified. And 'Umar said while I was listening: "In the battle of Yamāmah, people have been killed who knew verses no one else knew." And a goat came over to a sheet while the scribes of 'Umar were writing and ate it and took away what was in it and among the scribes on that day was 'Uthmān; so what do you say?

And I heard 'Umar and his companions who wrote [the Qur'ān] in his times and in the times of 'Uthmān say: "Sūrah al-Aḥzāb was as long as Sūrah al-Baqarah and Sūrah al-Nūr had one hundred and sixty verses and Sūrah al-Ḥujurāt had ninety verses." What is all this?

May God have mercy on you, what stopped you from revealing what you had collected for the people? And you had witnessed that 'Uthmān had taken what the scribes had collected for 'Umar and he had urged people to gather on one reading and had destroyed the codex of Ubayy and Ibn Mas'ūd by burning them. What is this?'

Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī replied: 'O Ṭalḥah! Every verse that God has revealed to Muḥammad is with me through his dictation to me and every allowed and prohibited thing and every directive and injunction and anything which the *ummah* requires till the Day of Judgement is written with me in my writing through the dictation of the Prophet even the *diyat* of a scratch [on the skin].'[872]

---

870. The original words in all probability are a reference to the Qur'ānic verse: إِنَّا كُنَّا عَنْ هَذَا غَافِلِيْن (٧ : ١٧٢) (we have remained ignorant to this, (7:172)).

871. Sulaym ibn Qays, *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays* (Tehran: Mu'assasah al-ba'thah, 1407 AH), 32-33; Ibid., see also: Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Ṭabrasī, *Al-Iḥtijāj*, vol. 1 (Najaf: Maṭbū'āt al-Nu'mān, 1386 AH), 107; Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 89, 40-41.

872. Sulaym ibn Qays, *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays*, 85-86; See also: Ibid., 92, 207; Al-Ṭabrasī, *Al-Iḥtijāj*, vol. 1, 222-223; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 89, 41-42.

After this 'Alī makes some more points, but since they do not answer the question raised by Ṭalḥah, Ṭalḥah says:

'Why is it O Abū al-Ḥasan that you have not answered the question I asked you about revealing to people the Qur'ān you had collected.' He replied: 'I deliberately desisted from replying to you. So tell me is what 'Umar and 'Uthmān wrote the whole of the Qur'ān or is there anything in it which is not the Qur'ān?' Ṭalḥah said: 'Indeed, the whole of the Qur'ān.' 'Alī continued: 'If you adhere to what is written in it, you will be saved from the fire of Hell and enter Paradise because in it are our arguments and a mention of our rights and a mention of the obligation of obeying us.' Ṭalḥah then said: 'It would suffice for me if this is what the Qur'ān contains.' He further said: 'Please tell me of the Qur'ān that is with you and its interpretation and of knowledge of what is forbidden and what is allowed. Whom will you give it to and in whose custody will this Qur'ān be after you?' 'Alī replied: 'I will give to the person the Prophet had directed me to.' Ṭalḥah asked: 'Who is he?' 'Alī replied: 'My successor and the person who is the foremost among people after me: this son of mine, al-Ḥasan. At his death, he will then give it to this son of mine, al-Ḥusayn and then it will keep passing among their descendents until the last of them meets the Prophet at his fountain. They will remain with the Qur'ān and the Qur'ān will remain with them. They will not leave it and it will not leave them.'[873]

iii.

It is reported in a narrative of Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī that when the Prophet died, 'Alī collected the Qur'ān and came over to the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār and presented it to them the way the Prophet had directed him. When Abū Bakr opened it, on the very first page of it he saw [a mention of] the misdeeds of the people (فضائح القوم). 'Umar leapt and said: 'O 'Alī! Take it away; we do not need it.' 'Alī took it and returned. They then called for Zayd ibn Thābit, who was a reader of the Qur'ān. 'Umar said to him: ' 'Alī came over to us with the Qur'ān and in it were mentioned the misdeeds of the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār and we are of the opinion that we should arrange the Qur'ān and leave out the misdeeds and condemnation of the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār.' Zayd agreed and said: 'If I am able to arrange the Qur'ān as you have asked and 'Alī reveals the Qur'ān he has arranged, will this not nullify what you have done?' 'Umar said: 'What should be the plan?' Zayd said: 'You know better of it.' 'Umar said: 'What better a plan than we kill him and be in comfort.' So he planned to kill him through Khālid ibn al-Walīd but was not able to and an explanation to this has been mentioned earlier. When 'Umar became the caliph, he asked 'Alī to hand him over the Qur'ān so that he could

873. Sulaym ibn Qays, *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays*, 87-88; see also Al-Ṭabrasī, *Al-Iḥtijāj*, vol. 1, 225; Al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 89, 42.

alter what was between 'Alī and the people. So he said: 'O Abū al-Ḥasan! If you can bring over the Qur'ān you had brought to Abū Bakr so that we can bring a consensus over it.' 'Alī said: 'Alas! This is no longer possible. I had brought it over to Abū Bakr to leave all of you with no excuse so that you would not say on the Day of Judgement: "we were not aware of it," or say: "you had not brought it to us." Only the pure and the successors among my children touch the Qur'ān which is with me.' 'Umar then said: 'Is the time of revealing it known?' 'Ali replied: 'Yes; when the al-Qā'im from my descendents arrives, he will reveal it and will urge people to it and the practice will be according to this Qur'ān.'[874]

iv.

The Argument of al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī and his Companions with Mu'āwiyah

Al-Ḥasan said: 'We Ahl al-Bayt say: "The leaders of the Muslims are from us and the *khilāfah* should be rightfully among us only and God has made us its recipients in His book and in the Sunnah of His Prophet. True knowledge is with us and we are its worthy beneficiaries. All of it is written with us in totality and everything which is to happen till the Day of Judgement even the *diyat* of a scratch [on the skin] is written with us in the writing of 'Alī through dictation of the Prophet. There are people who think that they are more worthy to it than us and even you O Ibn al-Hind! You claim and assert this. 'Umar had sent a message to my father: 'I want to write the Qur'ān in a *muṣḥaf*; so send to me what you have written of it.' So 'Alī came to him and said: 'By God! You will have to kill me if it is to come to you.' He said: 'why?' He said: 'Because [in the verse:] "And the deeply rooted in knowledge," I was meant by God and not you and your companions.' 'Umar became angry at this and said: 'O Son of Abū Ṭālib! You think that there is no one else who has knowledge. So anyone who reads any portion of the Qur'ān bring it over to me.' If a person would read what he had with him and another person would also have it, 'Umar would write it otherwise he would leave it. Then they said: 'A lot of the Qur'ān was lost by him.' They have told a lie. By God! It is safely lodged with its worthy recipients."'[875]

v.

Abū 'Abdullāh said: 'The Prophet said to 'Alī: "O Alī! The Qur'ān is behind my bed-sheet in the *muṣḥaf* and in pages of silk and in paper. Get hold of it and collect it and do not lose it the way the Jews lost the Torah." So 'Alī went and gathered it in a yellow cloth and then sealed it in his house and said: "I will not wear [my cloak] until I have collected it." And if a person came to

874. Al-Ṭabrasī, *Al-Iḥtijāj*, vol. 1, 225-228. Also Al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 89, 42-43.

875. Al-Ṭabrasī, *Al-Iḥtijāj*, vol. 2, 6-7.

him, he would go out to meet him without his cloak until he had collected it.'
Abū 'Abdullāh said: 'And the Prophet had said: "Had people read the Qur'ān
in the way it was revealed no two of them would have differed."'[876]

vi.

Sālim ibn Salamah said: 'A person read the Qur'ān before Abū 'Abdullāh and
I heard words of the Qur'ān which were not according to what people would
read. At this, Abū 'Abdullāh said: "Refrain from this reading. Read what the
people read until the al-Qā'im arrives. When he arrives, he will read the book
of God on his way and will reveal the *muṣḥaf* which 'Alī had written." He
further said: " 'Alī had taken this *muṣḥaf* to the people when he had
completed it and told them: 'This is the Book of God the way God revealed it
to Muḥammad and I have collected it between two covers.' They replied: 'We
have it with us in the form of a collected *muṣḥaf* in which is the Qur'ān, and
we do not need what you have in it.' 'Alī said: 'By God! You will never ever
see it after today. It was my responsibility to inform you about it once I had
collected it so that you can read it.'"'[877]

vii.

In the narratives of Abū Rāfi', it is found that the Prophet in his last illness
told 'Alī: 'O 'Alī this is the book of God. Get hold of it.' So 'Alī collected it in
a cloth and went to his house. When the Prophet died, 'Alī sat down to arrange
it in the way it was revealed and he was aware of this.[878]

viii.

Reported from 'Alī ibn Abī Rabāḥ that the Prophet directed 'Alī to arrange
the Qur'ān. So he arranged it and wrote it out.[879]

ix.

Al-Shīrāzī in his *Nuzūl al-Qur'ān* and Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb in his *tafsīr*
reporting from Ibn 'Abbās about the verse لَا تُحَرِّكْ بِهِ لِسَانَكَ ([O Prophet!] Do

---

876. 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qummī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 2 (Najaf: Maṭba'ah al-Najaf, 1387 AH),
450-451. See also: Al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 89, 48.

877. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb ibn Isḥāq al-Kulaynī, *Al-Uṣūl min al-kāfī*, 4th
ed., vol. 2 (Tehrān: Dār al-kutub al-islāmiyyah, 1365 AH), 633; See also: Al-Majlisī,
Biḥār, vol. 89, 88-89. In Majlisī's *Biḥār al-anwār*, the person reporting it is Sālim ibn
Abī Salamah.

878. Muḥammad ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, vol. 2 (Qum: Mu'assasah
intishārāt 'allāmah, 1379 AH), 41.

879. Ibid.

not move your tongue …) mentions that the Prophet used to move his lips at the time of revelation in order to memorize it. He was told not to move his tongue to swiftly acquire it before it was being read out to him. As per the verse (١٧ :٧٥) إِنَّ عَلَيْنا جَمْعَهُ وَ قُرْآنَهُ God has guaranteed the Prophet that 'Alī will collect it after him. Ibn 'Abbās said: 'So God collected the Qur'ān in the heart of 'Alī and 'Alī compiled it in six months after the Prophet's death.'[880]

x.

  Jābir said that he heard Abū Ja'far say: 'Only a liar can say that he has collected the whole of the Qur'ān in the way it was revealed. No one collected or memorized it in the way it was revealed except 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and the *imāms* after him.'[881]

xi.

Jābir reports from Abū Ja'far who said: 'No one should claim that he has the whole of the Qur'ān with him – its esoteric and exoteric form – except the successors.'[882]

xii.

Aṣbagh ibn Nubātah said: 'I heard 'Alī say: "I envision the 'Ajam with their tents in the mosque of Kūfah teaching people the Qur'ān in the way it was revealed." I asked him: "O Commander of the Faithful! Is it not in the form it was revealed." He replied: "No. The names of seventy people of the Quraysh and their forefathers have been deleted from it. Only the name of Abū Lahab remains in order to hurt the Prophet because he was his uncle."'[883]

xiii.

  'Alī sent them a message: 'There is no way I can come out because I am busy in the collection of the Book of God which you have thrown away and your worldly desires had made you disregard it and I have sworn that I will not come out of my house and not wear my cloak on my shoulders until I have collected the Qur'ān.'[884]

---

880. Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Manāqib*, vol. 2, 40-41; Al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 89, 51.

881. Al-Kulaynī, *Al-Uṣūl min al-kāfī*, 5th ed., vol. 1 (Tehrān: Dār al-kutub al-islāmiyyah, 1363 AH), 228; see also: Al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 89, 89.

882. Al-Kulaynī, *Al-Uṣūl min al-kāfī*, vol. 1, 228.

883. Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Nu'mānī, *Al-Ghaybah* (Tehran: Maktabah al-Ṣadūq, 1397 AH), 318.

884. Al-Ṭabrasī, *Al-Iḥtijāj*, vol. 1, 105; These contents are partially alluded to

xiv.

Ja'far ibn Muḥammad reported from his forefathers: 'When the Messenger of Allah died, I became involved in his ceremonial bath and enshrouding him and completing other matters concerning him; then I swore to myself that I will not wear my cloak except for the prayer until I have collected the Qur'ān. So I did it and took it and presented it to them. They said: "We do not need it."'[885]

xv.

It is mentioned in the narratives of the Ahl-i Bayt that 'Alī swore that he would not wear his cloak on his shoulder except for the prayer until he had arranged and collected the Qur'ān. He remained isolated from others for sometime until he had collected it. He then came to them with the Qur'ān in a cloth and they were gathered in the mosque and they did not like his staying away with his prudent associates. They said: 'Abū al-Ḥasan had come with a purpose.' When he came to them he placed the book between them and then said: 'The Prophet had said: "I am leaving behind that which if you hold steadfast to, you will never go astray: the Book of God and my descendants which is my family." So this is the Book of God and I am his descendant.' The second ['Umar] stood up and replied: 'If you have the Qur'ān, we also have it; we do not require you or your Book of God.' So 'Alī took away the Book after he had left them with no excuse to deny it.[886]

xvi.

Jābir ibn Yazīd said: 'I came to Abū Ja'far and said …' He replied: 'O Jābir! …Amīr al-Mu'minīn gave a sermon in Madīnah to the people seven days after the death of the Prophet and this was when he had completed collecting and arranging the Qur'ān.'[887]

VI. Existing Interpretations

The Shiite authorities are divided into two groups regarding the contents of the

Qur'ān collected by 'Alī.

elsewhere too. See: Al-Ṭabrasī, *Al-Iḥtijāj*, vol. 1, 98; See also: Al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 28, 204-205.

885. Al-Ṭabrasī, *Al-Iḥtijāj*, vol. 1, 281; see also Al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 29, 419-420.

886. Muḥammad ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, vol. 2, 41.

887. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb ibn Isḥāq al-Kulaynī, *Al-Rawḍah min al-kāfī*, 4th ed., (Tehrān: Dār al-kutub al-islāmiyyah, 1362 AH), 18.

Al-Majlisī (d. 1110 AH) has summarized these two views in his *Mir'āt al-'uqūl* while explaining a narrative:

In this matter, there is a difference of opinion between our authorities. al-Ṣadūq ibn Bābawayh [d. 381 AH] and a group of scholars are of the opinion that the Qur'ān revealed to the Prophet has not been changed and nothing has been taken away from it. Al-Kulaynī [d. 329 AH] and Shaykh al-Mufīd [d. 413 AH] and another group of scholars are of the opinion that the whole of the Qur'ān lies with the *imāms* and the *maṣāḥif* only contain a part of it. After the Prophet, 'Alī collected it in way it was revealed and took it to the Companions who were Hypocrites. But they did not accept it. They resolved to collect the Qur'ān in the time of 'Umar and 'Uthmān, the details of which are forthcoming in the chapter *Kitāb al-Qur'ān*.

Our bona fide Shaykh al-Mufīd has said in *Jawāb al-masā'il al-sarawiyyah* that all of what we have in the Qur'ān is from God; all of it is His discourse and revealed by Him and it does not contain anything from human beings. It contains most of what was revealed by Him and what remains of what was revealed by Him lies with the person who has been entrusted with the *sharī'ah* and who is the repository of injunctions; nothing has been lost from it. And he who had collected the current Qur'ān did not place the remaining revelations within what he had collected. There are various reasons for this: among them is his unawareness of some of it; another reason for it is his doubts about part of it and still another reason is his leaving out parts which he thought were not the Qur'ān and yet another reason is that he deliberately left out a part of it.

And Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī collected the whole of the revealed Qur'ān from the beginning to its end and arranged it the way it should have been arranged. He placed the Makkan verses before the Madīnan ones and the abrogated verses before the abrogating ones and put each of its parts at its right place. For this reason, Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq has said: 'By God! If the Qur'ān was read in the way it was revealed, you would have found our names written in it the way the names of those prior to us are written in it,' and after mentioning other details he said: 'Except that the report from our authorities is correct that they commanded us to read what was between the two covers and that we should neither add to it nor take any thing away from it until the al-Qā'im appears. He will then teach people the Qur'ān in the way it was revealed and collected thereof by 'Alī. And indeed we have been prohibited to read it on readings which are reported in narratives which exceed the ones found in the *muṣḥaf* because they are not reported through *tawātur*; they are reported through single or few reporters and a single reporter or a few reporters can err in what they narrate and because when a person would read something which is not in the existing Qur'ān, he would give the wrong impression to others that he is among their enemies, and he would incite cruel people against himself and present himself to destruction. So our authorities have forbidden us to read the Qur'ān on a reading which is not found in our

Qur'ān for reasons we have stated.'[888]

Al-Khū'ī,[889] while presenting his view on the *muṣḥaf* of 'Alī writes that it did not contain anything over and above the Qur'ān found today except that its *sūrahs* were arranged in a different sequence. Whatever additions it had were not part of it. These additions were of explanatory and elucidatory nature.

Al-'Āmilī says that it is evident from all the narratives that 'Alī actually had two Qur'āns. One which he had collected in the time of the Prophet and it was in the chronological sequence; the other one was collected after the demise of the Prophet and was in the same order as the Qur'ān found today. He further comments that it seems that narrators have at time mixed-up the two.[890]

VII. Analysis of Existing Interpretations and Narratives

A. *Matn*

As far as the existing interpretations are concerned, some narratives[891] cited earlier do suggest that the contents of the Qur'ān collected by 'Alī were over and above the one found today with the *ummah*, as is the opinion of al-Kulaynī and Shaykh Mufīd.

As far as the narratives themselves are concerned, there are some questions which arise on them.

Firstly, the second narrative, which records events that ensued in the time of

---

888. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Mir'āt al-'uqūl fī sharḥ akhbār āl al-rasūl*, 2nd ed., vol. 3 (Tehrān: Dār al-kutub al-islāmiyyah, 1363 AH), 30-31. The narrative explaining which Majlisī has presented these views is stated above: Al-Kulaynī, *Al-Uṣūl min al-kāfī*, vol. 1, 229.

889. Al-Khū'ī, *Al-Bayān*, 243-245. Rāmyār also expresses the same view. See: Rāmyār, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 332.

890. Al-'Āmilī, *Tadwīn al-Qur'ān*, 352.

891. See, for example, the narratives cited at numbers ii, iii and xi. Also, see the first point of my análysis.

'Umar and 'Uthmān, clearly says that the Qur'ān which the Muslim community had was incomplete: Ṭalḥah in his conversation with 'Alī while referring to this incompleteness has quoted some examples and 'Alī tacitly acknowledged all of them. They are:

i. 'Umar had remarked that with the death of some people in the battle of Yamāmah, parts of the Qur'ān had been lost because none other knew the parts they had memorized.

ii. A goat had eaten a sheet on which parts of the Qur'ān were written.

iii. 'Umar remarked that some of the collected *sūrahs* were not of the same length they originally were.

iv. 'Uthmān had destroyed the codices of Ubayy and Ibn Mas'ūd.

Some other examples of this incompleteness can be seen in other narratives as well.

A narrative (quoted at no. iii) shows that the Qur'ān compiled by 'Alī mentioned the misdeeds and condemnation of the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār.

A narrative (quoted at no. iv) says that whilst a large part of the Qur'ān compiled by 'Umar had been lost, the Qur'ān which was found with 'its worthy recipients' was complete and secure from these losses.

Another narrative (quoted at no. xii) shows that seventy names of the Quraysh and their fore-fathers had been deleted from the Qur'ān found with the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār.

It is hard to believe that a Companion of the stature of 'Alī would withhold the complete Qur'ān from the *ummah*, and not warn the Muslim community that they had an incomplete version of the Qur'ān. The significance the Book has for the Muslim community and the responsibility the Companions had in disseminating

it entail that he should have warned them again and again of its incompleteness. Instead his opinion which is expressed in the narrative is that since whatever remains of the Qur'ān still contains his rights and is enough to grant salvation, hence there is no need for him to bring forth the complete Qur'ān which is in his custody.

Here one can argue that as some narratives depict 'Alī had gone over to the leaders of the Muslim community and presented his Qur'ān to them which they subsequently rejected. The question arises that the importance of the matter demanded that he should have shown persistence in this matter instead of getting angry. Moreover, if the leaders had rejected his Qur'ān, he could have called upon the common Muslims and informed them of the truth. Why should he have deprived them of the complete Qur'ān if their leaders had rejected it. Moreover, why did 'Alī not implement the complete Qur'ān he had when he himself became the caliph. If someone answers all these objections by saying that 'Alī adopted this attitude in order to save the whole *ummah* from turmoil and chaos, the counter-question which arises is that was not the status of the Book of God such that it be presented disregarding any such fear. Also, if the *al-qā'im* would ultimately implement the Qur'ān of 'Alī, would not the *ummah* be faced with turmoil and chaos at that time?

Secondly, the second and fourth narratives clearly say that every verse of the Qur'ān and its interpretation were already written by 'Alī through dictation by the Prophet. The question arises that if 'Alī already had the Qur'ān written with him in the lifetime of the Prophet, what was the urgency and need of writing it out again? Also why did the Prophet express his apprehension about the Qur'ān getting lost and what was the need on account of which he handed over to 'Alī

verses of the Qur'ān written on various fragments.

Thirdly, the first narrative speaks of the insincerity and treachery of the Companions which 'Alī observed; similarly, the third narrative says that the Companions had altered the Qur'ān in the version collected by them by deleting the misdeeds of the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār which were written in the Qur'ān collected by 'Alī. Moreover, they are called Hypocrites and alleged to have plotted to kill 'Alī so that the Qur'ān he had could be destroyed. In the thirteenth narrative, 'Alī is reported to have said that the Companions had forsaken and disregarded the Book of God. These aspects of the narratives clearly show malicious intent towards the Companions which is typical of some Shiite works and renders them as questionable.

Fourthly, as is the case with most Shiite works, some of these narratives speak of superiority of 'Alī over other Companions. For example, the second and fourth narratives say that 'Alī had every verse and its interpretation as well as knowledge needed by the *ummah* till the Day of Judgement written with him through dictation by the Prophet himself. Similarly, the fifth narrative says that the Prophet handed over the Qur'ān written on various fragments to 'Alī so that he could collect and compile it. None of the other Companions was involved in this task.

Fifthly, if all the narratives are analyzed regarding the chronological nature of the collection, the following cannot be escape noting:

First, there is nothing is attributed to 'Alī himself regarding the chronological nature of his collection. Only comments of certain people are recorded in this regarded.

Second, it is generally narratives which report words such as *kamā anazala Allāh* from which a chronological arrangement is construed. Thus for example, a

narrative reads:

> In the reports of Abū Rāfi', it is found that the Prophet in his last illness told 'Alī: 'O 'Alī! This is the book of God. Get hold of it.' So 'Alī collected it in a cloth and went to his house. When the Prophet died, 'Alī sat down to arrange it in the sequence it was revealed and he was aware of this sequence.[892]

It may be noted that the words *fa allafahū kamā anzalahū Allāh* can also be translated as: 'He compiled the Qur'ān in the way it was revealed,' (instead of: 'he compiled the Qur'ān in the sequence it was revealed and he was aware of this sequence,') signifying he did not make any additions or deletions and wrote it out exactly as it was revealed by the Almighty. In fact, some of the other narratives stress this very fact. Thus, it is recorded:

> 'This is the Book of God the way God revealed it to Muḥammad and I have collected it between two tablets.'[893]

> Jābir said that he heard Abū Ja'far say: 'Only a liar can say that he has collected the whole of the Qur'ān in the way it was revealed. No one collected or memorized it in the way it was revealed except 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and the *imāms* after him.'[894]

The following narrative is even more explicit. It says that the current Qur'ān in the hands of the *ummah* is not *kamā unzila* (in the way it was revealed). Some deletions have been made from it: it does not contain seventy names of the Quraysh and their forefathers:

> Aṣbagh ibn Nubātah said: 'I heard 'Alī say: "I envision the 'Ajam with their tents in the mosque of Kūfah teaching people the Qur'ān in the order it was revealed." I asked him: "O Commander of the Faithful! Is it not in the form it was revealed." He replied: "No. The names of seventy people of the Quraysh and their forefathers have been deleted from it. Only the name of Abū Lahab

---

892. Muḥammad ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, vol. 2, 41.

893. Al-Kulaynī, *Al-Uṣūl min al-kāfī*, vol. 2, 633; See also: Al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 89, 89.

894. Al-Kulaynī, *Al-Uṣūl min al-kāfī*, vol. 1, 228; see also: Al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 89, 89.

remains in order to hurt the Prophet because he was his uncle.'"[895]

This fact is also corroborated by Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's words recorded by Majlisī in his *Mir'āt al-'uqūl* and referred to earlier: Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ṣādiq has said: 'By God! If the Qur'ān was read in the way it was revealed, you would have found our names written in it the way the names of those prior to us are written in it.' The sixth narrative above which is attributed to Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq further corroborates this view.

Thus, if the given narrative is interpreted in the light of these narratives, it would mean that there was no issue of any chronological sequence of the Qur'ān collected by 'Alī; it was more of 'Alī compiling the total corpus of the Qur'ān in the exact way it was revealed having no deletions or spurious material.

Sixthly, the narratives contain the following contradictions:

a. According to the first narrative, when 'Alī came up with his Qur'ān right after the death of the Prophet, 'Umar replied that the Muhājirūn already had the Qur'ān with them and that they did not need his collected Qur'ān. In this regard, the sixth narrative says that a section of the Muhājirūn had remarked that the Qur'ān was with them in the form of a *muṣḥaf*. However, the second and fourth narratives say that it was only in the caliphate of 'Umar after 'Alī had refused to hand over his Qur'ān to 'Umar that the latter had embarked upon collecting the Qur'ān with the help of two witnesses. Besides this mutual contradiction, these narratives also contradict narratives found in Sunnī sources as per which the Qur'ān was compiled in the form of a book by Abū Bakr.

b. In the second narrative, 'Alī says that no one will be able to see his collected Qur'ān until the last of his descendants meets the Prophet on the Day of

---

895. Al-Nu'mānī, *Al-Ghaybah*, 318.

Judgement at the fountain of Kawthar. The third, sixth and twelfth narratives however say that the Qur'ān collected by 'Alī would be revealed by the al-Qā'im when he comes to this world.

c. The ninth narrative says that it took 'Alī six months to compile the Qur'ān while the narrative recorded by Ibn Nadīm[896] says that this was done in three days. The sixteenth narrative says that it took him seven days.

B. *Isnād*

i. The first and second narratives are from *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays*.

The following information is also found about this book in the Shiite sources:

Ibn al-Ghadā'irī (d. before 450 AH) writes:

And the book is a fabrication; there is no doubt about it and there are clues which testify to this. Among them is that Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr counselled his father at his death and that the *imāms* are thirteen etc. The chains of this book are different: sometimes 'Umar ibn Udhaynah reports from Ibrāhīm ibn 'Umar al-Ṣan'ānī who reports from Abān ibn Abī 'Ayyāsh who reports from Sulaym and sometimes it is narrated by 'Umar ibn Udhaynah who directly narrates from Abān.[897]

Ibn Dā'ūd (d. 8th century AH), while writing about Sulaym ibn Qays (d. 76 AH), says:

To him is attributed a famous book. This book is a fabrication because in it is said Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr counselled his father at his death and that the *imāms* are thirteen together with Zayd and the book has different chains of narration. The only person to have narrated it from Sulaym is Abān ibn Abī 'Ayyāsh and in the book are found strange things which have become famous and [thus] I regard it to be a fabrication.[898]

Shaykh al-Mufīd writes:

---

896. Ibn Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 44.

897. Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn ibn al-Ghadā'irī, *Rijāl*, vol. 3 (Qum: Mu'assasah ismā'ilīyāṇ, 1364 AH), 156-157.

898. Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Dā'ūd, *Rijāl* (Tehran: Intishārāt dānishgāh Tehran, 1383 AH), 460.

This book is not reliable and it is not permissible to act on what most of it says. There are many discrepancies and falsehoods in it. A religious person should refrain from acting on everything it says and he should not depend on its content and not blindly follow its narrators. He should seek refuge with the scholars regarding the narratives it contains so that they can inform him about the right among them from the wrong.[899]

'Alā al-Dīn al-Mūsawī, while writing the preface to *Kitab Sulaym ibn Qays* published from Tehran in 1407 AH, has tried to respond to these criticisms.[900]

He first summarizes these criticisms:

a. The counsel of Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr (d. 38 AH) to his father at his death even though he was about a little over two years of age at that time.

b. The *imāms* are thirteen.

c. The book has different chains of narrations.

He answers the first criticism by saying that in the version of the book which Istarābādī refers to in his book on *rijāl*, it is mentioned that it was 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar who counselled his father at his father's death and it is known that 'Abdullāh was a grown up man at that time. Another answer he gives while summarizing the response of I'jāz Ḥusayn al-Kantūrī from his *Kashf al-ḥujub* is that if the report is believed that Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr was actually four years at the time of his father's death, then such a counsel cannot be far-fetched as at even at this tender age, sometimes such an incident can occur.

He answers the second criticism by again quoting Istarābādī who has said that in the version of *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays* which has reached him, it is written that the *imāms* were thirteen and this included the Prophet. A similar answer is given

---

899. Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān al-'Ukbarī Shaykh al-Mufīd, *Taṣḥīḥ al-i'tiqād* (Qum: Qangarah Shaykh Mufīd, 1413 AH), 149-150.

900. Sulaym ibn Qays, *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays*, ed. 'Alā al-Dīn al-Mūsawī (Tehrān: Mu'assasah al-ba'thah, 1407 AH), 17-24.

by al-Fāḍil Tafrīshī.[901]

He answers the third criticism by saying that if a book has different chains of narration in the manner referred to by Ibn Ghazā'irī, then this is no defect at all because it was a general practice of previous scholars to report books from different chains. Examples of such books are *al-Kāfī* and *al-Khiṣāl*.

After answering these three criticisms, al-Mūsawī says that there are some other criticisms also on the *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays* which have come to his notice. He refers to al-Bahbūdī's *Ma'rifah al-ḥadīth* and then summarizes these criticisms.

In my opinion, if these criticism are analyzed, then perhaps the most weighty of these is the one which hinges on the personality of Abān ibn Abī 'Ayyāsh (62-138 AH). According to al-Bahbūdī, all the chains of narration of the book end on Abān ibn Abī 'Ayyāsh. Only Abān reports it from Sulaym; only 'Umar ibn Udhaynah reports it from Abān and Abān has been classified as *matrūk*.

Here is what Shiite works say about him:

Abān ibn Abī 'Ayyāsh is *ḍa'īf*. It is said that he fabricated the book of Sulaym ibn Qays.[902]

[He is] *ḍa'īf*.[903]

He is *ḍa'īf* and should not be paid attention to and our scholars have attributed

---

901. It may also be noted that 'Umar ibn Udhaynah never reports from Ibrāhīm ibn 'Umar where both are present in the twenty chains through which this Book has been reported from Sulaym. In all such instances, it is always the reverse: it is Ibrāhīm ibn 'Umar who reports from 'Umar ibn Udhaynah. Thus this seems to be a blemish from Ibn al-Ghadā'irī. (God knows best). For details of these twenty two chains, see: Sulaym ibn Qays, *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays*, ed. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Anṣārī (Qum: Markaz al-abḥāth al-'aqā'idiyyah, n.d), 66-68

902. Ibn Dā'ūd, *Rijāl*, 414.

903. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, 1st ed. (Najaf: Intisharāt-i ḥaydariyyah, 1381 AH), 126.

to him the fabrication of the book of Sulaym ibn Qays.[904]

Sunnī authorities also regard him to be very weak: Imām Aḥmad and Ibn Ḥajar say that Abān ibn Abī 'Ayyāsh is *matrūk*.[905] Al-Nasā'ī regards him to be *matrūk al-ḥadīth.* [906]

While responding to this criticism, al-Mūsawī says that the book has also been reported from another chain of narration, as mentioned by al-Najāshī (d. 450 AH):[907]

له، كتاب يكنى أبا صادق أخبرني علي بن أحمد القمي قال حدثنا محمد بن الحسن بن الوليد قال حدثنا محمد بن أبي القاسم ماجيلويه، عن محمد بن علي الصيرفي، عن حماد بن عيسى و عثمان بن عيسى، قال حماد بن عيسى و حدثنا إبراهيم بن عمر اليماني عن سليم بن قيس بالكتاب

In other words, since this book is reported through Ibrāhīm ibn 'Umar al-Yamānī also, al-Mūsawī dismisses this objection.

It is submitted that Muḥammad Bāqir al-Anṣārī in his preface[908] to *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays* has enumerated the twenty chains from which this book has been narrated from Sulaym as recorded by various authorities. In all except one of these chains, Abān reports from Sulaym. The exception is the chain quoted above by al-Najāshī. It is obvious that Abān is not present in this chain. However, as pointed out by al-Khū'ī,[909] what makes this chain un-reliable is the presence of Abū Sumaynah

---

904. Ibn al-Ghadā'irī, *Rijāl*, vol. 1, 16. See also: Al-Ḥasan ibn Yūsuf al-Ḥillī, *Rijāl* (Qum: Manshūrāt al-raḍī, 1402 AH), 206-207; Al-Ardabīlī, *Jāmi' al-ruwāt*, vol. 1, 9.

905. Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 87; Al-Dhahabī, *Al-Kāshif*, vol. 1, 207.

906. Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Ḍu'afā'*, 14.

907. Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 8.

908. Sulaym ibn Qays, *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays*, ed. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Anṣārī (Qum: Markaz al-abḥāth al-'aqā'idiyyah, n.d), 66-68.

909. Muḥammad Abū Al-Qāsim al-Khū'ī, *Mu'jam al-rijāl al-ḥadīth*, 5th ed. vol. 9 (n.p:

Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Ṣayrafī. He says that he is *ḍa'īfuṇ kadhdhāb.*

It may further be noted that al-Najāshī's opinion[910] about him is: *ḍa'īfuṇ jiddaṇ,* has heretical beliefs (*fāsid al-i'tiqād*) and cannot be trusted in any matter (*lā yu'tamadu fī shay'*). Al-Ḥillī (d. 726 AH) also expresses a similar opinion.[911] Al-Kashshī[912] (d. 340 AH) records that al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān (d. 260 AH) has mentioned famous liars in some of his books. The most famous among them are Abū al-Khaṭṭāb, Yūnus ibn Ẓabyān, Yazīd al-Ṣā'igh, Muḥammad ibn Sinān and Abū Sumaynah.

In other words, none of the chains through which this book is transmitted is reliable.

ii. Narratives three and four do not have any chain of narration. It needs to be noted that according to al-Majlisī most narratives in *al-Iḥtijāj* are *mursal*.[913]

iii. Narrative five is sound as per Shiite authorities because it is reported through a sound chain of narration which ends on one of their *imāms*: Ja'far Ṣādiq; however according to principles of historical criticism, it is weak because Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq (80–148 AH)[914] never met 'Alī (d. 40 AH).

iv. According to al-Majlisī,[915] narrative six is *ḍa'īf.*

v. Narratives seven, eight and nine do not have any chain of narration.

vi. Narrative ten has Jābir ibn Yazīd al-Ju'fī in it. According to al-Najāshī, he is *mukhtaliṭ.*[916] Moreover the narrative is reported through a chain of narration that

---

Markaz nashr al-thaqāfah al-islāmiyyah, 1992), 235.

910. Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 332.

911. Al-Ḥillī, *Rijāl*, 453.

912. Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Kashshī, *Rijāl* (Mashhad: Intishārāt dānishgāh Mashhad, 1348 AH), 546.

913. Al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwar*, vol. 1, 28.

914. 'Alī ibn 'Īsā Arbalī, *Kashf al-ghummah fī ma'rifah al-a'immah*, vol. 2 (Tabrez: Maktabah Banī Hāshimī, 1381 AH), 161.

915. Al-Majlisī, *Mir'āt al-'uqūl*, vol. 12, 523.

916. Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 128.

ends on one of their *imāms* Bāqir: however according to principles of historical criticism, it is weak because Imām Bāqir (57–117 AH)[917] never met ʿAlī (d. 40 AH).

It may also be noted that while some authorities in Sunnī *rijāl* books regard him to be reliable, others have done *jarḥ* on him. Here is some of the *jarḥ* recorded about him by al-Mizzī:[918] In the opinion of Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn, as reported by ʿAbbās al-Dūrī, Jābir is a great liar (*kadhdhāb*). Imām Abū Ḥanīfah says that he has not met anyone who is a bigger liar than Jābir. Abū Ḥātim reports from Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal that Yaḥyā and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mahdī had abandoned him (*tarakahū*). According to al-Nasāʾī, he is *matrūk al-ḥadīth*; at another place, he says that he is *laysa bi thiqah wa lā yuktabu ḥadīthuhū*. Al-Ḥākim calls him *dhāhib al-ḥadīth*. According to Ibn Ḥajar,[919] he is *ḍaʿīf* and *rāfiḍī*.

The chain also contains ʿAmr ibn Abī al-Miqdām (who is actually ʿAmr ibn Thābit ibn Hurmuz). Although Shiite *rijāl* authorities regard him to be reliable, here is what some of the *Sunnī rijāl* authorities say about him, as recorded by al-Mizzī:[920] Al-Ḥasan ibn ʿĪsā reports that Ibn Mubārak had abandoned his narratives. Muḥammad ibn al-Muthannā says that he never heard ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Mahdī narrate from him. In the opinion of Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn, as reported by ʿAbbās al-Dūrī, he is *laysa bi thiqah wa lā maʾmūn wa lā yuktabu ḥadīthuhū*. Abū Zurʿah al-Rāzī says that he is *ḍaʿīf al-ḥadīth*. Abū Ḥātim says that he is *ḍaʿīf al-ḥadīth yuktabu ḥadīthuhū, kāna radī al-rāʾy shadīd al-tashayyuʿ*. According to al-Bukhārī he is *laysa bi al-qawī ʿindahum*. According to al-Nasāʾī, he is *laysa bi thiqah wa lā maʾmūn*. Ibn Ḥibbān says that he narrates

---

917. Ibid., vol. 2, 117; Ibid., vol. 2, 119.
918. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 4, 468-469.
919. Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 137.
920. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 21, 556-558

fabricated narratives from reliable narrators.

vii. Narrative eleven is suspect because al-Munakhkhal and Muḥammad ibn Sinān are weak.

About al-Munakhkhal, authorities record:

Al-Munakhkhal ibn Jamīl belongs to Kūfah and is *ḍa'īf*. We find extremism and exaltation of personalities in his beliefs. Muḥammad ibn Mas'ūd asked about him from 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan, he replied: 'He is *lā shay' muttahamuṇ*.'[921]

[He is] *ḍa'īf* and *fāsid al-riwāyah*.[922]

It is said that from Jābir ibn Yazīd al-Ju'fī a group of people would narrate whom authorities condemn and regard as weak. Al-Munakhkal is included in this group.[923]

About Muḥammad ibn Sinān, authorities record:

[He is] *ḍa'īf*, an extremist, fabricates narratives and should not be paid attention to.[924]

In the opinion of Abū al-'Abbās al-'Uqdah, he is *ḍa'īfuṇ jiddaṇ*, cannot be relied upon and should not be trusted in what is narrated only by him. Al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān forbids people to narrate from him.[925]

There is a difference of opinion about him amongst our scholars; Whilst Shaykh al-Mufīd regards him to be trustworthy, Shaykh al-Ṭūsī [d. 460 AH] and al-Najāshī regard him to be *ḍa'īf*. Ibn al-Ghadā'irī says that he is *ḍa'īf*, an extremist and should not be paid attention to. Al-Kashshī has narrated great blemishes in him and has also praised him. As far as I am concerned, I would not reject what he narrates but abstain from drawing any conclusion from them.[926]

The opinion of al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān about Muḥammad ibn Sinān that he is a

---

921. Al-Ḥillī, *Rijāl*, 261. See also: Al-Kashshī, *Rijāl*, 1348 AH), 368.
922. Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 421.
923. Al-Khū'ī, *Mu'jam al-rijāl al-ḥadīth*, vol. 19, 356.
924. Ibn al-Ghadā'irī, *Rijāl*, vol. 5, 229.
925. Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 328.
926. Al-Ḥillī, *Rijāl*, 251.

notorious liar has already been referred to earlier.

viii. Narrative twelve is suspect because of Ibrāhīm ibn Isḥāq al-Nahāwandī.[927]

ix. The thirteenth and fourteenth narratives are from al-Ṭabrasī's *al-Iḥtijāj* and have incomplete chains of narration.

x. The fifteenth narrative does not have a chain of narration.

xi. The sixteenth narrative has Jābir ibn Yazīd al-Juʿfī. The *jarḥ* on him has been cited earlier. It also has 'Amr ibn Shamr. He is regarded as *ḍaʿīfuṇ jiddāṇ* by al-Najāshī and al-Ḥillī, while Ibn al-Ghadā'īrī says that he is *ḍaʿīf*.[928]

VIII. Overall Analysis and Conclusion

In this article, Sunnī and Shiite sources regarding the collection of the Qur'ān by 'Alī have been analyzed separately. While each of the narratives cited seem to have unsound chains of narration, one can also see that both accounts are significantly different.

According to the Sunnī account, a chronological compilation of the Qur'ān was made by 'Alī right after the death of the Prophet. Upon being asked by Abū Bakr regarding the delay in pledging allegiance to him, 'Alī replied that additions were being made in the Qur'ān and that its arrangement was being tampered with. So he gave preference to this task. Abū Bakr is reported to have expressed his satisfaction at 'Alī's endeavour. The Sunnī sources are silent after this. As such, the overall picture which emerges is very fragmentary and seemingly incomplete, as indicated earlier. Neither is any report found in which Abū Bakr asks 'Alī to

---

927. According to Al-Ṭūsī: *kāna ḍaʿīfuṇ fī ḥadīthihī muttahamuṇ fī dīnihī*. See: Al-Ṭūsī, *Al-Fihrist*, 7; Al-Najāshī says: *kāna ḍaʿīfuṇ fī ḥadīthihī mathūmaṇ*. See: Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 19; Ibn al-Ghadā'irī says: *fī ḥadīthihī ḍuʿf … wa amruhū mukhtaliṭ*. See: Ibn al-Ghadā'irī, *Rijāl*, vol. 1, 37.

928. Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 287; Al-Ḥillī, *Rijāl*, 241-242; Ibn al-Ghadā'īrī, *Rijāl*, vol. 4, 286.

bring over the collected Qur'ān nor is 'Alī found bringing it over to him at his own initiative. After this, one wonders, what the need of the whole exercise was. Was it forgotten, or was it ignored?

The Shiite account on the other hand presents a complete picture. It says that the collected Qur'ān was brought over by 'Alī to the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār. However, their leaders rejected it by saying that that they already had it with them. At this, 'Alī angrily went away declaring that they would never see it again. Some accounts say that the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār initially did not have a copy of the Qur'ān. When 'Umar became the caliph, he demanded the Qur'ān from 'Alī who refused to hand it over to him and said that it would be revealed when the al-Qā'im arrives. Frustrated at this, 'Umar embarked upon collecting the Qur'ān with the help of two witnesses.

Some narratives recorded in Shiite books give a clear message that the Qur'ān found with the Muslims is incomplete and the complete version is only found with the descendants of 'Alī.

However, both the Sunnī and the Shiite accounts besides suffering from flaws pointed out earlier are in obvious contradiction with the statement of the Qur'ān on its collection and with the historical data which stands in support of this statement, as alluded to in chapter one of this dissertation. If the sequence of the text of the Qur'ān was well known in the time of the Prophet and the text was also written and preserved in memories, it is hard to digest the whole endeavour of 'Alī the way it is reported in both the Sunnī and the Shiite sources. The sense of urgency and the manner in which he went about doing this task hardly conform to the claim of the Qur'ān on its own collection and to narratives which stand in support of this claim.

Finally, as is shown earlier, the assertion that 'Alī collected the Qur'ān in its chronological order itself stands on slippery grounds both with regard to the Sunnī and Shiite sources.

In the presence of all this data, it is difficult to conclude the exact nature of 'Alī's compilation of the Qur'ān. The whole story could be a complete farce and it could have some truth about it. And if there is some truth about it, then it cannot be beyond the fact that 'Alī's Qur'ān collection was a personal one like some of the others.

_____

Chapter 5

Narratives on the
Maṣāḥif of Ubayy ibn Ka'b and 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd

Contents

I. Introduction

II. Scheme of the *Maṣāḥif*

III. Analysis of Ubayy's *Muṣḥaf*

      A. *Matn*

      B. *Isnād*

IV. Analysis of Ibn Mas'ūd's *Muṣḥaf*

      A. *Matn*

      B. *Isnād*

V. Conclusion

I. Introduction

Certain narratives say that the *sūrahs* were arranged in different sequences in the *maṣāḥif* of ʿAbdullāh ibn Masʿūd and Ubayy ibn Kaʿb. These arrangements have been reported primarily in two sources: *al-Fihrist*[929] of Ibn Nadīm (d. 380 AH) and *al-Itqān*[930] of al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 AH). Whilst the former source contains two eye-witness accounts of the *maṣāḥif* attributed to ʿAbdullāh ibn Masʿūd and Ubayy ibn Kaʿb respectively, the latter source quotes another source (Ibn Ashtah's *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*) which merely reports in two separate narratives the arrangements of the *maṣāḥif* attributed to them.

In this chapter, a critical analysis of these narratives will be conducted.

II. Scheme of the *Maṣāḥif*

The following chart gives the details of the scheme of the *maṣāḥif* of ʿAbdullāh ibn Masʿūd and Ubayy ibn Kaʿb. The numbers referring to *sūrah* numbers found in the existing sequence shows how the two differed from one another in this regard.

Ibn Masʿūd (*al-Itqān*)	Ibn Masʿūd (*al-Fihrist*)	Ubayy (*al-Itqān*)	Ubayy (*al-Fihrist*)
2[931]	2	1	1
4	4	2	2
3	3	4	4
7	7	3	3
6	6	6	6

---

929. Ibn Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 41-43.
930. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 222-224.
931. The text at this place says that from here begin the *al-ṭuwal sūrahs*.

5	5	7	7
10	10.	5	5
9[932]	9	10	10[933]
16	16	8	8
11	11	9	9
12	12	11.	11
18	17	19	19
17	21	26	26
21	23	22	22
20	26	12	12
23	37	18	18
26	33	16	16
37	28	33	33
33[934]	24	17	17
22	8	39[935]	39
28	19	20	45[936]
27	29	21	20
24	30	24	21
8	36	23	24
19	25	34	23
29	22	29	40
30	13	40	13
36	34	13	28
25	35	28	27[937]
15	14	27	37
13	38	37	34[938]
34	47	38	38
35	54	36	36
14	39	15	15
38	40[939]	42	42

932. The text at this place says that from here begin the *al-miʾīn sūrahs*.

933. The words written here are that the author is not exactly sure if it is Sūrah Yūnus which is the tenth *sūrah*.

934. The text at this place says that from here begin the *al-mathānī sūrahs*.

935. The words mentioned are *al-zumar awwaluhā ḥamīm*. It is known that Sūrah al-Zumar does not contain the word *ḥamīm*. There can be two possibilities: Either the words *awwaluhā ḥamīm* are a scribal error and hence should be ignored, or they refer to another *sūrah*. Jeffery has adopted the first of these possibilities and Schwally the second. Schwally is of the opinión that these words either refer to Sūrah al-Fuṣṣilat (41) or to Sūrah al-Zukhruf (43). See: Noeldeke and Schwally, *Tarīkh al-Qurʾan*, 264; Arthur Jeffery, *Materials*, 115.

936. The actual words are *ḥamīm al-tanzīl*. In all probability, this refers to Sūrah al-Jāthiyah (45) since all other ḥamīm *sūrahs* are already mentioned. Schwally and Jeffery also hold this view. See: Noeldeke and Schwally, *Tarīkh al-Qurʾan*, 264; Arthur Jeffery, *Materials*, 115.

937. The actual word written is Ṭāsīn Sulaymān. This refers to Sūrah al-Naml.

938. The actual word written is Dāʾūd. This refers to Sūrah al-Sabāʾ.

939. The actual words written are *al-ḥāwāmīm al-musabbiḥāt* which as observed by Jeffery is 'an introductory title to the group of six succeeding *sūrahs*.' See: Arthur Jeffery, *Materials*, 22.

47	43	30	30
31	41	57	43
39	46	48	41
40[940]	45	47	14
43	44	58	35[941]
41	48	67	48
42	57	32	47
46	59[942]	71	57
45	32	46	58[943]
44	50	50	25
48	65	55	32
59	49	56	71
32	67	72	46
65	64	53	50
68	63	70	55
49	62	73	56
67	61	74	72
64	72	54	53
63	71	44	68
62	58	31	69
61	60	45	59
72	66	52	60
71	55	51	77
58	53	68	78
60	51	69	76
66	52	59	75
55[944]	54	60	81
53	69	77	79
52	56	78	80[945]
51	68	75	83
54	79	81	84
56	70	65	95[946]
79	74	79	96
70	73	64	49
74	83	80	63
73	80	83	62
83	76	84	65[947]

940. The text at this place says that from here begin the *ḥawāmīm*.

941. The actual word written is al-Malāʾikah. This refers to Sūrah al-Fāṭir.

942. The actual words written are *sabbaḥa ḥashr* which as observed by Jeffery are 'part of the title of the *sūrah*' and have bothered both Schwally and Flugel. See: Arthur Jeffery, *Materials*, 22.

943. The actual word written is الطهار which in all probability is الظهار. This is the name of *sūrah* 58 also called al-Mujādalah.

944. The text at this place says that from here begin the *al-mufaṣṣal sūrahs*.

945. Sūrah 80 is mentioned again after Sūrah 88 below.

946. Sūrah 95 is mentioned again after Sūrah 105 below.

947. The actual words are *al-nabī ʿalayh al-salām*. Both Schwally and Jeffery also interpret this to refer to Sūrah 65. See: Noeldeke and Schwally, *Tarīkh al-Qurʾan*, 263; Arthur Jeffery, *Materials*, 115.

80	75	95	89
76	77	96	67
77	78	49	92
75	81	63	82
78	82	62	91
81	88	66	85
82	87	89	86
88	92	90	87
87	89	92	88
92	85	82	80
89	84	91	98[948]
85	96	86	61
84	90	87	93
96	93	88	94
90	94	61	101
93	86	98	102
86	100	93	al-Khalʻ[949]
100	107	94	al-Jīd[950]
107	101	101	104
101	98	102	99
98	91	103	100
91	95	al-Khalʻ	105
95	104	al-Ḥafd	95
104	105	104	108
105	106	99	97
106	102	100	109
102	97	105	110
97	103[951]	106	111
99	110	107	106
103	108	108	112
110	109[952]	97	113
108	111[953]	109	114[954]
109	112[955]	110	
111		111	
112		112	
94[956]		113	
		114	

---

948. The actual words mentioned at the place of Sūrah 98 (al-Bayyinah) are ما أول يكن لم
كفروا الذين كان. The words كان ما أول are not found in the Qurʼāns of today.

949. The text mentions at this point that the *sūrah* has three verses.

950. This seems to be another name for al-Ḥafd. The text at this point mentions that this *sūrah* has six verses. The first of these six is نعبد إياك اللهم and the last of them is بالكفار ملحق.

951. This *sūrah* is mentioned with a variant text which is discussed in a later section.

952. Ibid.

953. This *sūrah* is mentioned with a variant text which is discussed in a later section.

954. The list ends on the words: 'all this comes to 116 *sūrahs*.'

955. The list ends on the words: 'all this comes to 110 *sūrahs*.'

956. The text at this place says that Sūrah al-Fātiḥah and Sūrahs al-Falaq and al-Nās (the *muʻawwidhatayn*) do not exist in this list.

III. Analysis of Ubayy's *Muṣḥaf*

Following is an analysis of the *matn* and *isnād* of the narratives which record Ubayy's *muṣḥaf*.

A. *Matn*

The following questions arise on the *matn* of the narratives which report this arrangement:

i. It is strange that none of Ubayy's students have reported from him his differently arranged codex having two additional *sūrahs*.[957] It is almost two centuries after him that it is found that al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān (d. 260 AH) saw a *muṣḥaf* attributed to him with such an arrangement. Similarly, it is Ibn Ashtah (d. 360 AH)[958] in his *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif* who records this arrangement on the authority of Abū Ja'far al-Kūfī (third century).[959]

ii. A simple glance at the lists of *al-Itqān* and *al-Fihrist* show that they do not correspond with one another. After the first twenty entries, the lists do not tally with one another. Which of them should one believe?

iii. How can one conclude that this arrangement of the *sūrahs* was the final one written by Ubayy? If at all it has any basis, it could merely be a list written before the final review (*al-arḍah al-akhīrah*).

iv. As indicated earlier, in the arrangement given by Ibn Nadīm, Sūrahs al-Tīn and 'Abas are repeated twice.

v. In *al-Fihrist* it is written at the end of the list that the total number of *sūrahs*

---

957. Some of his famous students include 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās, Anas ibn Mālik, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, Abū Hurayrah, Zirr ibn Ḥubaysh and Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyib. See: Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 2, 263-264.

958. See: Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Kamāl al-Dīn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn Sābiq al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyah al-wu'āt fī ṭabaqāt al-lughwiyyīn wa al-nuḥāt*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Al-Maktabah al-'aṣriyyah, n.d.), 142.

959. For the complete chain of narration, see below: "Analysis of the *Isnād*".

is 116. Counting shows that there are actually only 104 indicating the defective nature of the list.

vi. According to both *al-Fihrist* and *al-Itqān*, two extra *sūrahs* were present in the *muṣḥaf* of Ubayy: Sūrah al-Khalʻ and Sūrah al-Ḥafd.

Following are the primary points of criticism raised by al-Bāqilānī[960] on the presence of Sūrahs al-Khalʻ and al-Ḥafd in Ubayy's *muṣḥaf*:

i. Had these *sūrahs* been part of the Qurʼān, they would have been regarded so by the Prophet and would have been transmitted the way the Qurʼān is.

ii. There is no narrative which says that Ubayy regarded these *sūrahs* to be part of the Qurʼān. All that is found are reports which say that they were written in his *muṣḥaf*. This of course is not a certain proof of them being part of his Qurʼān.

iii. If Ubayy's *muṣḥaf* had these *sūrahs*, it was but natural for ʻUthmān to have gotten hold of it as soon as possible and have it destroyed because it was against his *muṣḥaf*. He would have been more desperate to acquire it than the rest of the *maṣāḥif*. There is also a narrative[961] from Muḥammad and Ṭufayl, the two sons of Ubayy, who were asked about the *muṣḥaf* of their father. They replied that it had been confiscated by ʻUthmān. Now if this narrative is true, then how come people say that they saw it and that it was the *muṣḥaf* of Anas ibn Mālik that contained the *duʻā* of *qunūt*.

iv. It is not merely enough for a book to be attributed to a person unless this attribution is based on reports that are widespread and extensive and this is not the case with Ubayy's copy of the Qurʼān.

v. Some Mutazilites have narrated from ʻUbayd ibn ʻUmayr that he had seen a *muṣḥaf* which belonged to Anas ibn Mālik and which he had read out to Ubayy and

---

960. Al-Bāqilānī, *Al-Intiṣār li al-Qurʼān*, vol. 1, 268-274.
961. Reference is to: Ibn Abī Dāʼūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 43.

that it contained the *duʿā* of *qunūt*. While negating this, al-Bāqilānī says that Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Ismāʿīl al-Ashʿarī is reported to have said that he had seen the *muṣḥaf* of Anas with one of his children and it was exactly the same as all the rest.

Al-Bāqilānī goes on to say that if it is to be in anyway considered that there were reasons for these *sūrahs* to be present in the *muṣḥaf* of Ubayy, then it could be because of many reasons. One of the reasons he cites is that Ubayy wrote the *sūrahs* of *qunūt* while knowing that they were not part of the Qurʾān at the end of his *muṣḥaf* or somewhere in between – in between if the Qurʾān he had written was incomplete and had not been arranged in the right sequence.

Schwally has commented in some detail on the 'Qurʾānicity' of these *sūrahs*. He dismisses the notion that they were part of the Qurʾān on the basis of linguistic reasons. In the following paragraphs, I will first present his critique and then later analyze it.

While referring to the text of these *sūrahs*, Schwally quotes their text on the authority of various sources. He points out that they have been variously called as Sūrah al-Khalʿ and Sūrah al-Ḥafd, Sūrahs of Qunūt, even Sūrah Qunūt, Duʿā al-Qunūt, Duʿā al-Fajr and al-Duʿā. The last three names showing that they are not *sūrahs* of the Qurʾān; they are only supplications.

Regarding the texts of the *sūrahs*, Schwally says that people who have quoted them are al-Suyūṭī (d. 1510 AD), Tashkubrizādah (d. 1560 AD) and Birgili (d. 1562 AD).[962] The authorities quoted by al-Suyūṭī all belong to the first century.[963]

The texts are:

---

962. For texts quoted by these three authors, see below.
963. Reference is to people like ʿAbdullāh ibn al-Zubayr (d. 81 AH), ʿUbayd ibn ʿUmayr (d. 64 AH), Umayyah ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn Khālid ibn Usayd (d. 84/85 AH) and Maymūn ibn Mihrān (d. 117 AH).

Sūrah al-Khalʿ

بسم الله الرحمان الرحيم[964]

اللهم إنا نستعينك[965] ونستغفرك[966] ونثني عليك[967] ولا نكفرك[968] ونخلع ونترك من يفجرك

Sūrah al-Ḥafd

اللهم إياك نعبد ولك نصلي[969] ونسجد وإليك نسعى ونحفد نرجو رحمتك ونخشى عذابك[970]

إن عذابك بالكفار[971] ملحق

Text given by Tashkubrizādah[972]

Sūrah al-Khalʿ

بسم الله الرحمان الرحيم

اللهم إنا نستعينك ونستغفرك ونثني عليك ولا نكفرك ونخلع ونترك من يفجرك

Sūrah al-Ḥafd

بسم الله الرحمان الرحيم

اللهم إياك نعبد ولك نصلي ونسجد وإليك نسعى ونحفد   نرجو رحمتك ونخشى عذابك إن

عذابك بالكافرين ملحق

---

964. The *basmalah* is not present in the text cited by al-Zamakhsharī in his exegesis of Sūrah Yūnus, in a narrative given in *al-Itqān* (No. 2) and in the Landberg Manuscript (343) (Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5). See: Noeldeke and Schwally, *Tārīkh al-Qurʾān*, 267.

965. Birgili has the word نستعينك و نستهديك after نستعينك. See: Noeldeke and Schwally, *Tārīkh al-Qurʾān*, 267.

966. Landberg Manuscript (343) (No. 6) has the words نؤمن بك و نخضع لك and Birgili has ونستهديك و نؤمن بك و نتوب إليك و نتوكل عليك. See: Noeldeke and Schwally, *Tārīkh al-Qurʾān*, 267.

967. A narrative in *al-Itqān* (vol. 1, 227) has the word خيرا after this and Birgili adds after this الخير كله نشكرك. See: Noeldeke and Schwally, *Tārīkh al-Qurʾān*, 267.

968. Birgili adds و نخضع لك after this. See: Noeldeke and Schwally, *Tārīkh al-Qurʾān*, 267.

969. Tashkubrizādah does not give this part. See: Noeldeke and Schwally, *Tārīkh al-Qurʾān*, 267.

970. A narrative in *al-Itqān* (vol. 1, 227) and the Manuscript 343 of Landberg (Nos 1, 3) places نرجو رحمتك before ونخشى عذابك. See: Noeldeke and Schwally, *Tārīkh al-Qurʾān*, 267.

971. This is the text in *al-Itqān*, *al-Fihrist*, *al-Kashshāf*, Landberg Manuscript (343) (Nos. 2, 4, 5, 6) and Birgili. In contrast, a narrative in *al-Itqān* (vol. 1, 226), Landberg Manuscript (343) (Nos. 1, 3) and Tashkubrizādah have بالكافرين. See: Noeldeke and Schwally, *Tārīkh al-Qurʾān*, 267.

972. Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafā Tashkubrizādah, *Mawsūʿah muṣṭalaḥāt miftāḥ al-saʿādah wa miṣbāḥ al-siyādah bi mawḍūʿāt al-ʿulūm*, 1st ed., vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyyah, 1985), 358.

The first person to publish the texts of these *sūrahs* in the West was Purgstall Hammer.[973]

While criticizing the provenance of these *sūrahs*, Schwally[974] basically raises linguistic issues and says that his critique differs from that of the Muslim scholars, whose critique is that if these *sūrahs* are accepted then the sanctity of the ʻUthmānic text is put into jeopardy. His points of criticism are:

i. There is only one other instance in the Qurʾān where the word إستعان occurs with an object and that is in Sūrah al-Fātiḥah.

ii. The verb أَثْنَى has not been used in the Qurʾān although words having similar meanings like كَبَّرَ and سَبَّحَ and حَمِدَ are used in the Qurʾān.

iii. The verb حَفَدَ does not occur in the Qurʾān as well.

iv. The verb سَعَى occurs many times in the Qurʾān; however, it has never occurred with the words إِلَى الله. The Qurʾānic expression فَاسْعَوْا إِلَى ذِكْرِ الله (٦٢ : ٩) cannot be quoted in its support.

v. The verb فَجَرَ is used transitively here in the *qunūt*; however, it is used intransitively in the Qurʾān (75:5 and 91:8).

vi. The verb خَلَعَ occurs just once in the Qurʾān (20:12) being used in its literal sense in contrast to its metaphorical sense in which it is used here.

vii. A suspect use is that of نَكْفُرُكَ. The verb كَفَرَ in the meaning of أَنْكَرَ (rejection) is only used in the Qurʾān with the preposition ب appended to nouns of a living being.

Schwally says that for these reasons it is not possible to regard these *sūrahs* as part of the Qurʾān and it is even difficult to regard them as supplications of the

---

973. Purgstall Hammer, *Literaturgeschichte der Araber*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Wien, 1850), 576.
974. Noeldeke and Schwally, *Tārīkh al-Qurʾān*, 267-268. As a secondary criticism, he says that the absence of the word *qul* in these prayer-like *sūrahs* casts doubt on their Qurʾānic status.

Prophet. Perhaps they were supplications that were generally used in the time of the Prophet and some narratives[975] say that 'Umar and Ubayy recited them in the *qunūt* prayers. A narrative[976] says that these *sūrahs* were also found in the *muṣḥaf* of Abū Mūsā al-'Ash'arī and it is also known that Ibn 'Abbās followed[977] the recital of Abū Mūsā. It is further said[978] that 'Alī transmitted these *sūrahs* to 'Abdullāh ibn Zurayr al-Ghāfiqī.

Now as far as Schwally's textual criticism on Sūrah al-Khal' and Sūrah al-Ḥafd are concerned, the following questions arise on it:

i. If the word إِسْتَعان is used in the Qur'ān with an object just once [in Sūrah al-Fātihah], then this usage itself proves that in classical Arabic this verb takes a direct object. Thus lexicons also specify this.[979]

The example of the verb taking an object through a preposition is found in the Qur'ān itself:

$$ قَالَ مُوسَى لِقَوْمِهِ اسْتَعِينُوْا بِاللَّهِ وَاصْبِرُوا (٧:١٢٨) $$

Here the word أَللَّه is the object of the verb اسْتَعِينُوْا; only here the verb اسْتَعِينُوْا has used the preposition ب with its object.

ii. The fact that words like حَفَدَ and أَثْنَى have never been used in the Qur'ān is not a valid criticism. If a word can be classified as belonging to classical Arabic, then just one instance of its use is enough to regard it as the Qur'ān. It is common knowledge that both حَفَدَ and أَثْنَى are classical Arabic words. If someone contends otherwise, the onus of proof rests on him.

iii. In the construction إِلَيْكَ نَسْعَى thegoverning noun (*muḍāf*) is actually

---

975. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 226-227.
976. Ibid.
977. Ibid.
978. Ibid., vol. 1, 226.
979. See, for example: Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'arab*, vol. 13, 298.

suppressed – a common feature of Qur'ānic Arabic. The implied meaning is إِلَـــى

رَحْمَتِكَ نَسْعَى (towards your mercy do we run). As examples, of a suppression of a

governing noun when the governed noun is God, consider the verses:

<div dir="rtl">

وَ جَاهِدُوا فِي اللهِ حَقَّ جِهَادِهِ (٢٢: ٧٨)

فَظَنُّوا أَنَّهُمْ مَانِعَتُهُمْ حُصُونُهُم مِنَ اللهِ (٥٩: ٢)

</div>

The first is actually: وَ جَاهِدُوا فِي **دِين** اللهِ حَقَّ جِهَادِهِ and the second is: فَظَنُّــوا أَنَّهُـــمْ

مَانِعَتُهُمْ حُصُونُهُم مِن **بَأْس** اللهِ, as specified by Abū Ḥayyān.[980]

iv. As far as the use of the verb فَجَـــرَ is concerned, in the Qur'ān also it is used

transitively, the only thing is that its object is suppressed. In the very first

example cited by Schwally, this is the case:

The verse reads:

<div dir="rtl">

بَلْ يُرِيدُ الْإِنْسَانُ لِيَفْجُرَ أَمَامَهُ (٧٥: ٥)

</div>

In the opinion of Iṣlāḥī,[981] the object of the verb is God and the meaning

implied is:

<div dir="rtl">

بَلْ يُرِيدُ الْإِنْسَانُ لِيَفْجُرَ اللهَ أَمَامَهُ

</div>

In fact, man wants to show disobedience to God before himself.

In the second example quoted by Schwally, the word is used as a noun and not

as a verb; hence the example itself is erroneous. The verse reads:

---

980. Abū Ḥayyān Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf, *Al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ fī al-tafsīr*, vol. 7 (Beirut: Dār al-fikr li al-ṭabāʿah wa al-nashr wa al-tawzī ', 2000), 539; Ibid., vol. 10, 138.
981. Amīn Aḥsan Iṣlāḥī, *Tadabbur-i Qur'ān*, 2nd ed., vol. 9 (Lahore: Faran Foundation, 1986).

$$\text{فَأَلْهَمَهَا فُجُوْرَهَا وَ تَقْوَاهَا (٩١: ٨)}$$

v. The fact that the word خَلَــعَ has never been used in its metaphorical sense in the Qur'ān is no critique. Its metaphorical use is quite common in classical Arabic. Muhalhal ibn Rabīʻah, a poet of the *jāhiliyyah* period says:[982]

خلع الملوك و سار تحت لوائه

شجر العرى و عراعر الأقوام

(He disaffiliated himself from the kings and below his flag gathered useful people like the tree of *al-ʻarā* and chiefs of nations.)

At another place, he says:[983]

ولست بخالع درعي و سيفي

إلى أن يخلع الليل النهار

(I am not going to take of my amour and my sword until the night sheds the day.)

In the first couplet, the metaphorical use is evident; while in the second one, it is used in this sense in the second hemistich.

vi. What Schwally has said about the word نَكْفُــرُكَ is correct. However, why should it be taken to mean 'rejection' here? The word also means 'ingratitude' and its placement adjacent to the word نَشْكُرُكَ (we are grateful to You) suggests in some textual variants[984] of the *qunūt* that here it is used in this meaning.

All in all, none of the points raised by Schwally seems to hold water.

Moreover, a look at the narratives which mention the *qunūt* show that they are

---

982. Muhalhal ibn Rabīʻah, *Dīwān*, (n.p.: Al-Dār al-ʻālamiyyah, n.d.), 82.

983. Ibid., 34.

984. See for example: ʻAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 3, 144 (no. 4978); Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ maʻānī al-āthār*, vol. 1, 249, (no. 1370).

generally of two categories:

Firstly, narratives which mention that the *qunūt* was read in the prayer by various Companions.[985]

Secondly, narratives which mention that the *qunūt* was found written in the *maṣāḥif* (or reading) of some Companions.[986]

As far as reading the *qunūt* as a supplication in the prayer is concerned, it cannot be objected to and the practice can still be found among Muslims and traced back to earlier times.

If the *qunūt* was also written in the *maṣāḥif* of some Companions, then this does not necessarily mean that it was written as part of the Qur'ān. As pointed out by al-Bāqilānī, it could be written there merely for remembrance and it was known that it was not part of the Qur'ān. Why it was written in the Qur'āns of some Companions can also be gauged. It was frequently read by Muslims in the prayer. Thus for example, al-Suyūṭī writes: 'Muḥammad ibn Naṣr al-Marūzī records in his Kitāb al-Ṣalāḥ that Ubayy would read the two *sūrahs* while

---

985. ʿUmar read it in the *fajr* prayer. See, for example: Al-Bayhaqī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 2, 211, (no. 2963); Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ maʿānī al-āthār*, 1ˢᵗ ed., vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyyah, 1399 AH.), 249, (no. 1370); Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 6, 90 (no. 29719). ʿAlī read it in the *fajr* prayer. See, for example: ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 3, 114, (no. 4978); Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 6. 90, (29717). Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān says that Ibn Masʿūd taught them the *qunūt* to be read in the *witr* prayer. See, for example: Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 6, 89, (no. 29708).

986. Ibn Sīrīn reported: 'Ubayy wrote in his *muṣḥaf* Sūrah al-Fātiḥah, the *muʿawwidhatayn* and و اللهم إنا نستعينك و اللهم إياك نعبد.' See: Abū ʿUbayd, *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān*, 189-190. Maymūn ibn Mihrān says that he read the *qunūt* in the *muṣḥaf* of Ubayy. See: Abū ʿUbayd, *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān*, 190. Hishām reports from Muḥammad that Ubayy wrote in his *muṣḥaf* five things: the *umm al-kitāb*, the *muʿawwidhatayn* and the two *sūrahs* and Ibn Masʿūd left out all of them. And ʿUthmān wrote the *umm al-kitāb* and the *muʿawwidhatayn* and left out the two *sūrahs*. See: ʿUmar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol. 2, 126, (no. 1751). ʿAzrah ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Zurārah says that he read the *qunūt* in the *muṣḥaf* of Ubayy. See: Abū ʿUbayd, *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān*, 190. Abū ʿAmr Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Rashādī reports that he read *qunūt* in the *muṣḥaf* of Ubayy. See: Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Durr al-manthūr*, vol. 8, 697. A narrative records that the *muṣḥaf* of Ibn ʿAbbās was on the reading of Ubayy and Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī which contained the *qunūt*. See: Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 227; Ibn Durays, *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān*, 157-158.

kneeling in the prayer; then he mentioned the two and that he would write them

in his *muṣḥaf*.'[987]

B. *Isnād*

The *isnād* of narration of the reports which record the *muṣḥaf* of Ubayy as per *al-*

Fihrist and *al-Itqān* are as follows:

Isnād according to *al-Fihrist*

قال الفضل بن شاذان أخبرنا الثقة من أصحابنا قال كان تأليف السور في قراءة أبي بن

كعب بالبصرة في قرية يقال لها قرية الأنصار على رأس فرسخين عند محمد بن عبد الملك

الأنصاري أخرج إلينا مصحفا وقال هو مصحف أبي رويناه عن آبائنا ...

Al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān said that one of his trustworthy associates informed him that the scheme of arrangement of the *sūrahs* according to the reading of Ubayy was found in the village of al-Anṣār situated two *farsakhs* from Baṣrah with a person called Muḥammad ibn Malik al-Anṣārī. He brought a copy of the Qur'ān to us and said that this is the *muṣḥaf* of Ubayy which has been narrated by our generations from our forefathers…[988]

Isnād according to *al-Itqān*

قال ابن أشتة في كتاب المصاحف أنبأنا محمد بن يعقوب حدثنا أبو داود حدثنا أبو جعفر

الكوفي قال هذا تأليف مصحف أبي

Ibn Ashtah has said in *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*: 'We were informed by Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb that Abū Dā'ūd narrated to us that Abū Ja'far al-Kūfī said: "Following is the arrangement of Ubayy's *muṣḥaf*..."'[989]

In *al-Fihrist*, al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān who died in 260 AH[990] reports seeing a

muṣḥaf belonging to Ubayy. The name of the person from whom al-Faḍl reports

is not known. Similarly, Ibn Nadīm (d. 385 AH) has not disclosed his source

---

987. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 227.
988. Ibn Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 42.
989. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 222.
990. 'Ināyatullāh ibn 'Alī al-Quhpā'ī, *Majma' al-rijāl*, 2nd ed., vol. 5 (Qum: Mu'assasah maṭbū'āt ismā'īliyān, 1364 AH), 27.

from whom he acquired these words of al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān.

In *al-Itqān*, Ubayy's *sūrah* arrangement is attributed to ibn Ashtah's *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*. In the *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif* itself a chain of narration is given for this arrangement. This chain obviously is broken because it begins with someone (see below) who is the informant of Abū Dā'ūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʻath who died in 257 AH.

The informant of Abū Dā'ūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ashʻath is Abū Jaʻfar al-Kūfī. I will now attempt to identify him. Research shows that following are the Abū Jaʻfar al-Kūfīs which are his informants.

i. Aḥmad ibn ʻUmar ibn Ḥafṣ ibn Jahm ibn Wāqid ibn ʻAbdullāh al-Kindī (d. 235 AH)[991]

ii. Muḥammad ibn Ṭarīf ibn Khalīfah al-Bajlī (d. 242 AH)[992]

iii. Muḥammad ibn ʻUbayd al-Muḥārabī (d. 245 AH)[993]

iv. Muḥammad ibn Sawwār ibn Rāshid al-Azdī (d. 248 AH)[994]

v. Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Sulaymān al-Kindī al-Bazzāz al-Ḍarīr (d. 248 AH)[995]

vi. Muḥammad ibn ʻUthmān ibn Karāmah al-ʻIjli al-Warrāq (d. 256 AH)[996]

Needless to re-iterate that in all of the above six possibilities, the narrative is broken and almost two centuries separate each of the six and Ubayy.

IV. Analysis of ʻAbdullāh ibn Masʻūd's *Muṣḥaf*

Before I analyze the text and content of the narratives, here is some more

---

991. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 1, 412.

992. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 9, 209.

993. Al-Dhahabī, *Al-Kāshif*, vol. 2, 198.

994. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 9, 185.

995. Al-Dhahabī, *Al-Kāshif*, vol. 2, 153.

996. Ibid., vol. 2, 200.

information about the codex of 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd as recorded in the various sources indicated:

Al-Fihrist

Ibn Nadīm[997] has recorded the following further information about Ibn Mas'ūd's codex:

i. There were a total of 110 *sūrahs* in the *muṣḥaf*.

ii. According to another report, Sūrah al-Ṭūr preceded Sūrah al-Dhāriyāt.

iii. Abū Shādhān reports from Ibn Sīrīn that Ibn Mas'ūd would neither write the *mu'awwidhatayn* nor Sūrah al-Fātiḥah in his *muṣḥaf*.

iv. Al-Faḍl has reported from his chain from al-A'mash that in the reading of 'Abdullāh it was حم سق.

v. Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [Ibn Nadīm] said: 'I have seen many *maṣāḥif* which their scribes attribute to Ibn Mas'ūd but no two *maṣāḥif* agree with one another … I have seen a *muṣḥaf* which was written about 200 years earlier in which Sūrah al-Fātiḥah was written.'

vi. The following *sūrahs* are recorded with variations from the standard ones respectively. The variations are different in different published versions:

Sūrah al-'Aṣr

<div align="center">

Standard Version / Dār al-Ma'rifah's Version[998]

</div>

وَالْعَصْرِ إِنَّ الْإِنسَانَ لَفِي خُسْرٍ ۚ إِلَّا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ وَتَوَاصَوْا بِالْحَقِّ وَتَوَاصَوْا بِالصَّبْرِ
(١٠٣: ١-٣)

---

997. Ibn Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 42.

998. Ibn Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 1st ed. Beirut: Dār al-ma'rifah, n.d.

Flugel's Version[999] / Dār al-Kutub al-ʻIlmiyyah's Version[1000]

وَالْعَصْرِ لَقَدْ خَلَقْنَا الْإِنسَانَ لَفِي خُسْرٍ وَ إِنَّهُ فِيهِ إِلَى آخِرِ الدَّهْرِ إِلَّا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَتَوَاصَوْا بِالتَّقْوَى وَتَوَاصَوْا بِالصَّبْرِ

Sūrah al-Kāfirūn

Standard Version / Dār al-Maʻrifah's Version

قُلْ يَاأَيُّهَا الْكَافِرُونَ لَا أَعْبُدُ مَا تَعْبُدُون وَلَا أَنْتُمْ عَابِدُونَ مَا أَعْبُدُ وَلَا أَنَا عَابِدٌ مَا عَبَدتُّمْ وَلَا أَنْتُمْ عَابِدُونَ مَا أَعْبُدُ لَكُمْ دِينُكُمْ وَلِيَ دِينِ (١٠٩: ١-٦)

Flugel's Version / Dār al-Kutub al-ʻIlmiyyah's Version

قُلْ لِلَّذِينَ كَفَرُو لَا أَعْبُدُ مَا تَعْبُدُون[1001]

Sūrah al-Lahab

Standard Version / Dār al-Maʻrifah's Version

تَبَّتْ يَدَا أَبِي لَهَبٍ وَتَبَّ مَا أَغْنَى عَنْهُ مَالُهُ وَمَا كَسَبَ سَيَصْلَى نَارًا ذَاتَ لَهَبٍ وَامْرَأَتُهُ حَمَّالَةَ الْحَطَبِ فِي جِيدِهَا حَبْلٌ مِنْ مَسَدٍ (١١١: ١-٥)

Flugel's Version / Dār al-Kutub al-ʻIlmiyyah's Version

تَبَّتْ يَدَا أَبِي لَهَبٍ وَ قَدْ تَبَّ مَا أَغْنَى عَنْهُ مَالُهُ وَمَا كَسَبَ وَامْرَأَتُهُ حَمَّالَةَ الْحَطَبِ

Sūrah al-Ikhlāṣ

Standard Version / Dār al-Maʻrifah's Version

قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُولَدْ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ (١١٢: ١-٤)

---

999. Ibn Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist*, ed., Gustav Flugel, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Leipzig: 1871), 26.
1000. Ibn Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 2nd ed. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʻilmiyyah, 2002.
1001. This is the only text that is quoted and in all probability shows that the rest of the text is the same as the standard version.

Flugel's Version / Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah's Version

اللَّهُ وَاحِدٌ الصَّمَدُ[1002]

Absence of al-Fātiḥah and the Mu‘awwidhatayn

According to Ibn Sīrīn, Ibn Mas‘ūd would not write al-Fātiḥah and the

mu‘awwidhatayn[1003] in his *muṣḥaf*.[1004]

The above narrative as recorded by Abū ‘Ubayd is as follows:

Ibn Sīrīn said: Ubayy wrote in his *muṣḥaf* Sūrah al-Fātiḥah, the
mu‘awwidhatayn and و اللهم إنا نستعينك و اللهم إياك نعبــد and Ibn Mas‘ūd wrote
none of them. ‘Uthmān, however, wrote from these Sūrah al-Fātiḥah and the
mu‘awwidhatayn.[1005]

Schwally[1006] says that *al-Itqān*[1007] mentions that in the Qur'ān of Ibn Mas‘ūd,

there were 112 *sūrahs* except the *mu‘awwidhatayn*. This shows that Sūrah al-

Fātiḥah was found in his *muṣḥaf*. Schwally says that three other narratives quoted

by al-Suyūṭī also corroborate this fact.

Existence of basmalah at the beginning of al-Barā'ah

This is recorded by al-Suyūṭī.[1008] He says that the author of *al-Iqnā‘* has reported

that the basmalah was written at the beginning of Sūrah al-Barā'a in the *muṣḥaf*

1002. Again, this truncated text in all probability shows that the rest of the text is the
same as the standard version.
1003. For a detailed discussion on the narratives which record the omission of the
mu‘awwidhatayn from Ibn Mas‘ūd's *muṣḥaf*, see chapter 6.
1004. See: Ibn Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist*, ed., Gustav Flugel, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Leipzig: 1871),
26.
1005. Abū ‘Ubayd, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 189-190. Ismā‘īl ibn Ibrāhīm is most probably:
Abū Bishr Ismā‘īl ibn Ibrāhīm known as Ibn ‘Ulayyah and is trustworthy.
1006. Noeldeke and Schwally, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 273.
1007. The reference is to Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*. vol.1, 226.
1008. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 225.

of Ibn Masʿūd and the author then says that this view should not be considered.

An analysis of the *matn* and *isnād* of these historical reports follows.

A. *Matn*

i. No student of ʿAbdullāh ibn Masʿūd reports this differently arranged *muṣḥaf* from him. It is only in the third century that al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān (d. 260 AH) and Jarīr ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (d. 188 AH) report this list for the first time.[1009]

ii. A simple glance at the lists of *al-Itqān* and *al-Fihrist* show that they do not correspond with one another. After the first eleven entries, the lists do not tally with one another.

iii. Jeffery has pointed out the defective nature of the list. Whilst the text of *al-Fihrist* at the end says that there are 110 *sūrahs* in all, there are actually 105 to be found in the list.[1010]

iv. Ibn Nadīm himself has commented at the end of the list he has given that he had seen many *maṣāḥif* which were attributed to Ibn Masʿūd but no two agreed.

v. How can one conclude from this list that it was the final one written by Ibn Masʿūd? If at all it has any basis, it could be a list written before the final review (*al-arḍah al-akhīrah*).

vi. As far as the absence of Sūrah al-Falaq and Sūrah al-Nās in his *muṣḥaf* is concerned, the next chapter presents a critical analysis of this issue.

vii. Regarding the existence of the *basmalah* at the beginning of Sūrah al-Barāʾa, the report has no chain and is baseless, as al-Suyūṭī himself comments.

B. *Isnād*

The chains of narration of the narratives which refer to Ibn Masʿūd's *muṣḥaf*

1009. See below: Analysis of the *Isnād*.
1010. Arthur Jeffery, *Materials*, 22.

both from *al-Fihrist* and from *al-Itqān* shall now be analyzed.

Isnād according to *al-Fihrist*

قال الفضل بن شاذان: وجدت في مصحف عبد الله بن مسعود تأليف سور القرآن على هذا
الترتيب ...

Al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān said: 'I found the arrangement of the Qurʾānic *sūrahs* in the *muṣḥaf* of Ibn Masʿūd to be the following…'[1011]

Al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān, it is known, died in 260 AH.[1012] Moreover, Ibn Nadīm has not quoted his informant from whom he acquired these words of al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān.

Isnād according to *al-Itqān*

قال ابن أشته أيضا وأخبرنا أبو الحسن بن نافع أن أبا جعفر محمد بن عمرو بــن موســى
حدثهم قال حدثنا محمد بن إسماعيل بن سالم حدثنا علي بن مهران الطائي حدثنا جرير بــن
عبد الحميد قال تأليف مصحف عبد الله بن مسعود

Jarīr ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd said: '[This is the] arrangement of the *muṣḥaf* of Ibn Masʿūd …'[1013]

Jarīr ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd died in 188 AH at the age of 71.[1014] This means that it is for the first time in the second century that this arrangement came to surface.

V. Conclusion

These reports about the alleged *maṣāḥif* are not strongly grounded. The text and chain of the narratives suffer from flaws in the presence of which the content they reflect cannot be regarded as reliable.

1011. Ibn Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 42.
1012. Al-Quhpāʾī, *Majmaʿ al-rijāl*, vol. 5, 27.
1013. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 223.
1014. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 2, 65; Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 139.

Chapter 6

Narratives on
'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd's rejection of the *Mu'awwidhatayn*

Contents

I. Introduction

Certain narratives inform say that 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd, a very prominent Companion of the Prophet did not regard the *mu'awwidhatayn*: Sūrah al-Falaq and Sūrah al-Nās to be part of the Qur'ān and would not thus include them in his *muṣḥaf*.

Authorities have generally rejected these narratives on various bases; a few have tried to explain and interpret them.

In this chapter, both this criticism and interpretation shall be critically analyzed.

II. Representative Texts

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd said: ' 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd would erase the *mu'awwidhatayn* from his *maṣāḥif* and would say: "They are not part of the Book of God, the Blessed and the Mighty."'[1015]

Zirr ibn Ḥubaysh said: 'I told Ubayy that Ibn Mas'ūd would not write the *mu'awwidhatayn* in his *muṣḥaf*. Ubayy said: "I bear witness that the Prophet told me that Gabriel said to him: 'قُلْ أَعُوذْ بِرَبِّ الفَلَقِ.' [The Prophet said]: 'I said these words.' Gabriel [then] said: 'قُلْ أَعُوذْ بِرَبِّ النَّــاسِ.' [The Prophet said]: 'I read these words.' Thus we read what the Prophet read."'[1016]

III. Criticism on the Narrative

Al-Bāqilānī[1017] and Raḥmānī[1018] have criticized this narrative. I shall mention their primary points of criticism separately.

1015. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 5, 129, (no. 21226).
1016. Ibid., vol. 5, 129, (no. 21224).
1017. Al-Bāqilānī, *Al-Intiṣār li al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1, 300-330.
1018. Raḥmānī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 1st ed., 94-103.

A. Al-Bāqilānī's Criticism

1. Against Human Nature and Practices

Had Ibn Mas'ūd really regarded the *mu'awwidhatayn* to be extraneous to the Qur'ān, history would have reported a great conflict and debate between him and other Companions over this issue. Since the rest of the Companions were unanimous that these were part of the Qur'ān, they would have censured and rebuked him. In fact, this could have been a very sound basis for 'Uthmān to have not used his services instead of Zayd for writing and copying the Qur'ān. Such was the gravity of this issue that people would have gone on to call him a disbeliever and an apostate and even have him punished for this grave act of disbelief.

The fact that this conflict should have been reported in history[1019] is all the more probable when it is seen that many other smaller conflicts have been reported. For example, it has been reported in various narratives that when Ibn Mas'ūd refused to hand over his *muṣḥaf* to 'Uthmān, a great rift ensued and the issue was hotly debated. Had Ibn Mas'ūd adopted this stance about the *mu'awwidhatayn*, a similar rift and debate would definitely have arisen and recorded in history.

2. Why did Ibn Mas'ūd not give a Reason?

It is essential that Ibn Mas'ūd should have stated the reason for this view since it was such a grave matter. He knew that he was differing from the rest of the Companions, and he could not have done so without a strong reason. It is strange that no such reason attributed to him. The fact that no reason has been reported from him shows that this incident never happened.

1019. See, for example: Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 157.

3. Nothing reported from Ibn Mas‘ūd’s Pupils

None of Ibn Mas‘ūd’s pupils has reported this view from Ibn Mas‘ūd. He had many famous pupils like ‘Abīdah Salmānī, Masrūq ibn al-Ajda‘, ‘Alqamah ibn Qays, ‘Amr ibn Shuraḥbīl, Ḥārith ibn Qays and al-Aswad ibn Yazīd ibn al-Qays. These students should have either corroborated his view or refuted it. However, neither corroboration nor rejection is reported from them. If it is supposed that for some reason they did not report – though this is impossible to suppose – then people around them must have come forward with this question and his students would have been forced to answer it. If it is supposed that neither Ibn Mas‘ūd’s companions nor other people around them ever attempted to raise this question, then the whole *ummah* of that time committed a great sin by hiding this reality. Is this possible and can it be imagined?

On the other hand, there are positive reports from some of his pupils that they considered the *mu‘awwidhatayn* to be part of the Qur’ān:

Ibrāhīm asked al-Aswad: ‘Are the *mu‘awwidhatayn* part of the Qur’ān.’ He said: ‘Yes.’[1020]

Al-Sha‘bī said: ‘The *mu‘awwidhatayn* are part of the Qur’ān.’[1021]

4. The Implication of Deletion

One of the narratives states that Ibn Mas‘ūd would delete these *sūrahs*. Now the issue is that he could not have deleted them from his own *muṣḥaf* because he never had written them there as he thought that they were not part of the

---

1020. Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 6, 146, (no. 30206).
1021. Ibid., vol. 6, 146, (no. 30203). This seems to be error on the part of al-Bāqilānī for authorities specify that al-Sha‘bī never heard from Ibn Mas‘ūd. See, for example: Al-‘Alā’ī, *Jāmi‘ al-taḥṣīl*, 204.

Qur’ān.[1022] Similarly, he could not have deleted them from the *maṣāḥif* which were copied from his own *muṣḥaf* since his own *muṣḥaf* never had them. Now if it is believed that he had deleted them from the *muṣḥaf* of ‘Uthmān or those copied from it, then this would indeed be a very grave and notable action and would have elicited strong resentment from ‘Uthmān and other Companions. If it is accepted that he deleted these *sūrahs* from certain ‘Uthmānic *maṣāḥif* secretly, then it is an obvious conclusion that the whole *ummah* regarded them to be part of the Qur’ān (otherwise he would not have done this secretly). Now the interesting question arises that if the whole *ummah* considered the *sūrahs* to be part of the Qur’ān, how can it be concluded that a person of the stature of Ibn Mas‘ūd was not aware of this fact.

5. Against Other Narratives

Al-Bāqilānī points out many narratives[1023] from the Prophet which show that the *mu‘awwidhatayn* were part of the Qur’ān. He says that given their number, it is hard to believe that Ibn Mas‘ūd would be unaware of what these narratives state. Moreover, the Prophet must have also recited them in the prayers many a time, and it would be commonly known that they are part of the Qur’ān.

Following are the narratives he quotes:

1022. A‘ẓamī, on the other hand, concludes on the basis of this narrative which mentions Ibn Mas‘ūd’s deletion of the *mu‘awwidhatayn* that they must have ‘somehow found their way into his *muṣḥaf* for otherwise how could he have deleted them. Now if they were in his *muṣḥaf*, it was his duty to have them verified that they were not part of the Qur’ān if he did not consider them to be part of the Qur’ān. He could not have deleted them merely out of his own opinion.’ See: Muḥammad Muṣṭafā A‘ẓamī, *The History of the Qur’ānic Text from Revelation to Compilation,* 200-201.

1023. He has not given any reference to any of the narratives from Ḥadīth works. I have furnished them. However, in some of the narratives there were minor and unimportant differences between the narratives quoted by him and the ones I found. It may also be noted that al-Ṭaḥāwī also has adopted a line of reasoning similar to al-Bāqilānī in this regard. See: Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, vol. 1, 113-117.

'Uqbah ibn 'Āmir stated: 'The Messenger of God said to me: "Revealed to me are verses which have no parallel in the past: the *mu'awwidhatayn*."'[1024]

'Abdullāh ibn Khubayb reports from his father who said: 'I was [once] with the Messenger of God on our way to Makkah, and there were other Companions with him also. The fog at night time enveloped us and some of us became invisible to others. In the morning, the Messenger of God said: "Read! O Ibn Khubayb." I said: "What should I read?" He said: "Sūrah al-Falaq." He read it and I also read it. He then said: "Read! O [Ibn Khubayb]." I said: "What should I read?" He said: "Sūrah al-Nās." He read it and I also read it. He then said: "No one can seek refuge or help better than what can be sought from these two *surahs*."'[1025]

Jābir ibn 'Abdullāh reports that the Prophet said to him: 'O Jābir! Read.' Jābir replied: 'My parents be sacrificed for you, what should I read?' He said: 'Sūrah al-Falaq and Sūrah al-Nās.' So I read them. He said: 'Keep reading them and you will never read anything similar to them.'[1026]

B. Raḥmānī's Criticism

Raḥmānī[1027] divides all the textual variants of this narrative into three categories since there are three narrators who report them. They are:

i. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd al-Nakha'ī

ii. 'Alqamah ibn Qays

iii. Zirr ibn Ḥubaysh

He cites the narratives quoted by each of them and then comments on each of these three categories:

1024. Muslim, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, 558, (no. 814). Al-Bāqilānī also quotes some other narratives from 'Uqbah. See: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 4, 159, (no. 17491); Ibid., vol. 4, 153, (no. 17430); Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 4, 440, (no. 7848); Ibid., vol. 4, 439, (no. 7844); Ibid., vol. 1, 330, (no. 1024); Al-Ḥākim, *Al-Mustadrak*, vol. 1, 366, (no. 876); Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 1, 322, (no. 3688).

1025. Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 145. Al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, vol. 8, 250, (no. 5429). This is actually a variant of the text quoted by al-Bāqilānī since the exact narrative he has quoted was not found anywhere.

1026. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 3, 76, (no. 796).

1027. Raḥmānī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 94-105.

1. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd al-Nakha'ī

First Narrative

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd said: ' 'Abdullāh [ibn Mas'ūd] would erase the *mu'awwidhatayn* from his *maṣāḥif* and would say: "They are not part of the Book of God."'[1028]

Second Narrative

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd said: ' 'Abdullāh [ibn Mas'ūd] would erase the *mu'awwidhatayn* from the *muṣḥaf* and say: "The Prophet was directed to seek refuge through them," and 'Abdullāh would not recite them and say: "They are not part of the Book of God."'[1029]

Third Narrative

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd said: ' 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd would erase the *mu'awwidhatayn* from his *maṣāḥif* and say: "They are not part of the Qur'ān or the Book of God."'[1030]

2. 'Alqamah ibn Qays

First Narrative

'Alqamah said: ' 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd would erase the *mu'awwidhatayn* from the *muṣḥaf* and say: "The Prophet has directed us to seek refuge through them," and 'Abdullāh would not recite them.'[1031]

Second Narrative

Al-Ṭabarānī has recorded the narrative of Ibn Mas'ūd that the Prophet was asked about these two *sūrahs*. He replied: 'I have been told and I read, thus you also read the way I read.'[1032]

1028. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol. 4, 572; Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 271. According to Raḥmānī, in *Al-Itqān*, the narrative is recorded from Ibn Ḥajar and contains the words من كتاب الله [instead of المصحف من].

1029. Al-Qasṭalānī, *Irshād al-sārī*, vol. 7, 441-442.

1030. Al-'Aynī, *'Umdah al-qārī*, vol. 20, 11.

1031. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol. 4, 572.

1032. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Durr al-manthūr*, vol. 8, 683.

3. Zirr ibn Ḥubaysh

First Narrative

(The letter in bold is not found in the extant version of the narratives).

Zirr said: 'I asked Ibn Mas'ūd about the *mu'awwidhatayn*. He said: "I had asked the Prophet about them. He said to me: 'I was told: "**Read** (*qul*)." Thus I read to you; so you also read similarly.'" Ubayy said: "So the Prophet read to us; thus we also now read."'[1033]

Second Narrative

Zirr ibn Ḥubaysh said: 'I asked Ubayy: "O Abū Mundhir! Your brother, Ibn Mas'ūd, says such and such a thing." He said: "I asked the Prophet. He replied: 'I was told and I read.' Thus we read in the very manner the Prophet read."'[1034]

Third Narrative

Zirr ibn Ḥubaysh said: 'I asked Ubayy about the *mu'awwidhatayn* [saying]: "O Abū Mundhir! Your brother Ibn Mas'ūd erases them from the *muṣḥaf*." He said: "I asked the Prophet. He replied: 'I was told: "Read." So I read.' Thus we read in the very manner the Prophet read."'[1035]

Fourth Narrative

Zirr ibn Ḥubaysh said: 'I told Ubayy that Ibn Mas'ūd would not write the *mu'awwidhatayn* in his *muṣḥaf*. Ubayy said: "I bear witness that the Prophet told me that Gabriel said to him: 'قُلْ أَعُوذْ بِرَبِّ الْفَلَقْ'. [The Prophet said:] 'I said these words.' Gabriel [then] said: 'قُلْ أَعُوذْ بِـــرَبِّ النَّـــاسِ'. [The Prophet said:] 'I said these words.' Thus we read what the Prophet read."'[1036]

Following is Raḥmānī's analysis of each of these three categories:

Narratives of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd

1033. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol. 4, 572.
1034. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1904, (no. 4693).
1035. Al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 185, (no. 374).
1036. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol. 4, 572; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 5, 129, (no. 21224).

Raḥmānī says that of these three narrators the only person to have reported the sentence انهما ليستا من كتـــاب الله (they are not part of the Book of God) is 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd. He says that this narrative has become suspect because of the following aspects:

i. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd is the only person to have narrated this sentence. It is not found in the narratives of Zirr and 'Alqamah.

ii. The person who narrates from 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd is Abū Isḥāq. It is recorded in *Mizān al-i'tidāl*[1037] that he is not a trustworthy person from what he reports from the Kūfans, and this narrative is from the Kūfans.[1038]

iii. Al-A'mash reports from Abū Isḥāq. According to *Mizān al-i'tidāl*,[1039] he is a *mudallis* and does *tadlīs* from weak narrators. There are a lot of discrepancies (*idṭirāb*) in his narratives.

iv. Al-A'mash is also a Shiite, and since this narrative supports the belief of the common Shiites, thus such a narrative cannot be accepted from him.

v. If narratives from either Abū Isḥāq or al-A'mash are not trustworthy from the Kūfans, a narrative in which both these persons exist must be twice more suspect.

vi. Ibn Mas'ūd taught thousands of people and had hundreds of students. In the time of 'Umar, the second caliph, he was permanently stationed in Kūfah for this purpose. It is strange that no other student of Ibn Mas'ūd has reported this sentence from him.

vii. If Ibn Mas'ūd had really regarded these *sūrahs* to be extraneous to the Book of God, he would have been condemned by his contemporaries for this. No such criticism or condemnation about him is found.

1037. Al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, vol. 3, 316.
1038. A shortened schematic illustration of the variants is given later in this chapter.
1039. Al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, vol. 3, 316.

viii. A narrative reported by Ibn Mas'ūd himself from the Prophet clearly shows that the *mu'awwidhatayn* are part of the Qur'ān:

It is recorded in al-Ṭabarānī's [*al-Mu'jam*] *al-awsaṭ* with a *ḥasan sanad* that Ibn Mas'ūd reports from the Prophet: 'Indeed some verses have been revealed to me which have no parallel among other revealed verses: the *mu'awwidhatayn*.'[1040]

It is evident from this narrative that Ibn Mas'ūd knew that the *mu'awwidhatayn* had been revealed to the Prophet. Can it be accepted after this that he would not have regarded them to be part of the Qur'ān?

ix. The Prophet recited out the *mu'awwidhatayn* in the prayers and taught them to his Companions. The Prophet stated the blessings their recital reaps and the exalted place they occupy in relation to other *sūrahs* of the Qur'ān. The six canonical books of Ḥadīth contain narratives on the *mu'awwidhatayn.* In the presence of all this evidence, how can it be accepted that Ibn Mas'ūd would have said so. It seems that in order to malign his personality, these words were attributed to him.

'Alqamah ibn Qays' Narratives

According to Raḥmānī, there are three narrators in the chain[1041] which has made the narrative worthy of debate.

i. Al-Azraq ibn 'Alī ibn Muslim: Though he is a trustworthy narrator (*thiqah*), he narrates *gharīb* narratives (*yughribu*).[1042] That is why there is no narrative from him in the six canonical books of Ḥadīth.

ii. Ḥassān ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kirmānī: Though he too is generally regarded as

---

1040. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Durr al-manthūr*, vol. 8, 683.
1041. A shortened schematic illustration of the variants is given later in this chapter.
1042. Al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-i'tidāl*, vol. 8, 46.

trustworthy, he is not so in the eyes of al-Nasā'ī who says that he is *laysa bi al-qawī*. According to Ibn 'Adī, he falters (*yaghliṭu*) in the narration of Ḥadīth, and reports narratives which are not reported by any other person (*ḥaddatha bi afrādāt kathīrah.*)[1043]

iii. Al-Ṣalt ibn Bihrām: He is also trustworthy. However, he is from among the murjites, and Abū Ḥātim says that there is no defect in him except this.[1044]

Moreover, there is no narrative from him in the six canonical books.

Raḥmānī says that if in a narrative any of these three narrators exist, then such a narrative will be regarded as *mu'allal* (possessing a hidden defect), which in other words means that the narrative is not to be completely relied upon. Narratives in which all these three exist become debatable especially when such a narrative is against trustworthy narratives and is against the consensus of the *ummah* as well.

Zirr ibn Ḥubaysh's Narratives[1045]

There is a great discrepancy between these narratives:

The first of them says that Zirr asked Ibn Mas'ūd about the *mu'awwidhatayn*, who said that he had inquired about them from the Prophet. The Prophet had replied that he had been directed to read them. So he read them and so people should also read them. Zirr then asked Ubayy about the *mu'awwidhatayn*, who gave exactly the same answer.

The second of them records that Zirr had mentioned a statement of Ibn Mas'ūd before Ubayy without specifying what was said. Apparently, it does seem that the statement would have been the same as recorded in the first narrative. This is

---

1043. Ibid., vol. 2, 222.
1044. Ibid., vol. 3, 435.
1045. A shortened schematic illustration of the variants is given later in this chapter.

further corroborated by what is mentioned in al-Ṭabarānī quoted above.[1046] If this statement of Zirr is regarded as correct, then it can be concluded that Ibn Mas'ūd never rejected the *mu'awwidhatayn* to be part of the Qur'ān.

In the third narrative, Zirr has reported the practice of Ibn Mas'ūd and not his statement, which is in contrast to the above mentioned three narratives. The words are: 'O Abū Mundhir! Your brother Ibn Mas'ūd erases them from the *muṣḥaf.*'

In the fourth narrative, the words of Zirr are: 'I told Ubayy that Ibn Mas'ūd would not write the *mu'awwidhatayn* in his *muṣḥaf.*' The word 'erases' is replaced by 'not write'.

Raḥmānī concludes that in the wake of these discrepancies, it is difficult to surmise that Ibn Mas'ūd had rejected the *mu'awwidhatayn* to be part of the Qur'ān. He goes on to say that if the first of Zirr's narrative is considered, then it in fact proves that Ibn Mas'ūd regarded the *mu'awwidhatayn* to be part of the Qur'ān. This narrative is corroborated by the second one as recorded by al-Bukhārī as well as by al-Ṭabarānī.[1047] Thus this narrative should be given preference over Zirr's other narratives which reflect Ibn Mas'ūd's rejection.

Finally, while summing up his criticism on all the narratives he says:

Firstly, there are discrepancies and contradictions in the variants. In the presence of discrepancies and contradictions, even narratives reported by trustworthy narrators do not remain acceptable.

Secondly, the narrators too are suspect.

Thirdly, even if the above two flaws did not exist, these narratives are against consensus and *tawātur*.

1046. See: footnote 1026.
1047. Ibid.

On the basis of these very weaknesses, many scholars of the past have regarded these narratives to be baseless and concocted.

Ibn Ḥazm writes:

And all that is narrated from Ibn Mas'ūd that the *mu'awwidhatayn* and Sūrah al-Fātiḥah were not in his *muṣḥaf* is false and concocted because in the chain of narration of the reading of 'Āṣim from Ibn Mas'ūd through Zirr ibn Ḥubaysh there is both Sūrah al-Fātiḥah and the *mu'awwidhatayn*.[1048]

Imām al-Nawawī writes:

There is a consensus among the Muslims that the *mu'awwidhatayn* and Sūrah al-Fātiḥah are *sūrahs* of the Qur'ān. A person who rejects this has committed an act of disbelief. The narratives attributed to Ibn Mas'ūd in this regard are false.[1049]

Abū Bakr ibn al-'Arabī writes:

Ibn Mas'ūd's rejection of the *mu'awwidhatayn* is not verified through reliable sources.[1050]

Al-Rāzī writes:

It is more probable that what has been narrated from Ibn Mas'ūd about the *mu'awwidhatayn* has been wrongly and baselessly attributed to him.[1051]

IV. Ibn Ḥajar's Interpretation

Ibn Ḥajar,[1052] however, asserts that these narratives are authentic and can be interpreted to mean that as per Ibn Mas'ūd's own understanding these *sūrahs* were not *mutawātir* and therefore he did not write them in his *muṣḥaf*. However,

---

1048. Abū Muḥammad 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Sa'īd ibn Ḥazm, *Al-Muḥallā bī al-āthār*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dar al-afāq al-jadīdah, n.d.), 13.
1049. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 8, 604.
1050. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 271.
1051. Al-Razī, *Al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, vol. 1, 178.
1052. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 8, 604.

the rest of the Muslims did regard them as *mutawātir*, and Ibn Mas'ūd's understanding was not correct in this regard.

As far as the issue raised by al-Nawawī, Ibn Ḥazm and al-Rāzī is concerned – according to whom the narratives which are reported from Ibn Mas'ūd are against the consensus of the Muslims and therefore baseless and worthy of complete rejection – Ibn Ḥajar says that there is a simple answer to it as well: If they think that the consensus they are claiming existed in every period of time, then this is doubtful; the consensus was achieved over a period of time and during the process that it was being achieved it cannot be said that there was a consensus. What is attributed to Ibn Mas'ūd about the *mu'awwidhatayn* belongs to this period when the consensus was being achieved and thus it cannot be said that these narratives are against consensus. In order to explain his view further, Ibn Ḥajar cites an example. He says that according to Ibn Ṣabbāgh, when Abū Bakr launched an armed offensive against those who were desisting to pay *zakāh*, he did not say that they had committed disbelief (*kufr*) because at that time consensus on the payment of *zakāh* had not taken place; this consensus was achieved later. Once it was achieved, only then negating it can be termed as disbelief. Similarly, in the case of the *mu'awwidhatayn*, only when the consensus had been achieved (which was after Ibn Mas'ūd passed away), can it be called objectionable. In short, according to Ibn Ḥajar, what is attributed to Ibn Mas'ūd about the *mu'awwidhatayn* is not against the consensus of the Muslims as claimed by some authorities.

V. Analysis of the Criticism and the Interpretations

An analysis shall now be conducted of the criticism and the interpretations of the narrative described above. It may be noted that some of the points of criticism that relate to the text of the narrative have been commonly raised by al-Bāqilānī

and Raḥmānī.

A. Analysis of al-Bāqilānī's Criticism

Of all the points of criticism raised by al-Bāqilānī, the primary one is what is mentioned first: Had Ibn Mas'ūd held this view about the *mu'awwidhatayn*, a great debate between him and other companions would have been recorded in history. Also pertinent is the question he raises that it is very unnatural that nothing is found from Ibn Mas'ūd's students and companions in corroboration or rejection of his views. Had Ibn Mas'ūd held this view, his students should also have debated about it and this debate too should have been recorded in history. Similarly, al-Bāqilānī's critique on narratives which say that Ibn Mas'ūd deleted the *mu'awwidhatayn* from the Qur'ān is also strong.

However, al-Bāqilānī's objection that Ibn Mas'ūd should have stated his reasons for this view seems to be based on lack of information. There are narratives which attribute to him the reason for his view: many narratives say that he stated they were not part of the Qur'ān and something which is not part of the Qur'ān should not be written and thereby mixed with the text of the Qur'ān. He is further reported to have said that the *mu'awwidhatayn* were two supplications through which the Prophet had directed us to seek refuge with the Almighty.[1053]

Al-Bāqilānī's objection that there are so many narratives about Sūrah al-Falaq and Sūrah al-Nās that Ibn Mas'ūd could not have been unaware of them holds little ground. The narratives he himself has cited are all from 'Uqbah, except two: one of them is from Jābir and the other from 'Abdullāh ibn Khubayb. All these narratives mention isolate incidents of the Prophet, who is referring to these *sūrahs* to a

---

1053. See for example: Al-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, vol. 9, 234, (no. 9149); Ibid, vol. 9, 235, (no. 9152).

Companion. Even if the narratives which al-Bāqilānī has not alluded to regarding these *sūrahs* are compiled, one finds that though they may be large in number however, they end up on a few Companions: 'Ā'ishah, Ibn 'Ābis, Jābir ibn 'Abdullāh, Abū Huraryrah, Abū Iyās and Jubayr ibn Muṭ'im.[1054] These narratives report similar isolate incidents which are not enough to conclude that they were so numerous in number that Ibn Mas'ūd could not have been unaware of them.

 Similarly, al-Bāqilānī is not entirely accurate in mentioning the fact that no student of Ibn Mas'ūd has reported his peculiar view about the *mu'awwidhatayn*: Three of his students 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd, 'Alqamah ibn Qays and Zirr ibn Ḥubaysh have reported this view from him. What perhaps can be regarded as the correct criticism in this regard is that such was the gravity of the issue that it should have been reported by numerous students of his. A simple analysis of the *Musnad* of Ibn Mas'ūd found in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal shows the following persons have reported narratives (including repetitives) from him in the approximate number specified:

  i. Abu Wā'il Shaqīq ibn Salamah = 150

  ii. Abū al-Aḥwaṣ = 86

 1054. For 'Ā'ishah's narratives see, for example: Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1916, (no. 4729); Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 6, 197, (no. 10624); Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 5, 473, (no. 3402); Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, vol. 4, 313, (no. 5056).
 For 'Uqbah ibn 'Āmir's narratives, see, for example: Muslim, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, 558, (no. 814); Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 1, 330, (no. 1025); Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 5, 170, (no. 2902); Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, vol. 2, 73, (no. 1462).
 For Jābir ibn 'Abdullāh's narratives, see, for example: Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 3, 76, (no. 796); Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 4, 441, (no. 7854).
 For 'Abdullāh ibn Khubayb's narratives, see, for example: Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 4, 442, (no. 7858); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Mu'jam al-awsaṭ*, vol. 3, 160, (no. 2796).
 For Ibn 'Ābis' narratives, see, for example: Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 4, 438, (no. 7841); Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 3, 417, (no. 15486); 'Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol. 2, 128-129, (no. 1761).
 For Abū Hurayrah's narrative, see: Al-Ṭayālisī, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 325, (no. 2479).
 For Jubayr ibn Muṭ'im's narrative, see: Abū Ya'lā, *Musnad*, vol. 13, 414, (no. 7419).

iii. 'Alqamah ibn Qays = 70

iv. Abū 'Ubaydah ibn 'Abdullah ibn Mas'ūd = 51

v. Zirr ibn Ḥubaysh = 51

vi. Al-Aswad ibn Yazīd = 51

vii. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd = 34

viii. Masrūq ibn Ajda' = 27

B. Analysis of Raḥmānī's Criticism

Since Raḥmānī has categorized his criticism on the narrative by analyzing the variants of each of the three narrators, a comment on each of the three categories follows:

1. Narratives of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd

If all the variants by Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd are analyzed, it becomes evident that all of them are common in mentioning that 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd would delete the *mu'awwidhatayn* from his Qur'ān.[1055] Besides the primary criticism of al-Bāqilānī, it also invokes his criticism referred to earlier under 'The Implication of Deletion'.

It may be noted that Raḥmānī's claim that the sentence انهما ليستا من كتاب الله (they are not part of the Book of God) has only been reported by 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd is not entirely correct. At least one narrative by Zirr[1056] also has these words. The words in this narrative are: انهما ليستا من القرآن (they are not part of the Qur'ān).

If all the variants narrated by him are collected and analyzed, it comes to light that Abū Isḥāq and al-A'mash are not simultaneously present in each of them, as

---

1055. One narrative from Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn does mention the words 'he would not write …' instead of 'he would delete …'. This narrative is *mursal* because Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn never met Ibn Mas'ūd (d. 32 AH). According to Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 7, 193, Ibn Sīrīn was born when two years remained in the caliphate of 'Uthmān. This comes out to be: 35 AH.

1056. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 10, 274, (no. 4429).

contended by Raḥmānī.[1057] However, none of them is devoid of Abū Isḥāq. He is a *mudallis* as pointed out earlier and all his narratives from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd are *mu‘an‘an.*

It may also be noted that al-A‘mash according to *Mizān al-i‘tidāl*[1058] is a *mudallis* and does *tadlīs* from weak narrators and would not name them. All his narratives from Abū Isḥāq al-Sabī‘ī al-Kūfī are *mu‘an‘an*. According to the history of Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn, his pupil ‘Uthmān ibn Sa‘īd al-Dārimī declares that al-A‘mash is guilty of the worst form of *tadlīs*: *tadlīs al-taswiyah*.[1059]

Following is a shortened schematic illustration of the variants attributed to him:
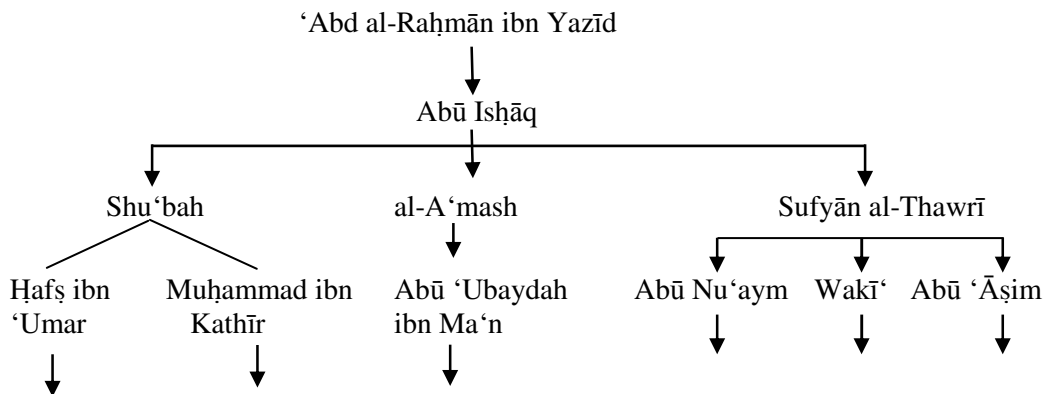
Though many authorities highly regard Sufyān ibn Sa‘īd al-Thawrī in spite of acknowledging *tadlīs* from him,[1060] *tadlīs* is something which cannot be tolerated at any level. It may be noted that all the three narratives[1061] reported from him in this regard are *mu‘an‘an.*

1057. The complete list of variants is: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 5, 129, (no. 21226); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr*, vol. 9, 234, (nos. 9148-9); Ibid., vol. 9, 235, (no. 9150); Ibn Ḥayyān al-Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-muḥaddithīn bi Aṣbahān*, vol. 3, 474; Abū ‘Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shafi‘ī, *Al-Umm*, 1ˢᵗ ed., vol. 7 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmiyyah, 2002), 302; ‘Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol. 2, 127, (no. 1754); Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*, vol. 51, 36; Al-Bayhaqī, *Ma‘rifah al-sunan wa al-āthār*, vol. 2, 217, (no. 1211).

1058. Al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i‘tidāl*, vol. 3, 316.

1059. ‘Uthmān ibn Sa‘īd al-Dārimī, *Tarīkh Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn*, (Beirut: Dār al-ma’mūn li al-turāth, n.d.), 243.

1060. Ibn Ḥajar, *Ṭabaqāt al-mudallisīn*, 32.

1061. Al-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr*, vol. 9, 234, (no. 9148); Shāfi‘ī, *Al-Umm*, vol. 7, 189; ‘Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol. 2, 127, (no. 1754).

Ḥafṣ ibn ‘Umar al-Ḥawḍī is regarded to be trustworthy. However, Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn[1062] was not satisfied with him.

According to Yaḥyā ibn Ma‘īn,[1063] Muḥammad ibn Kathīr is: *lā tuktabu ‘anhū wa lām yakun bi al-thiqah.*

2. Narratives of ‘Alqamah ibn Qays

All variants from ‘Alqamah ibn Qays also say that ‘Abdullāh ibn Mas‘ūd would delete the *mu‘awwidhatayn* from his Qur’ān.[1064] Thus, the text of these narratives invokes the same criticism as the one by al-Bāqilānī referred to above. Moreover, the narratives only refer to the opinion of ‘Alqamah about Ibn Mas‘ūd’s stance; they do not refer to Ibn Mas‘ūd’s stance in his own words.

The weakness of the three narrators of the narrative attributed to ‘Alqamah ibn Qays, as pointed out by Raḥmānī makes it suspect. Following is a shortened schematic illustration of the variants attributed to him:

‘Alqamah ibn Qays
↓
Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd
↓
al-Ṣalt ibn Bihrām
↓
Ḥassān ibn Ibrāhīm
↓   ↓
al-Azraq ibn ‘Alī   Muḥammad ibn Abī Ya‘qūb
↓   ↓
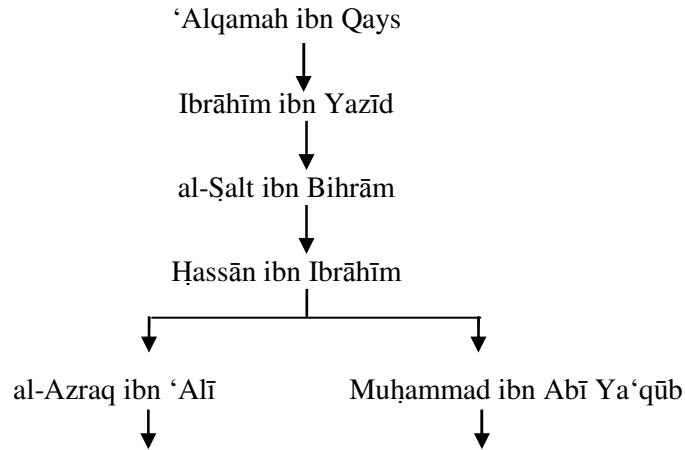
1062. Al-‘Uqaylī, *Al-Ḍu‘afā’ al-kabīr*, vol. 1, 272.

1063. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 26, 335.

1064. In this regard, it may be noted that Raḥmānī has erroneously attributed the second narrative he has cited to ‘Alqamah ibn Qays. This narrative found in both *Al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr* and *Al-Mu‘jam al-awsaṭ* of al-Ṭabaranī is actually from Zirr ibn Ḥubaysh. See: Al-Ṭabaranī, *Al-Mu‘jam al-kabīr*, vol. 10, 132, (no. 10211); Al-Ṭabaranī, *Al-Mu‘jam al-awsaṭ*, vol. 4, 13, (no. 3488).

3. Narratives of Zirr ibn Ḥubaysh

The first discrepancy pointed out by Raḥmānī is not tenable since the very first narrative referred by him is suspect as shall be shown presently.[1065]

Similarly, the discrepancy between the second and third narrative (one says that Ibn Mas'ūd would not write the *mu'awwidhatayn* and the other says that he would delete them) could be attributed to the mistake of some narrator. However, in both cases, the stance of Ibn Mas'ūd about the *mu'awwidhatayn* can be broadly inferred: in the opinion of Zirr, he did not consider them to be part of the Qur'ān.

In this regard, a detailed analysis of Zirr's narratives shows that they can be divided into four categories.[1066]

In the first category, it is reported that Zirr inquires from Ubayy about the *mu'awwidhatayn* and then Ubayy replies by saying that he had asked the Messenger of God about them. At this, Ubayy was informed by the Messenger of God that he was divinely told to read and so he read. In reply, Ubayy said he and the other Companions would read. Some other narratives[1067] of this category do not depict Zirr's questions to Ubayy and state that Ubayy posed the question directly to the Prophet.

Following is a shortened schematic illustration of the variants of this category:

1065. See the fourth category below in the analysis of Zirr's narratives.

1066. For the first category, see: Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4. 1904, (no. 4692); Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 5, 129, (no. 21220); Ibid., vol. 5, 129, (no. 21223); Al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, vol. 2, 393, (no. 3850); Al-Ṭabaranī, *Al-Mu'jam al-awsaṭ*, vol. 4, 332, (no. 4351); Al-Ṭayālisī, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 73, (no. 541); 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 3, 384, (no. 6040); Al-Bayhaqī, *Shu'ab al-īmān*, vol. 2, 510 (no. 2558); Ḥusayn ibn Ismā'īl al-Muḥāmilī, *Amālī*, vol. 1 (Oman: Dār Ibn al-Qayyim, 1412 AH), 402, (no. 471); Ibn Ḥayyān al-Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-muḥaddithīn bi Aṣbahān*, vol. 3, 474, 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 3, 410-411; Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 145-146; Al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummal*, vol. 2, 239, (no. 4737).

1067. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 5, 129 (21221); Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 145-146.

Category I

Zirr ibn Ḥubaysh

Abū Razīn   'Āṣim ibn Bahdalah   'Abdah ibn Abī Lubābah   al-Ḥakam ibn 'Utaybah
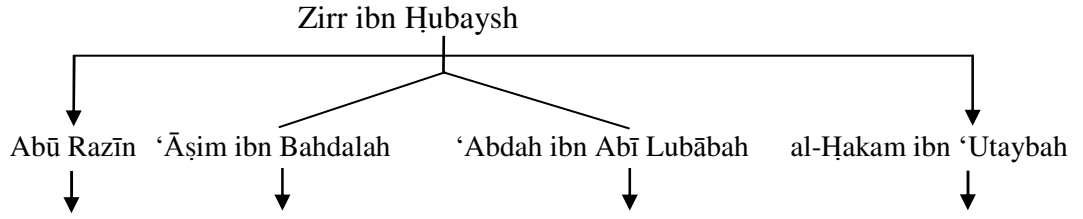
In the second category,[1068] the stance[1069] of Ibn Mas'ūd is narrated by Zirr before Ubayy who gives the same answer referred to above: The Prophet informed Ubayy that he was told to read which he did. Ubayy went to say that he and other companions also read the way the Prophet does.

Following is a shortened schematic illustration of the variants of this category:

1068. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4. 1904, (no. 4693); Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 5, 129, (no. 21224); Ibid., vol. 5, 130, (no. 21227); Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 3, 77, (no. 797); Ibid., vol. 10, 274, (no. 4429); Al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, vol. 2, 394, (no. 3851); Al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 185, (no. 374); Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 6, 146, (no. 30202); Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī, *Al-Sunan al-māthūrah*, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dār al-ma'rifah, 1406 AH), 168; Al-Haythamī, *Mawārid al-ẓam'ān ilā zawā'id Ibn Ḥibbān*, vol. 1, 435, (no. 1756); Al-Bayhaqī, *Ma'rifah al-sunan wa al-āthār*, vol. 2, 217, (no. 1210); Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Mardawayh, *Juz' fīhi aḥādīth Ibn Ḥibbān*, 1st ed. (Riyāḍ: Dār al-'āṣimah, 14146 AH), 70, (no. 19); Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*, vol. 25, 221; Abū Sa'īd al-Haytham ibn Kulayb al-Shāshī, *Musnad*, vol. 3 (Madīnah: Maktabah al-'ulūm wa al-ḥikam, 1410 AH), 356-357, (nos. 1471-2); Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, vol. 1, 111-113; Abū al-Ḥusayn Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī, *Al-Kunā wa al-asmā'*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Madīnah: Al-Jāmi'ah al-islāmiyyah, 1404 AH), 232, (no. 418).

1069. The stance reported in some narratives is that Ibn Mas'ūd would not write the *mu'awwidhatayn* and in some others is that he would delete them from his *muṣḥaf / maṣāḥif* and still in some others that he would say that they are not part of the Qur'ān and that what is not its part should not be added to it.

Category II

Zirr ibn Ḥubaysh

'Āṣim ibn Bahdlah   'Abdah ibn Abī Lubābah

Sufyān ibn
'Uyaynah

Manṣūr ibn al-Mu'tamir	Ḥammād ibn Salamah	Mālik ibn Mighwal	Abū Bakr ibn 'Ayyāsh	Zayd ibn Abī Unaysah	al-Nu'mān ibn Rāshid	Zā'idah ibn Qudāmah
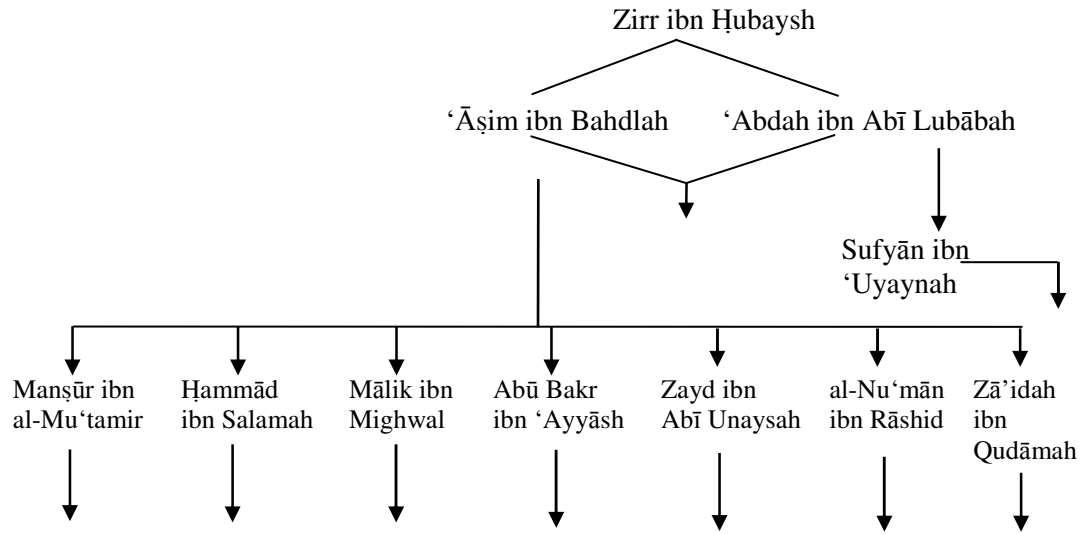
In the third category,[1070] Zirr reports from Ibn Mas'ūd who says that the Prophet was asked about these two *sūrahs*. He replied that he had been asked to read and that the people should also read the way the Prophet has read.

Following is the schematic illustration of the narrative of this category:

Category III

Zirr ibn Ḥubaysh

Abū al-Ḥakam al-Sayyār

Ismā'īl ibn Muslim al-Makkī

Maḥbūb ibn al-Ḥasan

Muḥammad ibn Mirdās

Ḥusayn ibn 'Abdullāh
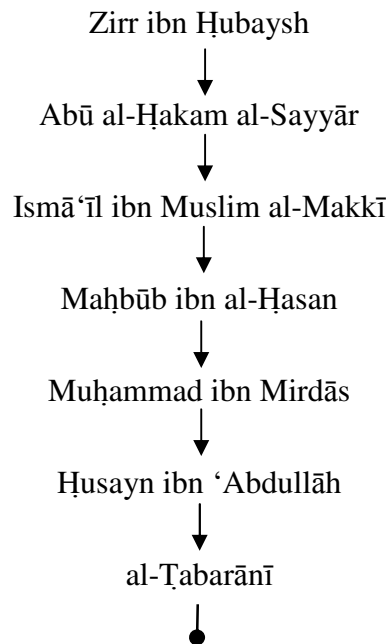
al-Ṭabarānī

1070. Al-Ṭabaranī, *Al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, vol. 10, 132, (no. 10211); Al-Ṭabaranī, *Al-Mu'jam al-awsaṭ*, vol. 4, 13, (no. 3488); Al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id*, vol. 7, 150.

In the fourth category, a narrative recorded by Ibn Kathīr in his *Tafsīr* on the authority of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal says that Zirr had posed the question to Ibn Mas'ūd who replied that he had asked the Prophet about them and the Prophet replied that he had been asked to read so people should also read. The same question was asked by Zirr from Ubayy who reported the same answer from the Prophet as Ibn Mas'ūd did.

Following is the schematic illustration of this narrative of the fourth category:

Category IV

<div align="center">

Zirr ibn Ḥubaysh

↓

'Āṣim

↓

Sufyān

↓

Wakī'

↓

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal

↓

Ibn Kathīr

↓

●

</div>
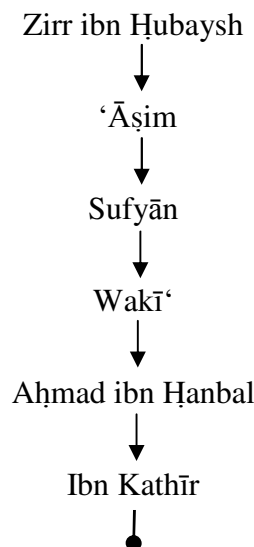
A little deliberation on these four categories leads us to the following observations and conclusions:

i. The first and third[1071] categories have no bearing on Ibn Mas'ūd and his view about the *mu'awwidhatayn*. The first relates to a question that arose in the mind of Zirr regarding the *mu'awwidhatayn*, and the third to a question that was posed

---

1071. It may be of interest to note that both narratives of the third category contain Ismā'īl ibn Muslim al-Makkī, who has been regarded *ḍa'īf al-ḥadīth* by authorities. See, for example: Ibn Hajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 110. Al-Mizzī records: Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd and 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mahdī would not narrate from him. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal says that he is *munkar al-ḥadīth*. Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn says he is *laysa bi shay'*. 'Alī ibn al-Madīnī says: *lā yuktabu ḥadīthuhū*. Al-Nasā'ī says he is *matrūk al-ḥadīth* and at another place says he is *laysa bi thiqah*. See: Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 3, 200-204.

to the Prophet about the status of these two *sūrahs*.

ii. In the second category, Zirr is quoting the practice of not writing or deleting the *mu'awwidhatayn*. This invites the same criticism as proffered by al-Bāqilānī earlier.

iii. The fourth category consists of a single narrative which shows that Zirr posed the question that arose in his mind about the *mu'awwidhatayn* to Ibn Mas'ūd who reported that when he posed the question to the Prophet, he replied that he had been told to read.

However, this narrative itself is suspect. Consider the text of the narrative:

Zirr said: 'I asked Ibn Mas'ūd about the *mu'awwidhatayn*. He said: "I had asked the Prophet about them. He said to me: 'I was told. Thus I read to you; so you also read now.' Ubayy said: "Thus the Prophet read to us; so we also now read."'[1072]

The following points need to be noted about this narrative:

i. This narrative is found in the extant version of *Musnad Aḥmad* with the stark difference that the question was actually posed to Ubayy and not to Ibn Mas'ūd. The words *qāla Ubayy* (Ubayy said) in the later part of the narrative conclusively proves this to be the case.

ii. Ibn Ḥajar too has alluded to this narrative by saying that it is found in al-Ṭabarānī's *Al-Mu'jam al-awsaṭ*. He too says that according to the more known narratives the question was actually posed to Ubayy and that perhaps the narrator has wrongly attributed the question being posed to Ibn Mas'ūd because in other versions, it is Ubayy who was posed this question.[1073]

iii. The narratives of the first category also show that the question was in fact

---

1072. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol. 4, 572.
1073. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, 4th ed., vol. 8, 604. It may also be noted that I have not been able to find this narrative referred to by Ibn Ḥajar in the extant version of *Al-Mu'jam al-awsaṭ*.

posed to Ubayy and not to Ibn Mas'ūd. The narrative recorded by al-Bukhārī[1074] too shows this to be the case.

In other words, it is only the second category that relates to the stance of Ibn Mas'ūd regarding the *mu'awwidhatayn*. This too in an indirect manner is a report of his stance to Ubayy.

Now, each of the four categories refers to the Prophet's own comment about the *mu'awwidhatayn*: 'I was told; so I read.'

The way these words of the Prophet have been reported in most narratives make little sense: 'I was told; so I read (قيل لى فقلت).' What exactly do they mean?

However, if an addition found in some other narratives is kept in consideration, the answer of the Prophet becomes very cogent and itself throws light on the actual question that arose in the minds of Ubayy and Zirr. The reply of the Prophet reported in these narratives is: 'I was told to say: *qul*, so I said it. (قيل لي قل فقلت).'[1075] This meant that the question that arose in their minds was that the word *qul* (قل) which occurs at the beginning of both these *sūrahs* was actually a part of these *sūrahs* and that was he directed to read it as their part. This further meant that the question that arose in the mind of Ubayy and Zirr was that whether this word was part of the *sūrah* or merely a word uttered by Gabriel to the Prophet asking him to read the subsequent words of the *sūrah*.

A. Ibn Ḥajar's Interpretation

Ibn Ḥajar's interpretation that the *mu'awwidhatayn* were not *mutawātir* in the opinion of Ibn Mas'ūd holds little ground. The points raised by al-Bāqilānī suffice to negate this interpretation.

1074. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1904, (no. 4692).
1075. See, for example: Al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 185, (no. 374); Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ Mushkil al-Āthār*, vol. 1, 111; Al-Bayhaqī, *Ma'rifah al-sunan wa al-āthār*, vol. 2, 217.

VI. Further Criticism on the Text

Before presenting further criticism on the text of the narratives, it may be noted that besides the *muttaṣil* narrative from the companions of Ibn Masʿūd, there also exists a *mursal* narrative from Ibn Sīrīn on this topic:

Ibn Sīrīn said that Ibn Masʿūd would not write the *muʿawwidhatayn.*[1076]

Now the further criticism:

The stance of Ibn Masʿūd regarding the *muʿawwidhatayn* is known for the first time after he was sent by 'Umar to Kūfah to educate people about the Qur'ān in 21 AH.[1077] It is reported that he died in 32 or 33 AH.[1078] He accepted Islam in the early Makkan period and migrated to Madīnah with the Muslims, and thereafter spent more than two decades in Madīnah. Sense and reason demand that if he, as against other Muslims, was of the view that the *muʿawwidhatayn* were not part of the Qur'ān, why was this view not reported from him during this period which covered the Madīnan life of the Prophet, the complete tenure of Abū Bakr and a greater part of 'Umar's rule? Why is it that this view was reported from him only after he moved to Kūfah from his Kūfan students? It is known that during the two decades after *hijrah* when he was in Madīnah, he had many students who reported many narratives from him. They include people like Anas ibn Mālik, Jābir ibn 'Abdullāh, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr, 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās, 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar, Muḥammad ibn Kaʿb al-Quraẓī, Abū Rāfiʿ,

---

1076. Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 6, 147, (no. 30212). The narrative is *mursal* because Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn never met Ibn Masʿūd (d. 33 AH). According to Ibn Saʿd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 7, 193, Ibn Sīrīn died in 110 AH at the age of seventy seven which means that he was born in 33 AH. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 483; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 9, 191.

1077. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, vol. 2, 530-534.

1078. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 6, 25.

Abū Hurayrah, Abū Wāqid al-Laythī, al-Ḥajjāj ibn Mālik al-Aslamī, al-Ḥijāzī, Abū Mūsā al-'Asha'rī, al-Barā' ibn 'Āzib.[1079]

Moreover, it is known that Ibn Mas'ūd was present in the final review[1080] of the Qur'ān between Gabriel and the Prophet. If the *mu'awwidhatayn* were not part of the Qur'ān in his view, he could have easily referred to this final review and said that he never heard the *mu'awwidhatayn* in this final review.

VII. Conclusion

On the basis of objections raised, one can conclude that the fact that he did not regard them to be part of the Qur'ān is incorrectly attributed to him.

As discussed earlier, some other narratives which apparently have no bearing upon Ibn Mas'ūd's stance say that a certain question arose about the *mu'awwidhatayn* in the minds of Ubayy and Zirr. The question was whether the imperative verb *qul* (say) with which they began was part of the *sūrah* or just a command from Gabriel signifying that he should read the subsequent words of revelation.

If the following narrative is kept in consideration, one may surmise that this question could also have arisen in the mind of Ibn Mas'ūd.

> Zirr ibn Ḥubaysh said: 'I asked Ubayy: "O Abū Mundhir! Your brother, Ibn Mas'ūd, says such and such a thing." Ubayy said: "I asked the Prophet. He replied: 'I was told and I read.' Thus we read in the very manner the Prophet read."'[1081]

Perhaps it was only this question about the *mu'awwidhatayn* which had arisen in the mind of Ibn Mas'ūd and whatever else that has been attributed to him in this regard is the result of incorrect understanding on the part of some narrators.

––––––––––––––––––

1079. Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 16, 123-126.
1080. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 2, 242.
1081. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1904, (no. 4693).

Chapter 7

A Narrative on the Placement of Sūrah al-Anfāl (8) and Sūrah al-Tawbah (9) in the ʿUthmānic Collection of the Qurʾān

Contents

I. Introduction

II. A Typical Text

III. Criticism on the Narrative and its Analysis

    C. *Matn*

        1. Internal Contradiction

        2. Sūrah al-Anfāl and Sūrah al-Tawbah are Distinct

        3. Against Narratives on ʿUthmānic Collection

        4. Against the Practice of the Companions

    D. *Isnād*

        1. Suspect Narrators

IV. Further Criticism

V. Conclusion

I. Introduction

A narrative says that 'Uthmān exercised his own judgement in placing Sūrah al-Anfāl (8) and Sūrah al-Tawbah (9) (also called Sūrah al-Barā'ah) together when the Qur'ān was written in his times; since he had no guidance regarding this from Muḥammad, he considered them to be a single *sūrah* because of similarity of the topics of both *sūrahs*.[1082]

In this chapter, an analysis of this narrative shall be attempted.

II. A Typical Text

Yazīd al-Fārisī reports that Ibn 'Abbās said: 'I asked 'Uthmān: "What made you position together Sūrah al-Anfāl which is among the *mathānī* and Sūrah al-Barā'ah which is among the *mi'ūn* and not write the *basmalah* between them and you placed the two among the *sab' ṭuwal*.[1083] What induced you to do this?" 'Uthmān replied: "There were times in the life of the Prophet when many *sūrahs* would be simultaneously revealed to him. When something would be revealed to him, he would call some of those who used to write [in front of him] and say: 'Place this [section of verses] in the *sūrah* in which such and such an incident is mentioned,' and [similarly] when [a single] verse would be revealed, he would say: 'Place it in the *sūrah* in which such and such an incident is mentioned.' Sūrah al-Anfāl was among the first *sūrahs* revealed in Madīnah, and Sūrah al-Barā'ah was the last *sūrah* revealed and both mentioned the same topic. So I thought that Sūrah al-Barā'ah was part of Sūrah al-Anfāl and the Prophet (sws) died without specifying this. So, because of this, I positioned them together and did not write the *basmalah* and placed the two among the *sab' ṭuwal*."' Abū 'Īsā said: This narrative is *ḥasanuṇ ṣaḥīḥuṇ*; we only know it through 'Awf who reports it from Yazīd

---

1082. This narrative is one of the reasons on the basis of which some scholars believe that the arrangement of the *sūrahs* of the Qur'ān is not divine. See, for example: Al-Bāqilānī, *Al-Intiṣār li al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1, 278-282.

1083. While in some narratives the word used is *ṭuwal* which is actually the plural of the superlatives: *aṭwal* and *ṭūlā*, others have the word *ṭiwāl* which is actually the plural of *ṭawīl*. Thus, in the first case, reference would be to 'seven longest *sūrahs*' and in the second to 'seven long *sūrahs*'. If all the variants are studied, it seems that *ṭuwal* and *ṭiwāl* are used synonymously to connote seven long *sūrahs*.

al-Fārisī who reports it from 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās. And Yazīd al-Fārisī has more than one narrative from Ibn 'Abbās and it has been said that he is Yazīd ibn Hurmuz and Yazīd al-Raqqāshī is in fact Yazīd ibn Abān al-Raqqāshī, and he has not met Ibn 'Abbās. He has narrated from Anas ibn Mālik and both of them belong to Baṣrah and Yazīd al-Fārisī lived much earlier than Yazīd al-Raqqāshī.[1084]

III. Criticism on the Narrative and its Analysis

The narrative has invited criticism from some scholars both on its *matn* and on its *isnād*. It shall be presented and analyzed in this section.

A. *Matn*

1. Internal Contradiction

According to Raḥmānī,[1085] there exists a strong internal contradiction within the narrative.

The narrative clearly says two things:

i. When verses which would be part of some *sūrah* would be revealed to the Prophet, he would have them written in it.

1084. Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 5, 272, (no. 3086). See also: Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, vol. 1 208, (no, 786); Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 5, 10, (no. 8007); Al-Nasā'ī, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 84-85; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 57, (no. 399); Ibid., vol. 1, 69, (no. 499); Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, 230-231, (no. 43); Al-Bayhaqī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 2, 42, (no. 2205); Al-Ḥākim, *Al-Mustadrak*, vol. 2, 241, (no. 2875); Ibid., vol. 2, 360, (no. 3272); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Muʻjam al-awsaṭ*, vol. 7, 328, (no. 7638); Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ maʻānī al-āthār*, vol. 1, 201, (no. 1096); Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, vol. 1, 120-121; Ibid., vol. 3, 403; Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*, 7, 267, (no. 35953); Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 8, 367; Al-Bazzār, *Musnad*, vol. 2, 8-9, (no. 344); Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 158; Al-Haythamī, *Mawārid al-ẓam'ān*, vol. 1, 125, (no. 452); Al-Bayhaqī, *Ma'rifah al-sunan wa al-āthār*, vol. 1, 512, (no. 704); Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al-nubuwwah*, vol. 7, 152-153; 'Umar ibn Shabbah, *Akhbār al-Madīnah*, vol. 2, 130-131, (no. 1769); Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 39-40; Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, vol. 1, 53; Abū 'Abdullāh al-Maqdisī, *Al-Aḥādīth al-mukhtārah*, vol. 1, 494-495, (no. 365); Ibid., vol. 1, 495-496, (no. 366); Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Muwaddiḥ awhām al-jam' wa al-tafrīq*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-ma'rifah, 1407 AH), 336-339; Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Naḥḥās, *Al-Nāsikh wa al-mansūkh*, 1st ed. (Kuwait: Maktabah al-fallāḥ, 1408 AH), 477-479; Arthur Jeffery, ed., *Muqaddimatān*, 40-41; Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 32, 288; Al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 2, 579. (For a complete schematic illustration of this narrative, see: Appendix E).

1085. Raḥmānī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 112-113.

ii. Sūrah al-Barā'ah which was revealed later was not made part of Sūrah al-Anfāl which was revealed earlier.

These two premises when combined clearly show that Sūrah al-Barā'ah was not part of Sūrah al-Anfāl. If this is the case, then how could 'Uthmān have argued from the fact that since the two *sūrahs* had a similar topic, he had placed them together. It is highly unlikely, in fact impossible for 'Uthmān to have said this when he already had clearly said that the two *sūrahs* were revealed at different times and the Prophet never told the Companions that they were part of each other. The absence of any such specification by the Prophet obviously means that the two are not part of one another.

As far as the similarity of the topic itself is concerned, Raḥmānī says that two things need to be understood:

i. There are many *sūrahs* of the Qur'ān in which this similarity exists.

ii. This similarity could have been of some use had the Prophet himself not decided about the placement of the two *sūrahs*. When he did not combine them and even gave them two distinct names, this similarity is of no consequence at all.

––––––––––––––

This seems to be a valid objection raised by Raḥmānī.

2. Sūrah al-Anfāl and Sūrah al-Tawbah are Distinct

Al-Ṭaḥāwī, while analyzing this narrative,[1086] says that it shows that in the opinion of 'Uthmān, Sūrah al-Anfāl and Sūrah al-Tawbah were a single *sūrah* while Ibn 'Abbās was of the opinion that the two were distinct *sūrahs*. He goes on to conclude that the opinion of Ibn 'Abbās is correct. Some of the main

––––––––––––––

1086. Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, vol. 3, 399-410.

reasons he cites in this regard are the following:

i. The Companions would divide the Qur'ān in seven portions. When once they were asked by Aws ibn Ḥudhayfah about this division, they replied:

We divide it into [seven portions thus:] three *sūrahs*, five *sūrahs*, seven *sūrahs*, nine *sūrahs*, eleven *sūrahs*, thirteen *sūrahs* and then the last portion which extends from the *mufaṣṣal* to the end.[1087]

While referring to the above narrative, al-Ṭaḥāwī says that only if Sūrah al-Anfāl and Sūrah al-Tawbah are considered to be two distinct *sūrahs* does the scheme of *sūrahs* spelled out in the above narrative hold good.

ii. The fact that Sūrah al-Anfāl and Sūrah al-Tawbah were revealed at different times shows that they are distinct *sūrahs*. While the former was revealed at the time of the battle of Badr[1088] and the latter was the last complete *sūrah* to be revealed:

Abū Isḥāq said: 'I heard Barā ibn 'Āzib say: "The last verse to be revealed was [يَسْتَفْتُونَكَ قُل اللَّهُ يُفْتِيكُم فِي الكَلَالةِ] and the last *sūrah* revealed was Sūrah al-Barā'a."'[1089]

iii. The following narrative shows that the Qur'ān has been arranged in a specific manner:

Wāthilah ibn al-Asqa' says that the Prophet said: 'I have been given the *sab'* in place of the Torah, the *mi'īn* in place of the Psalms and the *mathānī* in place of the Injīl and have been further given the *mufaṣṣal*.'[1090]

1087. Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, vol. 3, 399. See also: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 4, 9, (no. 16211); Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, vol. 1, 427, (no. 1345).

1088. Al-Ṭaḥāwī refers to a narrative from Ibn 'Abbās which says that the *sūrah* was revealed at the time of the battle of Badr. For another variant of this narrative, see, for example: Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1703, (no. 4368).

1089. Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, vol. 3, 405. See also، Al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1586, (no. 4106).

1090. Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, vol. 3, 409-410.

Now the fact that Sūrah al-Anfāl belongs to the *mathānī sūrahs* and Sūrah al-Tawbah belongs to the *ṭiwāl sūrahs* itself shows that they are two distinct *sūrahs*.

Raḥmānī[1091] besides presenting some of the narratives[1092] quoted above to support the view that Sūrah al-Anfāl and Sūrah al-Tawbah are two distinct *sūrahs*, also refers to the following narratives for this purpose:

i.

It is recorded in the *al-Awsaṭ* of al-Ṭabarānī that the Prophet said: 'A hypocrite can never learn Sūrah Hūd, Sūrah al-Barā'ah, Sūrah Yāsīn, Sūrah al-Dukhān and Sūrah 'Amma Yatasā'alūn.'[1093]

ii.

Abū Dharr says: 'I entered the mosque on a Friday when Muḥammad was delivering the sermon. I went and sat near Ubayy. The Prophet recited Sūrah al-Barā'ah.'[1094]

iii.

'Umar ibn Khaṭṭāb had written the directive: 'Learn Sūrah al-Barā'ah and teach your women Sūrah al-Nūr.'[1095]

Raḥmānī concludes that all the above quoted narratives show that Sūrah al-Barā'ah and Sūrah al-Anfāl were distinct and well-defined *sūrah*s in the time of the Prophet. They were not part of one another and the Companions fully knew it. Even the question asked by Ibn 'Abbās in the narrative under discussion also shows that they were two distinct *sūrahs*. Raḥmānī says that in the presence of all

---

1091. Raḥmānī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 108-111.
1092. To be precise, the narratives of Aws ibn Ḥudhayfah, Barā ibn 'Āzib and Wāthilah ibn al-Asqa' referred to above.
1093. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Durr al-manthūr*, vol. 4, 120.
1094. Ibid., vol. 4, 121.
1095. Ibid., vol. 4, 120.

this evidence and all these reports, this narrative cannot be accepted.

_____

This point shows that the two *sūrahs* were distinct entities and it is unlikely that 'Uthmān had not known this fact.

3. Against Narratives on 'Uthmānic Collection

Rah@ma#ni# says[1096] that the narrative recorded in the *Al-Ja#mi' al-s@ah@i#h@* of Ima#m al-Bukha#ri# which mentions the 'Uthma#nic collection of the Qur'a#n clearly states that 'Uthma#n had merely copied out the written by Abu# Bakr. It is evident from this that he had not exercised his opinion in any way in this arrangement. He had only made copies from the original so that he could end these copies to various part of the empire. There is nothing in this narrative that says that 'Uthma#n altered the original arrangement. Thus the narrative under discussion is also against the narrative recorded by Ima#m al-Bukha#ri# regarding the 'Uthma#nic collection.

_____

This seems to be a valid objection raised by Raḥmānī.

4. Against the Practice of the Muslims

Raḥmānī says[1097] that when Muslims have been diligent in preserving the words which are written in wrong script within the Qur'ān, how could they have left out

---

[1096]. Raḥmānī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, 113.
[1097]. Ibid., 113-114.

the *basmalah* if it had been part of a *sūrah.* Hence the only explanation of the *basmalah* not being written at the beginning of the *su#rah* is that it was never revealed with it.

_____

This seems to be a valid objection raised by Raḥmānī.

B. *Isnād*

1. Suspect Narrators

It is pointed out that Yazīd al-Fārisī and ʿAwf ibn Abī Jamīlah who exist in all the variants of the narrative are suspect. Following are the details.

i. Yazīd al-Fārisī

Raḥmānī,[1098] and Aḥmad Shākir[1099] say that according to reports of the *rijāl* authorities, the personality of Yazīd al-Fārisī, the sole narrator from Ibn ʿAbbās, is suspect. Following are these reports.

Al-Bukhārī records:

> ʿAlī [ibn al-Madīnī] told me: ʿ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [ibn al-Mahdī] said that Yazīd al-Fārisī is Yazīd ibn Hurmuz.' I mentioned this fact to Yaḥyā [ibn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān], and he did not corroborate it.[1100]

Ibn Ḥajar records:

> Ibn Abī Ḥātim said: 'People have differed whether [Yazīd ibn Hurmuz] is Yazīd al-Fārisī or someone else. Ibn Mahdī and Aḥmad say that he is Ibn

_____

1098. Raḥmānī, *Tārīkh al-Qurʾān*, 106.

1099. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, *Sharḥ musnad Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, 1ˢᵗ ed., vol. 1 (Cairo: Dār al-ḥadīth, 1995), 332-334.

1100. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Tārikh al-kabīr*, vol. 8, 367. This excerpt is quoted by Aḥmad Shākir.

Hurmuz, while Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān has rejected the fact that these two are the same. And I have heard my father say that Yazīd ibn Hurmuz is not Yazīd al-Fārisī; he is a different person. Ibn Hurmuz is the father of ʿAbdullāh ibn Yazīd ibn Hurmuz.'[1101]

Al-Bukhārī has mentioned Yazīd ibn Hurmuz in his *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ al-ṣaghīr*.[1102]

Shākir and Raḥmānī conclude from the above data that Yazīd al-Fārisī is not a well known person and authorities like Ibn al-Mahdī, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and al-Bukhārī are not certain whether he is Yazīd ibn Hurmuz or someone else. They go on to say that with such weakness, this narrative stands rejected especially when it casts doubts on an established fact which is known through *tawātur*.

Raḥmānī[1103] further points out that very little information is found about Yazīd al-Fārisī in *rijāl* books; the only thing known is that he narrates from Ibn ʿAbbās and that Abū Ḥātim comments about him are: *lā baʾsa bihī*. Moreover, Imām al-Bukhārī and Imām Muslim have not taken any narrative from him. He finally concludes that how can such a narrative be then accepted especially when it negates established facts.

ii. ʿAwf ibn Abī Jamīlah

Raḥmānī[1104] says that though the *muḥaddithūn* have generally regarded ʿAwf ibn Abī Jamīlah to be a trustworthy person, however, the following details about him are also found:

Al-ʿUqaylī narrates from Ibn Mubārak: 'He did not restrict himself to a single religious innovation: instead he was afflicted with two of them: He believed in determinism and was a Shiite.' And al-Anṣārī said: 'I saw Dāʾūd ibn Abī Hind beating ʿAwf and saying: "Cursed be you, O Believer of Determinism!"' And

---

1101. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 11, 323. This excerpt is quoted by Aḥmad Shākir and referred to by Raḥmānī.
1102. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ḍuʿafāʾ al-ṣaghīr*, vol. 1, 122. This is referred to by Aḥmad Shākir.
1103. Raḥmānī, *Tārīkh al-Qurʾān*, 107.
1104. Ibid., 106.

it is reported in *Mīzān al-i'tidāl* that Bundār while narrating the Ḥadīth of 'Awf told people that he believes in determinism, is a *rāfiḍī* and a devil. [1105]

Raḥmānī also refers to the fact that Imām Muslim in the introduction to his *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* has regarded 'Awf as trustworthy, but at the same time has said that the narratives reported by him are not as sound as the ones reported by some other of his contemporaries.

Raḥmānī goes on to assert that since from this narrative the view of the masses of the Shiites[1106] (as opposed to their scholars) receives support and since the only person to report this narrative from Ibn 'Abbās is a Shiite, hence in accordance with the principle[1107] coined by Ḥadīth authorities, this narrative shall not be accepted especially when it is against authentic Aḥādīth and established facts.

———————

Before I analyze the information presented on the two suspect narrators 'Awf and Yazīd by Raḥmānī and Shākir, consider the following additional information on these two narrators.

i. The claim that Yazīd al-Fārisī is present in the chains of narration of all the variant texts is not accurate. The texts quoted by al-Ṭaḥāwī in his *Sharḥ ma'ānī al-āthār*,[1108] al-Bayhaqī in his *Dalā'il al-nubuwwah*[1109] and by the author of *Kitāb al-mabānī*[1110] have the name Yazīd al-Raqqāshī instead in their chains of narration.

1105. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 8, 148.
1106. That there has been some *taḥrīf* in the arrangement of verses and *sūrahs* of the Qur'ān by the Companions.
1107. A narrative which lends support to the beliefs of a person guilty of religious innovation shall not be accepted. See, for example: Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Kifāyah fī 'ilm al-riwāyah*, 46.
1108. Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ ma'ānī al-āthār*, vol. 1, 201.
1109. Al-Bayhaqī's *Dalā'il al-nubuwwah*, vol. 7, 152-154
1110. Arthur Jeffery, ed., *Muqaddimatān*, 40-41.

Regarding the existence of Yazīd al-Raqqāshī in the chain of narration, the following comments of al-Tirmidhī have already been referred to:

And Yazīd al-Fārisī has narrated some narratives from Ibn 'Abbās and it has been said that he is Yazīd ibn Hurmuz and Yazīd al-Raqqāshī is in fact Yazīd ibn Abān al-Raqqāshī, and he has not met Ibn 'Abbās. He has narrated from Anas ibn Mālik and both of them belong to Baṣrah and Yazīd al-Fārisī lived much earlier than Yazīd al-Raqqāshī.[1111]

In other words, according to al-Tirmidhī, the name of Yazīd al-Raqqāshī has been erroneously placed here by some narrators. The person who does exist in the chain is Yazīd al-Fārisī.[1112]

ii. As far as 'Awf ibn Jamīlah is concerned, besides the *jarḥ* quoted on him by Raḥmānī, I have already some more *jarḥ* on him by authorities at the end of chapter 2 while analyzing the collection of Qur'ān attributed to 'Umar.

Al-'Uqaylī has also mentioned him in his *al-Ḍu'afā'*.[1113]

iii. Yazīd al-Fārisī

Ibn Ḥajar records:

Yazīd al-Fārisī al-Baṣrī is *maqbūl*.[1114]

iv. Yazīd ibn Hurmuz

Besides al-Bukhārī, (as referred to earlier), Abū Ḥātim also regards Yazīd ibn Hurmuz to be a suspect narrator:

Abū Ḥātim has called Yazīd ibn Hurmuz a Madinite jurist and said that he is

---

1111. Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 5, 272, (no. 3086).
1112. It might also be of some interest to note here that many authorities have regarded Yazīd al-Raqqāshī to be a very weak and untrustworthy narrator. See, for example: Ibn 'Adī, *Al-Kāmil fī al-ḍu'afā' al-rijāl*, vol. 7, 257; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Al-Majrūḥīn*, vol. 3, 98; Al-Nasā'ī, *Al-Ḍu'afā'*, 110; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 11, 270.
1113. Al-'Uqaylī, *Al-Ḍu'afā'*, vol. 3, 429.
1114. Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 606.

laysa bi qawī.[1115]

However, among those who regard him to be trustworthy are Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn, Abū Zurʿah, Ibn Saʿd, Ibn Ḥibbān and al-ʿIjlī.[1116]

On the basis of the above information, the credibility of ʿAwf and Yazīd is now analyzed:

i. ʿAwf ibn Abī Jamīlah

The overall *jarḥ* on ʿAwf seems to be strong.

ii. Yazīd

There can be three possibilities regarding who Yazīd is:

   a. Yazīd al-Raqqāshī

   b. Yazīd al-Fārisī

   c. Yazīd ibn Hurmuz

It is highly unlikely that he is Yazīd al-Raqqāshī as pointed out earlier by al-Tirmidhī. Moreover, if anyone does insist on his name, then a vast number of *rijāl* authorities have regarded him to be a suspect narrator as pointed out earlier.

If Yazīd al-Fārisī is Yazīd ibn Hurmuz as contended by some authorities,[1117] then since Yazīd ibn Hurmuz has been regarded suspect by al-Bukhārī and Abū Ḥātim (see above), two very respectable Ḥadīth authorities, the *jarḥ* on him seems strong even though authorities like Ibn Saʿd, Abū Zurʿah and Yaḥyā ibn Maʿīn have regarded him as trustworthy.

1115. Al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, vol. 7, 263.

1116. For details, see for example: Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vol. 7, 444; Al-ʿIjlī, *Maʿrifah al-thiqāt*, vol. 2, 370; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 11, 323.

1117. This is the opinion of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Mahdī as referred to earlier. It may be noted that al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī is of the opinion that Abū Mūsā Muḥammad ibn al-Muthannā and Ibn Saʿd also subscribe to this view. See: Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Muwaḍḍiḥ awhām al-jamʿ wa al-tafrīq*, vol. 1, 338.

If Yazīd al-Fārisī is distinct from Yazīd ibn Hurmuz,[1118] then the weakness in Yazīd al-Fārisī, as pointed out by Raḥmānī, lies in the fact that *muḥaddithūn* like al-Bukhārī and Muslim have not accepted narratives from him. Ibn Ḥajar has used the word *maqbūl*.[1119] Aḥmad Shākir and Dr Qal'ajī say that he is *majhūl*.[1120]

One can conclude on the basis of the above analysis that the weakness of the two narrators: 'Awf and Yazīd seems to be reasonably established.

Al-Bānī, without citing any reasons has classed the narrative as *ḍa'īf*.[1121]

Another point worthy of note is that Aḥmad Shākir also points out that in the Bulāq edition of al-Tirmidhī (2:182-183), the words quoted by al-Tirmidhī are *ḥasanun ṣaḥīḥun* and says that the addition *ṣaḥīḥun* is incorrectly attributed to al-Tirmidhī because in the authentic editions and manuscripts of al-Tirmidhī[1122] these words are not found. He also refers to the fact that al-Suyūṭī,[1123] al-

---

1118. This is the opinion of Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān and Abū Ḥātim as referred to earlier. It may be pertinent to mention here that al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī adds the name of Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn and 'Amr ibn 'Alī to this list. See: Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Muwaḍḍiḥ awhām al-jam' wa al-tafrīq*, vol. 1, 339. Moreover, al-Mizzī also regards the two to be distinct. See: al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, vol. 32, 287. Among scholars of current times, Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf also holds this opinion. See: Abū 'Īsā Muḥammad ibn 'Īsa al-Tirmidhī, *Al-Jāmi' al-kabīr*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf, 2nd ed. vol. 5 (Beirut: Dār al-gharb al-islāmī, 1998), 167.

1119. Ibn Ḥajar places the narrator who is called *maqbūl* in the sixth *ṭabaqah* and describes him thus: He narrates very few narratives and there is nothing concrete that rejects his narratives. If a narrative reported by him is corroborated by some other narrator as well, then he is termed *maqbūl* and if this corroboration does not exist, then he is called *layyin al-ḥadīth*. See: Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 73.

1120. Aḥmad Shākir, *Sharḥ musnad Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 1, 332; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al-nubuwwah*, ed. Dr 'Abd al-Mu'ṭī al-Qala'jī, 2nd ed., vol. 7 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 2002), 154.

1121. See: Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad Nāsir al-Dīn ibn Nūḥ ibn Najātī ibn Ādam al-Bānī, *Ḍa'īf Sunan Abī Dā'ūd*, 2nd ed., (Riyāḍ: Maktabah al-ma'ārif li al-nashr wa al-tawzī', 2000), 66.

1122. In this regard, Aḥmad Shākir refers to the editions edited by a Madīnan authority of Ḥadīth, Muḥammad 'Ābid al-Sindī. It may also be noted that Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf has pointed out the absence of this addition in the following three texts of al-Tirmidhī: i. Al-Mizzī's *Tuḥfah al-ashrāf*, ii. the text published in Lucknow, India in 1892 and iii. the text published in Delhi, India from 1341-1353 AH. See: Al-Tirmidhī, *Al-Jāmi' al-kabīr*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf, vol. 5, 167.

1123. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Durr al-manthūr*, vol. 4, 119.

Mundhirī[1124] and the text of al-Tirmidhī found in 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥaddith Mubārakpūrī's commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Tirmidhī*[1125] have only recorded the word *ḥasanuṇ*.[1126]

Others who have pointed out this anonymity of Yazīd al-Fārisī include al-Zurqānī, Qaṭṭān, Shu'ayb al-Urna'ūt and Dr 'Abd al-Mu'ṭī.[1127]

IV. Further Criticism

Following is a shortened schematic illustration of the chain of narration of the narrative:[1128]

'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās

↓

Yazīd al-Fārisī

↓

'Awf ibn Abī Jamīlah

↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓
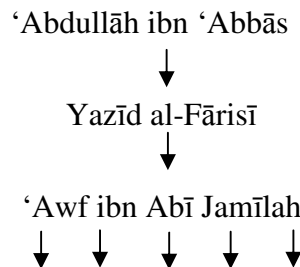
According to al-Tirmidhī,[1129] this narrative is solely reported by one individual each after Ibn 'Abbās. In other words, the narrative is technically *gharīb*.

A *gharīb* narrative on such an important issue of the Qur'ān casts doubt on the authenticity of its contents.

Secondly, the narrative speaks of certain categories of *sūrahs*: the *sab' ṭuwal*, *mi'īn* and *mathānī*. Nowhere is this division defined by either the Qur'ān or by

---

1124. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Aẓīm ibn 'Abd al-Qawī al-Mundhirī, *Mukhtaṣar Abī Dā'ūd*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 2001), 279.

1125. This refers to the text published in Delhi, India from 1341-1353 AH, as pointed out above.

1126. For details, see: Aḥmad Shākir, *Sharḥ musnad Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 1, 332.

1127. See: Al-Zurqānī, *Manāhil*, vol. 1, 254; 152; Mannā' al-Qaṭṭān, *Mabāḥith fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 2nd ed. (Riyāḍ: Maktabah al-ma'ārif li al-nashr wa al-tawzī', 1996), 144; Al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*, vol. 3, 403-404; Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al-nubuwwah*, ed. Dr 'Abd al-Mu'ṭī al-Qala'jī, vol. 7, 153-154.

1128. For a complete schematic illustration of this narrative, see: Appendix E.

1129. The words are: قال أبو عيسى هذا حديث حسن صحيح لا نعرفه إلا من حديث عوف عن يزيد الفارسي عن بن عباس. Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 5, 272.

any sound narrative attributed to the Prophet. While it can be concluded from the name *mi'īn* that it implies *sūrahs* which have about a hundred verses, there is nothing decisive on the basis of which one can conclude what *mathānī sūrahs* are.[1130] Thus, for example, in the opinion of al-Bayhaqī, they are *sūrahs* which have less than hundred verses, but more than those of the *mufaṣṣal sūrahs*.[1131] According to al-Farrā', they are called *mathānī* because they are read more than the *ṭuwal* and the *mi'īn sūrahs*.[1132] Al-Suyūṭī has recorded another opinion about the reason for them being called *mathānī*: they form a pair to the *mi'īn sūrahs*.[1133] In the opinion of al-Nikzāwī,[1134] they are called so because in them anecdotes are repeated for the sake of teaching a lesson and for informing us. In *Jamāl al-qurrā'*,[1135] *mathānī* are *sūrahs* in which anecdotes are repeated. Still another opinion recorded by al-Suyūṭī[1136] is that *mathānī* is a name applied to the Qur'ān as a whole and also to Sūrah al-Fātiḥah.

Authorities also differ about the connotation of *sab' ṭuwal* (the seven long *sūrahs*). According to al-Suyūṭī,[1137] one group believes that the first of these is Sūrah al-Baqarah and the last is Sūrah al-Barā'ah.[1138] Another opinion recorded

---

1130. It has already been observed in chapter five that according to Ibn Ashtah's *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, the *mathānī sūrahs* in the *muṣḥaf* of Ibn Mas'ūd begin with Sūrah al-Aḥzāb, the thirty third *sūrah* in the current sequence. See: Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 224.

1131. Al-Bayhaqī, *Shu'ab al-īmān*, vol. 2, 466. According to al-Suyūṭī, *mufaṣṣal sūrahs* are called so since there are a lot of divisions between the *sūrahs* because of the *basmalah*. They are placed after the *mathānī sūrahs*. According to one opinion cited by al-Suyūṭī, the *mufaṣṣal sūrahs* begin with Sūrah Qāf and end with Sūrah al-Nās. See: Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 221. It has already been observed in chapter five that according to Ibn Ashtah's *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, the *mufaṣṣal sūrahs* in the *muṣḥaf* of Ibn Mas'ūd begin with Sūrah al-Raḥmān, the fifty fifth *sūrah* in the current sequence. See: Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 224.

1132. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 220.

1133. Ibid.

1134. Ibid.

1135. Ibid.

1136. Ibid.

1137. Ibid.

1138. Obviously, this group would be treating Sūrah al-Barā'ah and Sūrah al-Anfāl to be one, otherwise the count would come out to be eight. Thus a reference to this scheme

by al-Suyūṭī is that a narrative from Ibn ʿAbbās reported by al-Ḥākim and al-Nasāʾī says that the *sabʿ ṭuwal* are: al-Baqarah, Āl-i ʿImrān, al-Nisāʾ, al-Māʾidah, al-Anʿām, al-Aʿrāf. The narrator forgot the seventh.[1139] In a narrative from Saʿīd ibn Jubayr[1140] reported by Ibn Abī Ḥātim and others and in a narrative from Ibn ʿAbbās,[1141] the seventh is Sūrah Yūnus, while according to a narrative in the book of al-Ḥakīm, it is Sūrah al-Kahf.[1142]

V. Conclusion

The objections on the text and chain of the narrative do not render it worthy of any consideration.

———————————

is given by al-Qurṭubī. See: Al-Qurṭubī, *Jāmiʿ al-aḥkām*, vol. 10, 55.
 1139. Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān*, vol. 14, 52.
 1140. Ibid.
 1141. Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Durr al-manthūr*, vol. 5, 96.
 1142. Ibid.

Chapter 8

General Conclusions

This thesis has attempted to show how Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Farāhī has shed new light on the collection of the Qur'ān in the light of the Qur'ān itself. It has also presented historical material which stands in line with this account of the Qur'ān and also analyzed some major narratives related to the collection of the Qur'ān which seem to stand in contradiction to this account.

According to al-Farāhī, the Qur'ān clearly says that its text was finalized and collected in the lifetime of the Prophet. This task was not left to his successors. History also shows how this task was accomplished. The Prophet never left any officially compiled codex of the Qur'ān nor any group of officially appointed memorizers as repositories of the Qur'ān. Instead a unique way was adopted: the Qur'ānic text was transferred as a living tradition among the Muslims. Companions wrote out their own copies and also memorized it. The Qur'ān was transmitted both in the oral and in the written form by a vast majority of these Companions. As Muslim authorities have specified, the mechanism of this transmission was *tawātur* or generation-to-generation transfer.

The collection accounts attributed to each of the first four caliphs Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī, on the other hand, show that the Qur'ān was collected after the demise of the Prophet. As such they are in contradiction to the Qur'ānic account of collection. Moreover, it has been shown that these narratives have

serious flaws in both their *matn* and in their *isnād* and cannot be trusted.

Material regarding the codices of two very close companions of the Prophet: 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd and Ubayy ibn Ka'b has also been analyzed. These codices were said to have a different arrangement of the *sūrahs* as well as some deletions and additions. It is shown that the *matn* and *isnād* of this material is also dubious and cannot be trusted.

A narrative on the placement of Sūrah al-Tawbah and Sūrah al-Anfāl done by 'Uthmān is also analyzed. Once again its *matn* and *isnād* was found to have flaws.

If this historical material is spurious in its details, then the traditional Muslim and Western accounts of Qur'ān collection which are primarily based on material extraneous to the Qur'ān have to be re-assessed and re-evaluated.

Areas of Further Study

There are some other narratives which relate indirectly to the issue of the collection of the Qur'ān. These include:

i. Narratives which say that the Qur'ān has variant readings.

ii. Narratives which relate to certain extraneous verses of the Qur'ān.

iii. Narratives which say that the Qur'ān was revealed on Seven Aḥruf.

iv. Narratives which depict 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd's refusal to hand over his *muṣḥaf* to the 'Uthmānic authorities.

v. Narratives which say that there were errors in the Qur'ān compiled in the time of 'Uthmān.

vi. Narratives which say that the copies of the Qur'ān made by 'Uthmān had discrepancies.

vii. A Narrative which shows that al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf altered the Qur'ān in his

times.

I have left these narratives to a later study. Without this study, the historical analysis conducted in this thesis cannot be regarded as entirely complete.

———————————

Appendices

A. Brief Biographical Sketches of some Contemporary Scholars

B. A Brief Summary of the Views of Radical Western Scholars

C. Glossary of Some *Jarḥ* Terms

D. Surfaces used for Writing in Pre-Islamic Arabia

E. Schematic Illustrations

Appendix A: Brief Biographical Sketches of some Contemporary Scholars

1. Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Farāhī (1863-1930)[1143]

Al-Farāhī was born in 1863[1144] in Phriha (hence the name al-Farāhī), a small village in Azamgarh district (Uttar Pardesh, India). He was a cousin of the famous theologian-historian Shiblī Nuʿmānī (d. 1914), from whom he learnt Arabic. He studied Arabic literature with Fayḍ al-Ḥasan al-Sahāranpūrī (d. 1887), who was considered a master in this field at that time. At the age of twenty one, he took admission in the Aligarh Muslim College to study modern disciplines of knowledge. Here he also learnt Hebrew from the German Orientalist Josef Horovitz (d. 1931). After his graduation from the Allahbad university, he taught at various institutions including Muslim University in Aligarh, Sindh Madrasah al-Islam in Karachi and Dār al-ʿUlūm in Hyderabad.

Whilst teaching in Hyderabad, al-Farāhī proposed the setting up of a university where all religious and modern sciences would be taught in Urdu. Later, his vision materialized in 1919 in the form of Jāmiʿah ʿUthmāniyyah, Hyderabad. In 1925, he returned to his home town Azamgarh and took charge of the Madrasah al-Iṣlāḥ. Here, besides managing the affairs of the Madrasah, al-Farāhī devoted most of his time in training a few students. Among them, was Amīn Aḥsan Iṣlāḥī (d. 1997), who was destined to become the greatest exponent of his thought after

---

1143. Expanded from: Mustansir Mir, *Coherence in the Qur'ān, A Study of Naẓm in Tadabbur-i Qur'ān*, 1st ed. (Indianapolis: American Trust Publications, 1986), 6-9.
1144. Sharf al-Dīn Iṣlāḥī, *Dhikr-i Farāhī*, 1st ed. (Lahore: Dār al-tadhkīr, 2002), 68.

him. Al-Farāhī died on 11th November 1930 in Mathra, where he had gone for treatment.

For almost fifty years, al-Farāhī reflected over the Qur'an, which remained his chief interest and the focal point of all his writings. He stressed that the Qur'ān should be practically regarded as the *mīzān* (the scale that weighs the truth) and the *furqān* (the distinguisher between good and evil), a status which it invests on itself.

Al-Farāhī also made another significant contribution by rewriting and reconstructing most sub-disciplines of the Arabic language needed to study the Qur'ān.

Almost all of al-Farāhī's works are in Arabic. Except for a few, most of them are in the form of notes and unfinished books. He could only complete a few of them. Foremost among them is a collection of his interpretation of fourteen *sūrahs* of the Qur'ān by the name *Tafsīr niẓām al-Qur'ān wa tā'wīl al-Furqān bi al-Furqān*. In his *Mufradāt al-Qur'ān*, he explained some difficult words and constructions of the Qur'ān. He elucidated the nature of oaths and adjurations in the Qur'ān in his book entitled *al-Im'ān fī aqsām al-Qur'ān*. In his book, *al-Rā'y al-ṣaḥīḥ fī man huwa al-dhabīḥ*, he elaborated upon the philosophy of sacrifice and by furnishing evidence from the Qur'ān and the Torah attempted to refute the claim of the Jews that it was Isaac whom Abraham had intended to sacrifice not lshmael. He re-laid the principles of rhetoric needed to study the Qur'ān in *Jamhurah al-balāghah* and outlined some special Qur'ānic styles and constructions in *Asālīb al-Qur'ān*. The arguments he presented to verify the principle of coherence are soundly enlisted in *Dalā'il al-niẓām*. His complete mastery of Arabic and Persian can be seen from his poetical works in both these

languages.

Besides these scholarly dissertations, there are at least twenty other unfinished works which need to be completed and developed further.

2. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Raḥmānī (1871-1959)

‘Abd al-Laṭīf Raḥmānī was born in 1871 in India. After receiving his early education in Islamic disciplines from Mawlānā Aḥmad Ḥasan Kānpūrī and Mawlānā Luṭfullāh, he came under the tutelage of the great scholar Faḍl al-Raḥmān Ganj Murādābādī (d. 1313 AH) and studied Ḥadīth with him. After his death, he became a student of Muftī Muḥammad ‘Alī Mungayrī (d. 1944), who was the administrator of Dār al-‘Ulūm at Nadwah. He went to offer Ḥajj with him in 1324 AH and taught at the Madrasah Ṣawlatiyyah in Makkah. He became the chief lecturer (*ṣadr mudarris*) of Dār al-‘Ulūm at Nadwah in 1899. In 1917, he was deputed as a lecturer at the ‘Uthmāniyyah University in Hyderabad, India. He died in 1959 at Aligarh.

Besides *Tārīkh al-Qur’ān* (first published in 1919), his works include a biography of Abū Ḥanīfah by the name *Tadhkirah ‘Azam* (1914). He also wrote books for students on *nahw* (syntax) and *ṣarf* (morphology). During his stay at Hyderabad, he wrote a commentary on *Jāmi‘ Tirmidhī* by the name *Al-Sharḥ al-Laṭīf* and a commentary on the *tarājum* of *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī* called *Luṭf al-Bārī*. These commentaries are yet to be published; their complete manuscripts exist.[1145]

1145. This biographical note is based on the information provided in the foreword of the book *Tārīkh al-Qur’ān* written by Abū al-Ḥasan Zayd Fārūqī. See: Raḥmānī, *Tārīkh al-Qur’ān*, 12-15.

3. Tamannā ‘Imādī (1884-1972)

He was born in 1884 in Phulwārī, a town of the Bihār province in India. He completed the traditional education of the Dars-i Niẓāmī. His poetry in Urdu and Persian, especially eulogies of the Prophet earned him the title of *Ḥassān al-Hind* from his teacher Shāh Rashīd al-Ḥaq. He was also well versed in prosody.

He was particularly adept in the science of *rijāl*.

He died in 1972 in Karachi at the ripe old age of 88 in very trying circumstances.

Besides *Jam‘ al-Qur’ān*, his other published works include:

i. *Imām Zuhrī and Imām Ṭabarī*

ii. *I‘jāz al-Qur’ān*

iii. *Al-Ṭalāq-u marratān*

iv. *Intizār-i Mahdī-u Masīḥ*

4. Abū al-Qāsim Musawi al-Khū’ī[1146] (1899-1992)

Al-Khū’ī was born in Azerbaijan, Iran in 1899 and passed away in Najaf, ‘Irāq on August 8, 1992. Educated in the established traditional way of Shiite Theology by well known jurists, he joined the world-renowned theological institution in the holy city of Najaf in 1912, the year he migrated from Iran. At an early age, he attained the degree of *ijtihād*, which bestowed on him the title ‘Āyatullāh’.

He taught in Najaf for over 70 years. He is considered as the architect of a distinct school of thought in the principles of jurisprudence and Islamic law, and one of the leading exponents of *kalām*, *rijāl* studies, the Prophetic traditions,

---

1146. Adapted from http://al-khoei.org/khoei.asp. Accessed on 21 April 2009.

jurisprudence and exegesis of the Qur'ān. He was a prolific writer in the aforesaid disciplines. He wrote 37 books and treatises, most of which have been published. Some of his important works include:

    i.   Lectures on the Principles of Jurisprudence (10 volumes)

    ii. *Mu'jam al-rijāl al-ḥadīth* (24 volumes)

    iii. Islamic Law (18 volumes)

    iv. *Al-Bayān fi tafsīr al-Qur'ān*

_____

Appendix B: A Brief Summary of the Views of Radical Western Scholars

In the typology introduced by me in the introduction to this dissertation, radical western scholars were categorized as those who totally reject the Muslim accounts of Qur'ān collection by re-interpreting the early history of Islam. Prominent among these scholars include Alphonso Mingana (d. 1937), Gunther Luling (b. 1928), Christoph Luxenberg, John Wansbrough (d. 2002), Yehuda Nevo (d. 1992) and John Burton (d. 2001). A brief summary of their views follows.

Under the influence of the French scholar Paul Casanova[1147] (d. 1926), Alphonso Mingana[1148] concludes that the Qur'ān was given a final shape in the times of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān. While regarding Muslim sources on the accounts of collection as unreliable and contradictory, he focuses on some non-Muslims sources of those times which do not mention the presence of the Qur'ān among Muslims. He primarily draws on the 9th century *Apology* of the Christian faith written by al-Kindy at Māmūn's court which describes an account of the collection of the Qur'ān. As per this account, the Qur'ān was finalized by al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, the powerful lieutenant of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān who "caused to be omitted from the text a great many passages. Amongst these, they say, were verses revealed concerning the House of Omeyya with the names of

---

1147. Paul Casanova, *Mohamed et la fin du monde etude critique sur l'Islam primitif* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1911), 141-142.

1148. Alphonse Mingana, 'The Transmission of the Qur'ān,' *The Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society* 6 (1915-1916): 25-47.

certain, and concerning the House of 'Abbās also with names."[1149] Besides this,

he also refers to some other accounts which are also devoid of any mention of the

Muslim scriptural book.[1150]

Gunther Luling (b. 1928), uses philology to re-discover the Ur-Qur'ān in his

work *Uber den Ur-Qur'ān: Ansatze zur Rekonstruktion vorislamischer*

christlicher Strophenlieder im Qur'ān, 1st ed. Erlangen: Luling, 1974 which has

recently been translated and developed as *A Challenge to Islam for Reformation*.

In his opinion, the Qur'ān has four textual strata. The first stratum which is the

original text is a strophic hymnal composed by the Christians of Makkah which

comprised both Trinitarians and non-Trinitarians and these were written at least a

century before Muḥammad. The second stratum consists of passages from that

hymnal which were edited and Islamized in Muḥammad's time. The third stratum

contains sections which were exclusively written in the time of Muḥammad. The

fourth stratum are sections altered by later scholars during the process of

orthographic editing. In a nutshell, the Qur'ān, in the opinion of Luling, is the

product of several textual revisions.[1151]

Christoph Luxenberg also uses philology to re-interpret the original text of the

Qur'ān. His basic thesis is that Syro-Aramaic was the *lingua franca* of Arabia in

---

1149. William Muir, ed., *The Apology of Al-Kindy*, 2nd ed. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1887), 77.

1150. These include: i) the dialogue that took place in Syria between 'Amr ibn al-'Ās and the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch John I in 18 AH (9th May 639 AD). This dialogue was reported by the patriarch and his companion bishops to the Christians of Mespotamia, ii) the letter written in the early part of the 'Uthmān's reign by Isho'yahb III, the patriarch of Seleucia when he was the bishop of Nineveh and iii) the chronicle of John Bar Penkaye about the early Arab conquests written around 690 AD in the time of the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik ibn al-Marwān.

1151. Summarized from: Gabriel Said Reynolds, 'Introduction: Qur'ānic Studies and its Controversies,' in *The Qur'ān in its Historical Context* ed. Gabriel Said Reynolds, 1st ed. (Oxford: Routledge, 2007), 9-11; Harald Motzki, Alternative Accounts on the Qur'ān's Formation in *The Cambridge Companion to the Qur'ān*, ed. Jane Dammen Mcauliffe, 1st ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 65-67.

the 7th century and was replaced by Arabic much later by Arabs bred in this Syro-Aramaic culture. The Qur'ān he concluded was a mixture of Arabic and Syro-Aramaic words (*aramaisch-arabische Mischsprache*). In his *Die syro-aramäische Lesart des Koran: Ein Beitrag zur Entschlüsselung der Koransprache* (2000) recently translated into English as *The Syro-Aramaic Reading of the Koran: A Contribution to the Decoding of the Language of the Koran*, 1st ed. Berlin: Verlag Hans Schiler, 2007, he tries to demonstrate that many of the words and passages of the Qur'ān if interpreted as Syro-Aramaic words give a much more appropriate and meaningful interpretation to the text.

Yehuda De Nevo (d. 1992) relying on numismatics, epigraphic evidence and archaeological findings in the Negev Desert in Jordan reconstructs the early history of Islam. Disregarding traditional accounts of early Islamic history, he is of the opinion that the paganism alleged to be found in Ḥijāz in the age of ignorance was actually a back-projection of the paganism found in Negev in the time of Abbasids. This is to couple the fact that archaeological researches show no trace of Jewish settlements in Khaybar and other parts of Arabia where they were thought to exist. He writes: 'From the fact that the Qur'ān contains many phrases present in the Muslim inscriptions of the second century AH and later, but absent from inscriptions of Hishām's days or earlier, I would conclude that it was canonized quite late, ie. after these phrases had entered the religious vocabulary.'[1152]

John Wansbrough (d. 2002) working axiomatically on the findings of Joseph Schacht (d. 1969) regarding Ḥadīth, dismisses the reports on the collection of the Qur'ān as historically un-reliable. He bases his studies as Motzki puts it on 'a form-

---

1152. Y. D. Nevo, 'Towards a Pre-History of Islam,' Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam, 17 (1994), 125-126.

critical study of the Qur'ān and Muslim exegetical literature.'[1153] In Wansbrough's view, 'the structure itself of Muslim scripture lends little support to the theory of a deliberate edition. Particularly in the *exempla* of salvation history, characterized by variant traditions, but also in passages of exclusively paraenetic or eschatological content, ellipsis and repetition are such as to suggest not the carefully executed project of one or of many men, but rather the product of organic development from originally independent traditions during a long period of transmission.'[1154] While commenting upon the schemata of revelation, he says that they 'include a number of conventions typically employed to introduce the major themes of the Qur'ānic theodicy. Exhibiting a comparatively limited lexical range, those formulae serve to confirm the impression of a composition made of originally unrelated pericopes.'[1155] He traces the chronological development of early (pre-Ṭabarī) Muslim exegetical literature to show that it reflected the needs of the emerging Muslim community. It produced in his words 'the following exegetical typology: 1) Haggadic, 2) Halakhic, 3) Masoretic, 4) Rhetoric and 5) Allegoric.'[1156] By employing an *argumentum e silentio*, he concludes that it was not before the period of the Masoretic exegesis that the scripture was canonized since the Haggadic and the Halakhic exegeses contain no reference to a stable standard text. This meant

---

1153. Harald Motzki, 'The Collection of the Qur'ān: A Reconsideration of Western Views in the Light of Recent Methodological Developments,' *Der Islam* 78 (2001): 11.

1154. John Wansbrough, *Qur'ānic Studies, Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation*, 1ˢᵗ ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 47.

1155. Ibid., 12.

1156. Ibid., 119. Herbert Berg, has explained these categories thus: 'The first, haggadic exegesis (narrative) is typified by the use of Prophetic tradition, identification and anecdote. The second, halakhic (legal) exegesis uses analogy, abrogation and circumstance of revelation (though narrative often is used to provide a chronological framework for apparently contradictory Qur'ānic passages). The third, masoretic exegesis employs the variant readings of the Qur'ān, poetic exemplifications and lexical and grammatical explanations.' See: Herbert Berg, 'The Implication of, and Opposition to, the Methods and Theories of John Wansbrough,' *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 9 (1997): 3-5.

that the Muslim community, which in his opinion actually developed outside Arabia in Abbasid 'Irāq, remained without a *ne varietur* text of the Qur'ān until the end of 2nd century AH. The standard text emerged from an oral transmission of Prophetic logia and in his words the 'establishment of a standard text such as is implied by the 'Uthmānic recension traditions can hardly have been earlier.'[1157] In support of his thesis, he also tries to substantiate that the classical Arabic (poetic *koinē*) in which the Qur'ān is couched developed in the early 3rd century.

John Burton, like Wansbrough takes the conclusions of Goldziher-Schacht regarding Ḥadīth as the starting part of this inquiry[1158] and concludes that the narratives of the collection of the Qur'ān in the times of Abū Bakr and 'Uthmān were concocted by legal scholars in wordings which reflected an incomplete redaction of the Qur'ān. The motive behind giving an impression of an incomplete redaction was to justify certain legal views they held: they contended the source of their views were certain extraneous verses of the Qur'ān which were originally part of the *Urtext*. 'This motive induced the Muslims to exclude their Prophet from the history of the collection of their Qur'ān texts. It was a compelling motive. It was their only motive.'[1159]

A prominent example of such an extraneous verse being the stoning verse, which though not found in the Qur'ān is held to be still operational though its reading has been suppressed (*mansūkh al-tilāwah dūn al-ḥukm*). Central to Burton's thesis is the issue of abrogation which had occupied early *uṣūl* scholars. His conclusion in the wake of the fabricated reports on the collection of the Qur'ān is very simple but compelling: 'What we have today in our hands is the

---

1157. John Wansbrough, *Qur'ānic Studies*, 44.
1158. John Burton, *The Collection of the Qur'ān*, 1st ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 5-6.
1159. Ibid., 232.

muṣḥaf of Muḥammad.'[1160]

In more recent times, Michael Cook (b. 1940) and Patricia Crone (b. 1945), both students of Wansbrough, have postulated an alternative account for the rise of Islam. Like their mentor, they also place the final canonization of the Qur'ān at a much later date than alleged by Muslim scholars. Basing their conclusion on archaeological findings and non-Islamic sources, they assert that except for one implicit piece of evidence, there is no proof for the existence of the Qur'ān before the end of the 7th century AH. In their words, the Qur'ān 'is strikingly lacking in overall structure, frequently obscure and inconsequential in both language and content, perfunctory in its linking of disparate materials, and given to the repetition of whole passages in variant versions. On this basis it can plausibly be argued that the book is the product of belated and imperfect editing of materials from a plurality of traditions.'[1161]

As indicated in the introduction to this thesis, a critical analysis of the views of radical Western scholarship is beyond the scope of this study.[1162]

———————————

1160. Ibid., 239-240.

1161. Patricia Crone and Michael Cook, *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 18.

1162. For a critique on these views, see: Fred M. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing*, 1st ed., New Jersey: The Darwin Press, 1998.

Appendix C: Glossary of Some *Jarḥ* Terms

1. Layyin al-Ḥadīth

Al-Dāraquṭanī says that he uses this term to refer to a narrator who does not become forsaken or *matrūk al-ḥadīth* (*lā yakūnu sāqiṭaṇ matrūk al-ḥadīth*) but impugns him with a defect which does not besmear his probity (*majrūḥuṇ bi shay' lā yusqiṭu 'an al-'adālah*).[1163]

Ibn Abī Ḥātim uses it to mean that his narratives will be written and used as additional evidence (*shawāhid or mutābi'āt*) (*yuktabu ḥadīthuhū wa yunẓaru fīhī i'tibāraṇ*).[1164]

In the opinion of Nāyif, this refers to the fact that the narrator suffers from a weak memory.[1165]

2. Da'īf al-Ḥadīth[1166]

This is an incomprehensive (*mujmal*) *jarḥ* and requires more qualifying attributes to see what it refers to at different instances.

At times, it refers to a person who is less in status to a person whose narratives can be adduced from (*dūna man yuḥtajju bi ḥadīthihī*) for example because of his bad memory; however, he is one whose narratives can be used as additional evidence (*yu'tabaru bihī*).

1163. Al-Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-Mughīth*, vol. 1, 372.
1164. Ibn Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddimah*, 124.
1165. 'Alī ibn Nāyif, *Al-Khulāṣah fī 'ilm al-jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl* (n.p.: n.d.), 312.
1166. Summarized from 'Alī ibn Nāyif, *Al-Khulāṣah*, 326.

At times, it refers to a person who is so weak that his narratives are not worthy of being written (*al-majrūḥ al-shadīd al-ḍu'f lā yakādu yuktabu ḥadīthuhū*) and at times to a person who is so weak that his narratives should be forsaken (*alladhī yablughu ḥadīthuhū al-tark*).

Al-Sakhāwī records that in the opinion of Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn this term refers to a person who is not trustworthy and whose narratives cannot be written (*laysa huwa bi thiqah wa lā yuktabu ḥadīthuhū*).[1167]

3. Matrūk al-Ḥadīth[1168]

According to 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Mahdī when Shu'bah was asked to explain who a person whose narratives were abandoned (*alladhī yutraku ḥadīthuhū*) was? His reply was: a person who is blamed of lying (*man yuttahamu bi al-kadhib*), who makes many mistakes (*man yukthiru al-ghalaṭ*), who errs in a narrative which is agreed upon by all and still does not blame himself for this error and remains adamant on his mistake and a person who narrates from known people what these known people do not even know (*rawa 'an al-ma'rūfīn ma lā ya'rifuhu al-ma'rūfūn*).

In the opinion of Aḥmad ibn Ṣāliḥ, the narratives of a person should not be abandoned until all the authorities agree on his rejection.[1169]

Abū Ghuddah says that at times, in the expression *tarakahū fulān* the *tark* (abandoning of narratives) is not used as a term; it means that someone stopped writing from such and such a person.[1170]

Ibn Ṣalāḥ says that when authorities say that someone is *matrūk al-ḥadīth* or

---

1167. Al-Khaṭīb, *Al-Kifāyah*, 22.
1168. Al-Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-Mughīth*, vol. 1, 370.
1169. 'Abū Ghuddah 'Abd al-Fattāḥ (ed.), 'Abd al-Ḥayy Lakhnawī, *Al-Raf' wa al-takmīl fī al-jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl*, 8th ed. (Beirut: Dār bashā'ir al-islāmiyyah, 2004), 140-141.
1170. Ibid., 153.

dhāhib al-ḥadīth or *kadhdhāb*, then he is someone who is unreliable and whose narratives cannot be written (*fa huwa sāqiṭ al-ḥadīth lā yuktabu ḥadīthuhū*).[1171]

4. Munkar al-Ḥadīth

In the opinion of the majority, this term refers to a *ḍaʿīf* narrator whose narrations contradict the narrations of *thiqah* narrators.[1172]

In the opinion of Ibn Ḥajar, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal uses this term to refer to a narrator who narrates a report which is not narrated by his contemporaries (*man yughribu ʿalā aqrānihī bi al-ḥadīth*).[1173]

According to Ibn al-Qaṭṭān, al-Bukhārī himself specifies that when he uses this term, he refers to a person from whom narration is forbidden (*lā taḥillu al-riwāyah ʿanhū*).[1174]

Al-Sakhāwī[1175] says that, at times, this term is used to refer to a *thiqah* person who narrates *manākīr* from *al-ḍuʿafāʾ*.

He[1176] also says that many a time this term is used for a narrator who has narrated just one narrative.

Al-Sakhāwī[1177] records the opinion of Ibn Daqīq that this attribute refers to a person who is worthy of being abandoned because of his narratives (*waṣfuṇ fī al-rajul yastaḥiqqu bihī al-tark bi ḥadīthihī*).

5. Wāhī al-Ḥadīth

When Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān asked Sufyān al-Thawrī, Sufyān ibn ʿUyaynah,

---

1171. Ibn Ṣalāh, *Muqaddimah*, 126.

1172. Zafar Aḥmad al-ʿUthmānī, *Qawāʿīd fī ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* (Karachi: Idārah al-Qurʾān wa ʿulūm al-islāmiyyah, n.d.), 258-259.

1173. Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī. *Muqaddimah fatḥ al-Bārī* (Beirut: Dār iḥyāʾ al-turāth al-ʿarabī, 1988), 453.

1174. Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vol. 1, 20.

1175. Al-Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-Mughīth*, vol. 1, 373.

1176. Ibid.

1177. Ibid.

Shuʿbah ibn Ḥajjāj and Mālik ibn Anas about a person who is dubbed Wāhī al-Ḥadīth, their unanimous reply was that he is a person who is not reliable (*laysa huwa thabt*) and that Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd should expose him.[1178]

6. Muḍṭarib al-Ḥadīth

A narrator who reports a narrative in one way at one time and then he reports the same narrative at another time in a way that it is conflicting with the first is called *muḍṭarib al-ḥadīth*. Similarly, if two or more narrators report a narrative in a conflicting way, then they are also called *muḍṭarib al-ḥadīth*. This *iḍṭirāb* (conflict) in *matn* can also be found in the *isnād* which means that a narrative is reported once in *muttaṣil* form and at another time in *mursal* form or at one time a narrator is found in a chain of narration and at another the same narrator is suppressed. At times, both types of *iḍṭirāb* (ie. in the *isnād* and in the *matn*) are found at the same time in a narrative.[1179]

7. Laysa bi al-Qawī

Al-Dhahabī[1180] records that if one analyzes the instances in which Abū Ḥātim uses this term, he is referring to a person who is not that reliable (*lām yablugh darajah al-qawī al-thabt*).

Al-Dhahabī goes on to record that al-Nasā'ī calls numerous narrators by this name and still brings their narratives in his book. He quotes al-Nasā'ī who says that this title is not a *jarḥ* which completely damages a narrator (*laysa bi jarḥiṇ mufsidiṇ*)

He further records that at times al-Bukhārī uses it for a narrator who is *ḍaʿīf*.

1178. Al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Khallād Rāmahurmuzī, *Al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil bayn al-rāwī wa al-waʿī*, 3rd ed. (Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 1404), 593-594.

1179. Al-Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-Mughīth*, vol. 1, 373.

1180. Abū ʿAbdullāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿUthmān ibn Qaymaz ibn ʿAbdullāh al-Dhahabī, *Al-Mūqizah fī muṣṭaliḥ al-ḥadīth*, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dār al-bashā'ir al-islāmiyyah, 1405), 82-83.

8. Laysa bi Shay' / Laysa Ḥadīthuhū bi Shay'

According to Ibn Ḥajar, it is a hyperbolic phrase of disparagement for a narrator.[1181] Al-Shāfi'ī uses it for a person who is a liar.[1182] However, according to Ibn al-Qaṭṭān al-Fāsī, at times, Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn uses it for a narrator who has reported very few narratives.[1183] Al-Mundhirī[1184] says that the person about whom these words are said shall be researched into. If some others have regarded this person to be trustworthy and he is a person from whom narratives have been adduced, then the expression *laysa bi shay'* would mean that his narratives have been used as an additional evidence (*yuktabu li al-i'tibār wa al-istishhād*) and not primary. And if he is a person who is notorious for his *ḍu'f* and also none of the authorities has praised him, then *laysa bi shay'* would mean that his narratives can neither be used as primary evidence (*lā yuḥtajju bihī*) nor as additional evidence (*lā yu'tabaru bihī wa lā yustashadu bihī*) and such a person will be appended to the *matrūk* category.

9. Laysa bi Thiqah

In the opinion of Ibn Ḥajar, as a term, this expression entails great weakness (*fī al-iṣṭilāḥ yūjibu al-ḍu'f al-shadīd*).[1185]

10. Laysa bi Dhāka

According to Ibn Nāyif, this expression is used variously.[1186]

   i. It is used for someone who is less in status than *thiqah.*

   ii. It is used for someone who is *ṣadūq* and whose narratives are categorized as

---

1181. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 13, 343.
1182. Al-Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-Mughīth*, vol. 1, 371.
1183. Ibn Ḥajar, *Muqaddimah fatḥ al-Bārī*, 419.
1184. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Aẓīm ibn 'Abd al-Qawī al-Mundhirī, *Risālah fī al-jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl*, 1st ed. (Kuwait: Maktabah dār al-aqṣā, 1406 AH), 55.
1185. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 4, 303.
1186. 'Alī ibn Nāyif, *Al-Khulāṣah*, 317-318.

ḥasan.

iii. It is used for someone whose narratives are accepted as additional evidence and whose soundness is not apparent because he has reported few narratives.

iv. It is used for a person who is *laysa bi qawī* in his narratives and whose narratives are accepted as additional evidence and not primary (*yuʻtabaru bihī wa lā yuḥtajju bihī*).

v. It is used for a person whose *ḍuʻf* is known but he is basically truthful and his narratives are accepted as additional evidence.

11. Laysa bihī Ba's / Lā ba'sa bihī

According to ʻAlī ibn Nāyif,[1187] this expression is used variously:

i. It is used for a person whose narratives can be used as primary evidence. Thus Yaḥyā ibn Maʻīn uses it to refer to someone *thiqah*.[1188]

ii. It is used for a narrator who is *ṣadūq*. He is one whose narratives are written, analyzed and if they are found error-free, then they are used as primary evidence (*yuḥtajju bihī*).

iii. It is used for a person about whom an authority differs from others who have regarded him to be reliable.

iv. It is used for a person whose narratives can only be used as additional evidence.

v. Al-Dāraquṭanī uses it for a person who has few narratives to his credit.

12. Sakatū ʻAnhū

Al-Sakhāwī records that al-Bukhārī uses this expression on most occasions to refer to a narrator whom authorities have abandoned (*fī man tarakūhū*). And that

---

1187. Ibid., 295-297.
1188. Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Kifāyah*, 22.

Ibn Kathīr opined this is the worst and lowest status [of a narrator] in al-Bukhārī's view.[1189]

13. Ṣadūq

Ibn Abī Ḥātim says that when a narrator is regarded to be *ṣadūq* or *maḥalluhū al-ṣidq* or *lā ba'sa bihī*, then he is one whose narratives shall be written and analyzed. Ibn Ṣalāḥ ratifies these remarks and says that the reason for this is that these terms do not depict the sound grasp (*ḍabṭ*) of a narrator. Thus his narratives shall be analyzed and judged to ascertain his grasp. Ibn Ṣalāḥ goes on to say that in the opinion of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Mahdī a person who is *al-ṣadūq* and also has some *ḍu'f*, then he is called *ṣāliḥ al-ḥadīth*.[1190]

14. Yuktabu ḥadīthuhū wa lā yuḥtajju bihī

This is a term specially used by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī. He himself has clarified it in the biographical note on Ibrāhīm ibn Muhājir al-Bajlī. When his son asked him about what he meant by *lā yuḥtajju bihim* (while referring to Ibrāhīm and some others), he replied that these are people who do not have a sound memory and they narrate what they have not memorized and then make mistakes and you will see many discrepancies in their narratives whenever you want.[1191]

Abū Isḥāq al-Ḥawaynī[1192] is of the opinion that what Abū Ḥātim means is that the narrative of such a person will be written as additional evidence and will not be adduced from if it is alone.

1189. Al-Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-Mughīth*, vol. 1, 371.
1190. Ibn Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddimah*, 122-124.
1191. Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Al-Jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl*, vol. 4, 132.
1192. Abū Isḥāq Ḥijāzī ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Sharīf al-Huwaynī, *Badhl al-iḥsān bi taqrīb Sunan al-Nasā'ī Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (n.p.: Maktabah al-tarbiyah al-islāmiyyah, 1990), 23.

Appendix D: Materials for Writing in Pre-Islamic Arabia

a. Surfaces

Sources mention various surfaces on which Qur'ānic revelations were recorded in the times of the Prophet. These surfaces can be classified into the following:

1. Saddle Wood

2. Stone Tablets

3. Bone Tablets

4. Leather

5. Parchments

6. Leaves, Branches, Trunks and Bark of Palm Trees

7. Paper

8. Cloth

9. Dry Clay

Following are some details.

1. Saddle Wood (*Aqtāb*)

Aqtāb is the plural of *qatab* and refers to a small wooden saddle of a camel as big as its hump. It is narrated that besides other material, Zayd ibn Thābit collected the Qur'ān in the time of Abū Bakr from *aqtāb*.[1193] In the time of the Prophet also, he himself would employ this material for writing down the Qur'ān.[1194]

1193. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 15. See also *Al-Ṭabarānī*, *Al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, vol. 5, 146, (no. 4901)

1194. Al-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, vol. 5, 142, (no. 4889). See also: Abū Saʿd al-

2. Stone Tablets (*Likhāf*)

Stone tablets were also used for writing down the Qur'ān. The Arabic word used is *likhāf* which is the plural of *lakhfah* that connotes slender white stones. Narratives mention that Zayd ibn Thābit also collected the Qur'ān from stone tablets.[1195]

Al-Qurṭubī mentions[1196] the word *zurar* which refers to a sharp edged stone. A narrative mentions the word *najāf* which is also a type of stone.[1197]

Ibn Nadīm records that the Arabs would write on the shoulder blades of camels (*aktāf al-ibil*), on thin white stones (*likhāf*) and on the bark of palm trees (*'usub*).[1198]

It would be of interest to note that the Arabs used to call writings and designs on stones as *al-waḥyu* (اَلْوَحْيُ):

Labīd says:[1199]

<div dir="rtl">

فَمَدَافِعُ الرَّيَّانَ عُرِّىَ رَسْمُهَا

خَلَقًا كَمَا ضَمِنَ الوُحِىَّ سِلَامُهَا

</div>

fa madāfi'u al-rayyān 'urriya rasmuhā
khalaqan kamā ḍamin al-wuḥiyya silāmuhā

(Because of the passage of time, the remains of the water-ways of mount *al-rayyān* have grown faint like an old inscription written on rocks.)

Zuhayr says:[1200]

---

al-Sam'ānī, *Adab al-imlā' wa istimlā'*, 77.

1195. Al-Bukhārī, *Al Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 6, 2629, (no: 6768). See also: Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 13; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol 10, 359-362, (no. 4506); Al-Bayhaqī, *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*, vol. 2, 40, (no. 2202). The *Musnad* of Abū Ya'lā mentions the generic name اَلْحِجَارَةُ (stones). Abū Ya'lā, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 66, (no. 64).

1196. Al-Qurṭubī, *Al-Jāmi' li aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1, 49.

1197. Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 5, 283, (no. 3103).

1198. Ibn Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 34.

1199. Labīd ibn Rabī'ah, *Dīwān*, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dār al-ma'rifah, 2004), 107.

1200. Zuhayr ibn Abī Salamah, *Dīwān* (Beirut: Shirkah Dār al-Arqam ibn Abī Arqam,

لِمَنِ الدِّيَارُ غَشِيْتُهَا بِالْفَدْفَدِ

كَلْوَحْيِ فِى حَجَرِ الْمَسِيْل الْمُخْلِدِ

liman al-diyār ghashītuhā bi al-fadfadi
ka al-waḥyi fī ḥajar al-masīl al-mukhlidi

(Whose are the ruins at *al-fadfad* where I went; they are like some marks on the stones of some old water-way.)

3. Shoulder Blades (*Aktāf*)

Narratives record that Zayd in the times of Abū Bakr also collected the Qur'ān from shoulder/scapula bones or *aktāf* of animals in particular camels, horses and sheep.[1201] Similarly, rib bones or *'aḍlā'* of some of these animals would be used for this purpose.[1202] It has already been mentioned with reference to Ibn Nadīm that the Arabs would use the scapula bones of camels for writing.[1203]

A narrative shows that when a certain verse was revealed to the Prophet, he called Zayd to have it written and Zayd came in with a bone tablet to record it.[1204]

Scapula bones were used for writing in general as well. A narrative mentions that the Prophet had called for a scapula bone to write a document.[1205] The tale of the Prophet Joseph was written on a shoulder (scapula) bone and was read out to the Prophet Muhammad.[1206] 'Umar asked the Prophet to inform him of the meaning of the word *kalālah* so that he could write it down on a scapula bone.[1207]

---

n.d.), 27.

1201. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 15; Ibid., 28. See also: Al-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, vol. 5, 146, (no. 4901); Abū Ya'lā, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 72, (no. 71).

1202. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 14.

1203. Ibn Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 34.

1204. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jami' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, 1909, (no. 4704). See also: Ibid., vol. 4, 1677, (no. 4318); Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 4, 191, (no. 1670); Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, vol. 3, 11, (no. 2507).

1205. Muslim, *Al-Jami' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 3, 1259, (no. 1637). See also: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 1, 355, (no. 3336).

1206. 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, vol. 6, 113, (no. 10165).

1207. Ibid., vol. 10, 305, (no. 19194).

4. Leather (Adīm)

The Qur'ān was also written on leather (*adīm*) made after tanning the hides of animals like goats, cattle and sheep.

Evidence of writing on *adīm* can be seen from a narrative in which the Prophet granted peace to Surāqah ibn Mālik by having a statement written down.[1208]

The Prophet wrote a letter on a piece of *adīm* to the kingdom of Aman.[1209]

The Prophet allotted a piece of land to Awfā ibn Mawwālah al-'Anbarī on the condition that he would feed the needy and the traveller from it. This allotment letter was written on a piece of red leather (*adīm aḥmar*).[1210]

Similarly, the Prophet wrote down a writing on white leather (*adīm abyaḍ*) urging Dhū Farrūkh to accept Islam at the request of the latter's brother Salmān ibn Badakhshān who had accepted Islam. It was written down by 'Alī and stamped with the seals of the Prophet, Abū Bakr and 'Alī.[1211]

The Prophet wrote a letter of immunity on *adīm* to Banū Zuhayr ibn 'Aqyash as long as they adhered to Islam.[1212]

The Prophet allotted a piece of land to Rabī', Muṭarrif and Anas at the place of Banū 'Aqīq and wrote down this allotment letter on red leather (*adīm aḥmar*).[1213]

'Umar mentions that he had copied out a book of the People of the Book on *adīm* so that Muslims could benefit from their knowledge. When the Prophet came to know about it, he expressed his anger.[1214]

1208. Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jami' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 3, 1420, (no. 3693). See also: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 4, 175, (no. 17627); Al-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, vol. 7, 132, (no. 6601).
1209. Abū 'Abdullāh Yāqūt ibn 'Abdullāh al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-fikr, n.d.), 461.
1210. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, vol. 4, 214.
1211. Ibn Ḥayyān al-Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt al-muḥaddithīn bi al-Aṣbahān*, vol. 1, 231.
1212. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 1, 279.
1213. Ibid., vol. 1, 302.
1214. Ḍiyā al-Maqdisī, *Al-Aḥādīth al-mukhtārah*, vol. 1, 215-217, (no. 115). See also:

Dr Jawwād 'Alī also mentions that on the basis of an agreement written on a piece of *adīm* an outstanding sum of 20, 000 dirhams in the name Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ when he died was paid to a young person on his demand.[1215]

5. Parchment (*raqq/qaḍīm*)

The word *raqq* as used in the Qur'ān (52:3) refers to the parchment on which the Bible was written down. Though parchment is also made from goat and sheep skin, it is distinct from leather in that it is not tanned. It is also recorded that there was a consensus of the Companions that the Qur'ān should be written on *raqq* because writing could be preserved for longer times on it or because of the fact that it was available to them easily.[1216]

That this material was used for writing in those times is evident from the following couplets:

Ṭarfah says:[1217]

<div dir="rtl">

أَشَجَاكَ الرَّبْعُ أَمْ قِدَمُهْ،

أَمْ رَمَادٌ، دَارِسٌ حُمَمُهْ

</div>

a shajāk al-rab'u am qidamuh
am ramāduṇ dārisuṇ ḥumamuh

<div dir="rtl">

كَسُطُورِ الرَّقِّ رَقَّشَهُ

بِالضُّحَى مُرَقِّشٌ يَشِمُهْ

</div>

ka suṭur al-raqqi raqqashahu
bi al-ḍuḥā muraqqashuṇ yashimuh

(Are you sad because of the field or because of its old age or the ashes whose coals have extinguished like a writing on a parchment which some writer has

---

Al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id*, vol. 1, 173.

1215. Dr Jawwād 'Alī, *Al-Mufaṣṣal fī tārīkh al-'arab qabl al-islām*, 2nd ed., vol. 8, (Baghdad: Maktabah nahḍah, 1978), 261.

1216. Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al a'shā fī ṣina'ah al-inshā*, vol. 2 (Damascus: Wazarah al-thaqāfah, 1981), 515.

1217. Ṭarfah ibn al-'Abd, 1st ed., *Dīwān* (Beirut: Dār al-ma'rifah, 2003), 78.

etched on it at mid-morning.)

Ḥassān ibn Thābit says:[1218]

<div align="center">

عَرَفْتَ دِيَارَ زَيَنبَ بالكَثِيب

كَخَطِّ الوَحْيِ في الرَّقِّ القَشِيبِ

</div>

<div align="center">

'arafata diyār zaynab bi al-kathīb
ka khaṭṭ al-waḥyi fī al-raqqi al-qashīb

</div>

(You have recognized the house of Zaynab which is on the high-ground as if a writing on clean parchment.)

It seems that *qaḍīm* which refers to white parchment was also one of the materials on which the Qur'ān was written in the times of the Prophet.[1219] It is known that the Prophet wrote a document for the people of Dūmah al-Jandal on *qaḍīm*.[1220]

6. Leaves, Branches, Trunks and Bark of Palm Trees

It is recorded that Zayd ibn Thābit collected the Qur'ān in the time of Abū Bakr from the bark of palm trees. The word used is *'usub* which is a plural of *'asīb*.[1221]

Similarly, the leaves (*sa'af*) and trunks (*karānīf*) and branches (*jarā'id*) of palm trees were used for this purpose.[1222]

It is recorded that the Prophet wrote a letter to the Banū 'Azrah on *'asīb*.[1223]

Imru' al-Qays says:[1224]

1218. Ḥassān ibn Thābit, *Dīwān*, vol. 1 (Lahore: Maktabah al-'ilmiyyah, n.d.), 82.

1219. Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī, *Al-Fā'iq fi gharīb al-ḥadīth*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-ma'rifah, n.d.), 431; Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullāh ibn Muslim ibn Qutaybah, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, 1st ed., vol. 3 (Baghdād: Maṭba'ah al-'ānī, 1397 AH), 668.

1220. Abū 'Ubayd Qāsim ibn Sallām, *Kitāb al-amwāl* (Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 1988), 253.

1221. Al-Bukhārī, *Al Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 6, 2629, (no. 6768). See also: Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, vol. 5, 283, (no. 3103); Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 10, 359, (no. 4506); Al-Nasā'ī, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, 75; Ibn Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 31; Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 14.

1222. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥābah*, vol. 1, 390, (no. 591). See also Ibn Qutaybah, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, vol. 3, 668.

1223. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, vol. 1, 284.

لِمَنْ طَلَلٌ أَبْصَرْتُهُ فَشَجَانِي

كَخَطِّ زَبُورٍ فِي عَسِيبِ يَمَانِ

li man ṭalaluṇ abṣartuhū fa shajānī

ka khaṭṭi zabūriṇ fī ʿasībi yamāni

(Whose ruins are these which have made me sad as if the writing of a book written on the bark of palm trees produced in Yemen.)

7. Paper

Sources apparently do not mention paper as one of the writing materials for the Qur'ān. Thus scholars generally do not enlist it when they mention the writing materials of the Qur'ān. Al-Sābūnī says that paper was very rare in those times.[1225] Al-Jazarī says that the Arabs would write on bone tablets and other material because paper was scarce in Arabia in those times.[1226] Abbot also expresses a similar opinion.[1227] Dr Jawwād ʿAlī says that the Arabic word *qirṭās* is equivalent to the English word 'papyri' which are paper manuscripts made from the plant Papyrus. Papyrus is a triangular reed that used to grow along the banks of the Nile, and at an early stage of their history the Egyptians developed a kind of writing material made out of the pith within the stem of the papyrus plant. He is also of the view that the origin of *qirṭās* is from the Greek word *khartis*.[1228] Similarly, Dr Nāṣir al-Dīn Asad strongly affirms that though paper was not produced in Arabia in those days it was still found there because of trade relations with India and Persia which were adjacent to China and Khurasan where paper was manufactured. He says that although it is generally believed that paper

---

1224. Imru' al-Qays, *Dīwān* (Beirut: Shirkah dār al-Arqam ibn Abī Arqam, n.d.), 147.

1225. Al-Ṣābūnī, *Al-Tibyān fī ʿulūm al-Qur'ān*, 53.

1226. Al-Mubārak ibn Muḥammad al-Jazarī, *Al-Nihāyah fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa al-athr*, vol. 4 (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-ʿilmiyyah, 1979), 150.

1227. Nabia Abbot, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script*, 52-53.

1228. Dr Jawwād ʿAlī, *Al-Mufaṣṣal fī tārīkh al-ʿArab qabl al-islām*, vol. 8, 262.

reached Arabia through Chinese prisoners of war who were skilled in paper production around the year 133 AH, there is evidence to believe that it existed in Arabia in earlier times because of these trade relations. He further says that the Arabs used paper manufactured in Egypt. It was called *al-waraq al-bardī*.[1229] As for the Arabic word used for paper, he opines that the word *al-waraq* found in some Aḥādīth that mention the collection of the Qur'ān and in certain couplets of pre-Islamic classical Arabic poetry refers to paper. He admits that the word *al-waraq* is a general one which can also be used for a page made of parchment and leather, yet in its usage in the Aḥādīth and pre-Islamic couplets he presents, it can only refer to paper. The primary Ḥadīth he presents is one in which 'Uthmān in his times collected the Qur'ān and had asked every person who had a portion of the Qur'ān with him written on *al-waraqah* or *al-adīm* to bring it over.[1230] He concludes that since the narrative mentions *al-adīm* (leather) separately, the *al-waraqah* it mentions refers to paper.

8. Cloth

Although history does not explicitly mentions the use of cloth as a material for writing down the Qur'ān, there is no reason to believe that it was not particularly used because it was commonly used as a writing surface in pre-Islamic Arabia. The words *qirṭās*, *waraq*, *ṣaḥīfah* and *ruq'ah* can easily connote a 'page of cloth' too. Ibn 'Aṭiyah (d. 543 AH) refers to the word *ṭurar*, (singular*: ṭurrah*) in the *Muqiddimah* to his *tafsīr Al-Jāmi' al-muḥarrar* as one of the surfaces used for writing.[1231] One of the meanings of this word is 'coarse cloth'.

1229. Nāṣir al-Dīn Asad, *Maṣādir al-shi'r al-jāhilī wa qīmatuhā al-tārīkhiyyah*, 1st ed. (Cairo: Dār al-ma'ārif, 1956), 88-81.
1230. Ibn Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 31.
1231. Arthur Jeffery, ed., *Muqaddimatān*, 274.

In pre-Islamic times, the *muharaq* was of two types: a) made from white cotton (*kirbās*) and b) silk cloth, which was made sticky through glue, was used for the purpose of writing. Since it was expensive, it was used only in writings of great importance. According to al-Jāḥiẓ, this cloth was only used for writing of religious books, pacts and treaties of peace.[1232] This makes it all the more probable that it was used as a surface for writing down the Qur'ān as well.

Ḥārith ibn Ḥalizzah says:[1233]

واذا كروا حِلْفَ ذى المَجَازِ وما
قُدَّمَ فيه ، العُهودُ والكُفَلاءُ

wa idhākirū ḥilfa dhī al-majāz wa mā
quddama fīhī al-'uhūdu wa al-kufalā'ū

حَذَرَ الجَوْرِ والتعدى ، وهل
يَنْقُضُ ما فى المهارق الأهواءُ

ḥadhara al-jawri wa al-ta'addī wa hal
yanquḍu ma fī al-mahāriq al-ahwā'ū

(And remember the pact of Dhū al-Majāz and all the agreements that have been made and the guaranteers who have been called upon it so that you are able to secure yourself from oppression and excesses, and can mere desires wipe out what is written in the *al-mahāriq*?)

9. Dry Clay (Khazaf)

Besides this material, some sources also mention *khazaf* as surfaces on which the Qur'ān was written.[1234] This of course would refer to lumps or chunks of dry clay. Dr Jawwād 'Alī has also alluded to it while enumerating various surfaces on which Arabs used to write.[1235]

1232. Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr ibn Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-jīl, 1996), 69-70.

1233. Abū 'Abdullāh Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-mu'allaqāt al-sab'*, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Dār al-ma'rifah, 2004), 242.

1234. Al-Qurṭubī, *Al-Jāmi' li aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1, 49; Jeffery, ed., *Muqaddimatān*, 274.

1235. Dr Jawwād 'Alī, *Al-Mufaṣṣal fī tārīkh al-'arab qabl al-islām*, vol. 8, 254.

—————————

A word here seems appropriate regarding the pens and inks used in those times. According to Dr Jawwād ʿAlī[1236] the pens which were used by the Arabs for writing before the advent of Muhammad were made from reeds of cane. These reeds were cut from a cane plant, which were found in abundance in Arabia and one of their ends was sharpened by a knife. At the centre of this reed a very small hole was made so that ink could enter from it. This crafted pen would be dipped in ink and used for writing.

There were some pens which were made from iron so that they could be used for writing on surfaces such as stone. Similarly, feathers of birds were also sometimes employed for writing.[1237]

The word *mizbar* is also used for the Arabic word *al-qalam*.

The commonly used words of ink that was used in Arabia are:

1. *Ḥibr* (حِبْر)

2. *Midād* (مِدَاد)

3. *Niqs* (نِقْس)

According to Dr Jawwād ʿAlī,[1238] historical records are devoid of any information about how the pre-Islamic Arabs made ink. However, this can be adduced from nations contemporaneous to them. Some of this material includes ashes, gum, oil ingredients and burnt bones of animals.

————————

1236. Ibid., vol. 8, 253.
1237. Ibid., vol. 8, 255.
1238. Ibid., vol. 8, 257.

E. Schematic Illustrations

1. Narrative on Abū Bakr's Collection (Chapter 2)

2. Narrative on 'Uthmān's Collection (Chapter 3)

Anas ibn Mālik

al-Zuhrī

Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah

Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd

Shu'ayb ibn Abī Ḥamzah

Yūnus ibn Yazīd

Ibrāhim ibn Ismā'īl ibn Mujamma'

'Abbās ibn Muḥammad

Abū al-Yamān

Yūnus ibn Bukayr

Sulaymān ibn Dā'ud

Muḥammad ibn 'Awf

Abū Zur'ah

al-Bukhārī Abū 'Ubayd

'Abdullāh ibn Wahb

'Uthmān ibn 'Umar

Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār

Aslam ibn Sahl

Ibn Abī Dā'ūd

'Umar ibn Shabbah

Abū al-'Abbās al-Aṣam

Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabaranī

Yunus ibn 'Abd al-A'la

Ḥurmulah ibn Yaḥyā

Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā

Abū Bakr al-Ḥīrī

Abū Nu'aym Ḥāfiẓ

al-Ṭabarī

Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan

al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī

Abū 'Alī al-Ḥaddād

Ibn Ḥibbān

Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm

Abū Mas'ūd al-Asbahānī

Abū Ṭāhir

Ibn 'Asākir

Abū al-Wafa

'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mahdī

Abū al-Walīd al-Ṭayālisī

Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥamzah

'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Abī Salamah

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālisī

Sulaymān ibn Dā'ūd

al-Haytham ibn Ayyūb

Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Sa'd

Mūsā ibn Ismā'īl

al-Warkānī

Ibn Manī'

Abū 'Ubayd

Muḥammad ibn Bashshār

Abū Ya'lā

'Umar ibn Shabbah

al-Nasā'ī

Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā

al-Bukhārī

Zāhir ibn Aḥmad

Ibn Abī Dā'ūd

al-Mustaghfirī

Ibi Abī Dā'ūd

al-Tirmidhī

Ḥamzah ibn Muḥammad

al-Faḍl ibn Ḥubāb

Ismā'īl ibn Isḥāq

'Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad

Aḥmad ibn 'Abdullāh al-Muznī

Ibn Ḥibbān

Abū Bakr

Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥabīb

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr

Abū Naṣr al-Farwī

Abū Sahl

al-Bayhaqī

al-Bayhaqī

3. Narrative of the Placement of Sūrah al-Tawbah and Sūrah al-Anfāl (Chapter 7)

(i)

'Uthmān

Ibn 'Abbās

Yazīd al-Fārisī

'Awf ibn Abī Jamīlah

Usāmah

Marwan ibn Mu'āwiyah

Abū 'Usāmah

Ghundar

Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd

Isḥāq

Abū Sa'īd

Yūsuf ibn Mūsā

'Umar ibn Shabbah

Muḥammad ibn Bashshār

Muḥammad ibn al-Muthannā

'Amr ibn 'Alī

al-Māsarakhsī

Abū 'Ubayd

Muḥammad ibn Ja'far ibn Ḥafṣ

al-Ṭabarī

al-Tirmidhī

Ibn Abī Dā'ūd

al-Nasā'ī

al-Bazzār

Khalīl ibn Aḥmad

Ibn Abī Shaybah

'Uthmān ibn Muḥammad

al-Naḥḥās

Samar Randī

Ibn Maslamah

Ibn 'Asākir

Muḥammad ibn 'Umar

Dā'ūd ibn Aḥmad

'Abd al-Wāḥīd ibn 'Abd al-Salām

Abū al-Farj al-Maqdisī

al-Mizzī

Abū 'Abdullāh al-Maqdisī

(ii)

'Uthmān

Ibn 'Abbās

Yazīd al-Fārisī

'Awf ibn Abī Jamīlah

Sa'īd — Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd

Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm — Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal — 'Abdullah ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal

Muḥammad ibn Ja'far

Abū al-Jarrāḥ Bashīr — Yaḥyā ibn Sallām — Ibn Abī Zamanayn

Hushaym ibn Muhammad — 'Amr ibn 'Awn — Abū Dā'ūd — Muḥammad ibn Bakr — al-Jaṣṣāṣ

Ibn Abī ibn Ja'far — Sahl ibn 'Adī — Haytham Yūsuf — Muḥammad ibn Bashshār

al-Ṭabarī

Ibn Abī Dā'ūd — 'Uthmān ibn Muḥammad — Ibn Maslamah — Muḥammad ibn 'Umar — 'Abd al-Waḥīd ibn 'Abd al-Salām — Abū 'Abdullāh al-Maqdisī

al-Tirmidhī

'Uthmān ibn — Abū Khalīfah

Abū Aḥmad — (Kitab al-Mabānī)

Ibn Ḥibbān

(iii)

'Uthmān
↓
Ibn 'Abbās
↓
Yazīd al-Fārisī
↓
'Awf ibn Abī Jamīlah

'Abdullāh ibn Ḥumrān
↓
Yazīd ibn Sinān
↓
al-Ṭaḥāwī
●

Naḍr ibn Shumayl
↓
Isḥāq ibn Manṣūr
↓
Ibn Abī Dā'ūd
●

Ash'ath
↓
Sa'īd ibn 'Āmir
↓
Zayd ibn Akhzam
↓
Muḥammad ibn Sa'dān
↓
al-Ṭabarānī
●

Marwān ibn Mu'āwiyah
↓
Ziyād ibn Ayyūb

'Uthmān ibn al-Haytham
↓
Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath

Ibn Abī Dā'ūd
●

Rawḥ ibn 'Ubādah
↓
Muḥammad ibn Sa'd
↓
Aḥmad ibn Kāmil

Hawadhah ibn Khalīfah
↓
Ḥasan ibn Faḍl
↓
Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ

al-Ḥākim

al-Bayhaqī
●

'Alī ibn Shaybah
↓
al-Ṭaḥāwī
●

Isḥāq al-Azraq
↓
Sa'dān ibn Naṣr
↓
Abū Sa'īd ibn al-A'rābī
↓
'Abdullāh ibn Yūsuf
↓
al-Bayhaqī
●

'Abdullāh ibn Mihrān
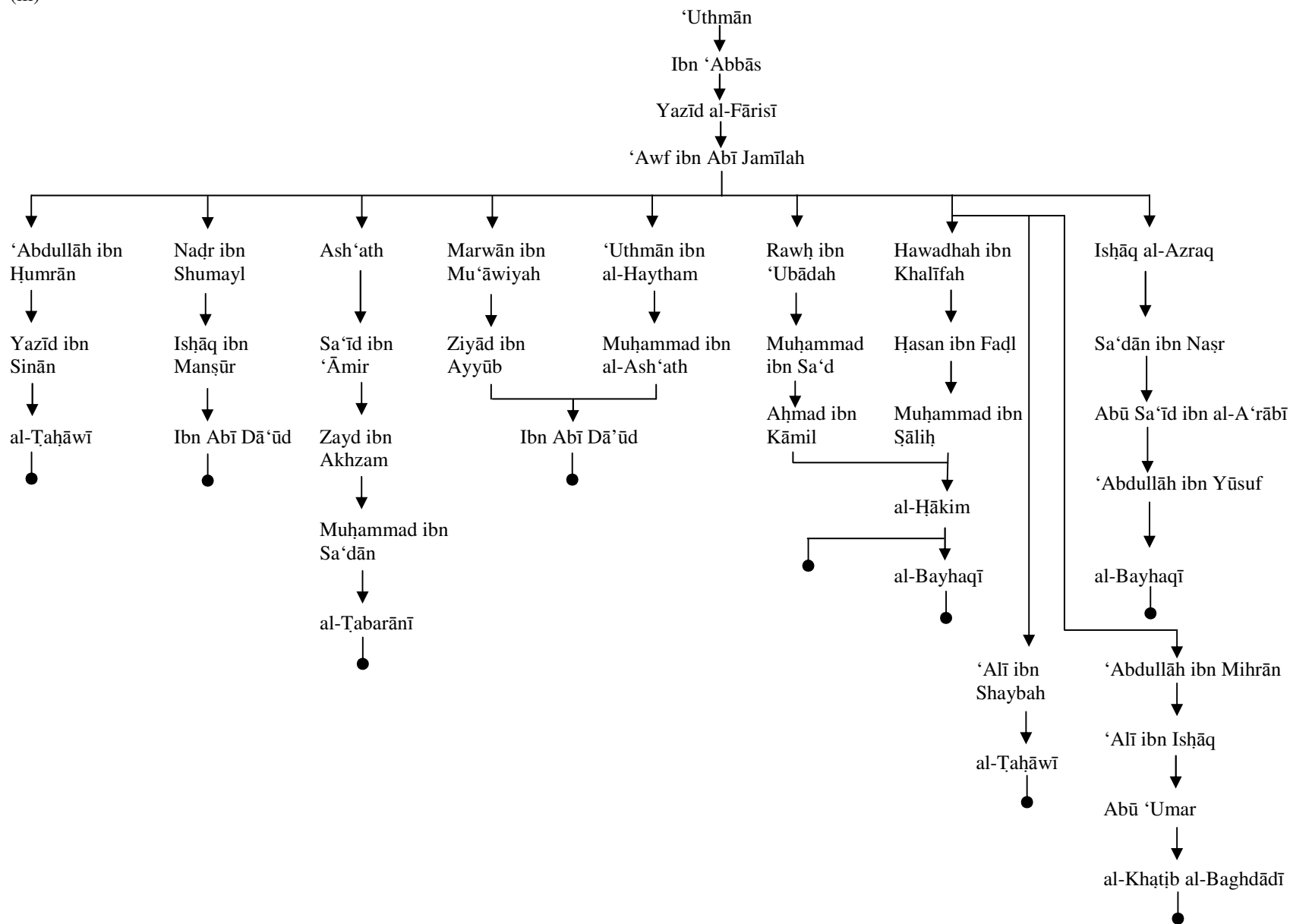↓
'Alī ibn Isḥāq
↓
Abū 'Umar
↓
al-Khaṭib al-Baghdādī
●

Bibliography[1239]

Arabic

'Abd al-Bāqī ibn Qāni', Abū al-Ḥasan. *Mu'jam al-ṣaḥābah*. 1st ed. 3 vols. Madīnah: Maktabah al-ghurabā' al-athriyyah, 1418 AH.

'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Qāḍī. *Al-Qira'āt fī nazr al-mustashriqīn wa al-mulḥidīn*. 1st ed. Cairo: Dār al-salām, 2005.

'Abd al-Ḥayy Lakhnawī. *Al-Raf' wa al-takmīl fī al-jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl*. 8th ed. Beirut: Dār bashā'ir al-islāmiyyah, 2004.

'Abd ibn Ḥumayd, Abū Muḥammad. *Al-Muntakhab min musnad 'Abd ibn Ḥumayd*. 1st ed. Cairo: Maktabah al-sunnah, 1988.

'Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja'far ibn Ḥayyān al-Aṣbahānī. *Ṭabaqāt al-muḥaddithīn bi Aṣbahān*. 2nd ed. 4 vols. Beirut: Mu'assasah al-risālah, 1992.

'Abdullāh ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī. *Al-Istibṣār fī nasab-i al-ṣaḥābah min al-Anṣār*. Beirut: Dār al-fikr, n.d.

'Abdullāh ibn Wahb. *Jāmi' al-'ulūm al-Qur'ān.* 1st ed. 3 vols. Beirut: Dār al-gharb al-islāmī, 2003.

'Abdullāh Khurshīd al-Barrī'. *Al-Qur'ān wa 'ulūmuhū fī Miṣr*. Cairo: Dār al-ma'ārif, n.d.

Abū 'Awānah, Ya'qūb ibn Isḥāq. *Musnad*. 5 vols. Beirut: Dār al-ma'rifah, n.d.

Abū Bakr 'Abdullāh ibn Abī Dā'ūd Sulaymān ibn al-Ash'ath. *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*. 1st ed. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1985.

Abū Dā'ūd, Sulymān ibn al-Ash'ath al-Sajistānī. *Sunan*. 4 vols. N.p.: Dār al-fikr, n.d.

Abū al-Fadā', Ismā'īl ibn 'Alī. *Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*. Cairo: 1325 AH.

1239. I have followed the CMS (Chicago Manual of Style) in all my citations and bibliographic entries. As per the CMS, one needs to mention the edition of each book except if it is the first. I have mentioned the edition even if it is the first because in some Arabic books editions are not mentioned and hence this lack of mention will be falsely understood to mean that the first edition is implied.

Abū Ḥayyān, Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf. *Al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ fī al-tafsīr*. 11 vols. Beirut: Dār al-fikr li al-ṭabā'ah wa al-nashr wa al-tawzī ', 2000.

Abū Nu'aym Aḥmad ibn 'Abdullāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Isḥāq ibn Mūsā ibn Mihrān al-Aṣbahānī. *Al-Imāmah wa al-radd 'alā al-rāfiḍah*. 3rd ed. Madīnah: Maktabah al-'ulūm wa al-ḥikam, 1994.
_____ *Al-Musnad al-mustakhraj 'alā Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. 1st ed. 4 vols. Beirut: Dār-al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1996.
_____ *Ḥilyah al-awliyā' wa ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyā'*. 4th ed. 10 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kitāb al-'arabī, 1405 AH.

Abū Shāmmah, Shihāb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm. *Al-Murshid al-wajīz ilā 'ulūmiṇ tata'allaqu bi al-Kitāb al-'Azīz*. 1st ed. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 2002.

Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām. *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*. 1st ed. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1991.
_____ *Kitāb al-amwāl*. Sheikhupura: Maktabah athriyyah, n.d.

Abū Ya'lā, Aḥmad ibn 'Alī. *Musnad*. 1st ed. 3 vols. Damascus: Dār al-mā'mūn li al-turāth, 1984.

Aḥmad ibn A'tham al-Kūfī. *Kitāb al-futūḥ*. 1st ed. 8 vols. Hyderabad: Maṭba' majlis dā'irah al-ma'ārif al-'uthmāniyyah, n.d.

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, Abū 'Abdullāh al-Shaybānī. *Al-'Ilal wa ma'rifah al-rijāl*. 1st ed. 3 vols. Beirut: Al-Maktab al-islāmī, 1988.
_____. *Musnad*. 6 vols. Cairo: Mu'assasah al-Qurṭubah, n.d.
_____. *Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥābah*. 1st ed. 2 vols. Beirut: Mu'assasah al-risālah, 1983.

Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir. *Sharḥ musnad Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*. 1st ed. 20 vols. Cairo: Dār al-ḥadīth, 1995.

al-Ājurrī, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn. *Al-Sharī'ah*. 2nd ed. 5 vols. Riyāḍ: Dār al-waṭan, 1999.

al-'Alā'ī, Abū Sa'īd ibn Khalīl. *Jāmi' al-taḥṣīl fī aḥkām al-marāsīl*. 2nd ed. Beirut: 'Ālam al-kutub, 1986.

al-'Āmilī, 'Alī Kūrānī. *Tadwīn al-Qur'ān*. 1st ed. Qum: Dār al-Qur'ān al-Karīm, 1418 AH.

al-Anṣārī, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Hishām ibn Ayyūb Abū Muḥammad. *Al-Sīrah al-nabawiyyah*. 1st ed. 4 vols. Beirut: Dār al-jīl, 1411 AH.

al-Arbalī, 'Alī ibn Īsā. *Kashf al-ghummah fī ma'rifah al-a'immah*. 2 vols. Tabrez: Maktabah Banī Hāshimī, 1381 AH.

al-Ardabīlī, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī. *Jāmi' al-ruwāt*. 2 vols. Qum: Maktabah ayātullāh al-'uẓmah al-mar'ashah, 1403 AH.

al-'Aynī, Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad ibn Mūsā ibn Aḥmad. *'Umdah al-qarī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. 25 vols. Beirut: Dār iḥyā' al-turāth al-'arabī, n.d.

al-'Āẓamī, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā. *Kuttāb al-nabī*. 6th ed. Beirut: Al-Maktab al-islāmī, 2003.

al-Baghdādī, Abū 'Alī al-Ashyab Ḥasan ibn Mūsā. *Juz' Ashyab*. 1st ed. al-Fujayrah: Dār 'ulūm al-ḥadīth, 1990.

al-Baghdādī, al-Khaṭīb Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Thābit. *Al-Faṣl li al-waṣl al-mudraj*. 1st ed. 2 vols. Riyāḍ: Dār al-hijrah, 1418 AH.
_____. *Al-Faqīh wa al-mutafaqqiḥ*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. Sa'ūdia: Dār Ibn al-Jawzī, 1421 AH.
_____. *Al-Kifāyah fī 'ilm al-riwāyah*. Madīnah: Al-Maktabah al-'ilmiyyah, n.d.
_____. *Tārīkh Baghdād*. 14 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, n.d.

al-Baghawī, al-Ḥusayn ibn Mas'ūd. *Mu'jam al-saḥābah*. 1st ed. 4 vols. Kuwait: Dār al-bayān, 1421 AH.
_____. *Sharḥ al-sunnah*. 2nd ed. 15 vols. Beirut: Al-Maktab al-islāmī, 1983.
_____. *Tafsīr*. 4 vols. Beirut: Dār al-ma'rifah, n.d.

al-Bājī, Abū al-Walīd Sulaymān ibn Khalf ibn Sa'd. *Al-Ta'dīl wa al-tajrīḥ*. 1st ed. 3 vols. Riyāḍ: Dār al-liwā li al-nashr wa al-tawzī', 1986.

al-Bānī, Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad Nāsir al-Dīn ibn Nūḥ ibn Najātī ibn Ādam. *Ḍa'īf sunan Abī Dā'ūd*. 2nd ed. Riyāḍ: Maktabah al-ma'ārif li al-nashr wa al-tawzī', 2000.

al-Bāqilānī, Qāḍī Abū Bakr ibn Ṭayyib. *Al-Intiṣār li al-Qur'ān*. 1st ed. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2001.
_____ *Nukat al-intiṣār li naql al-Qur'ān*. Alexandria: Munsha'ah al-ma'ārif, n.d.

al-Balādhurī, Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Jābir. *Futūḥ al-buldān*. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1978.

al-Bayhaqī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn. *Shu'ab al-īmān*. 1st ed. 7 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1410 AH.
_____. *Dalā'il al-nubuwwah*. 2nd ed. 7 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 2002.
_____. *Al-Arba'ūn al-ṣughrā*. 1st ed. Beirut: Dār al-kitāb al-'arabī, 1408 AH.
_____. *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*. 10 vols. Makkah: Maktabah dār al-Bāz, 1994.
_____. *Al-Sunan al-ṣughrā*. 1st ed. 9 vols. Riyāḍ: Maktabah al-rushd, 2001.
_____. *Ma'rifah al-sunan wa al-āthār*. 7 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, n.d.

al-Bazzār, Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Amr. *Musnad*. 1st ed. 9 vols. Beirut: Maktabah al-'ulūm wa al-ḥikam, 1409 AH.

Blachere, Regis, *Introduction au Coran* (al-Madkhal ilā al-Qur'ān). Translated by Riḍā Sa'ādah. 1st ed. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-Lubnānī, 1974.

al-Bukhārī, Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl. *Al-Ḍu'afā' al-ṣaghīr*. 1st ed. Ḥalab: Dār al-wa'y, 1396 AH.
_____. *Al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*. 3rd ed. 6 vols. Beirut: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1987.
_____. *Al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*. 8 vols. N.p.: Dār al-fikr, n.d.
_____. *Khalq af'āl al-'ibād*. Riyāḍ: Dār al-ma'rifah, 1978.

al-Dānī, Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān ibn Sa'īd. *Al-Muqni' fī ma'rifah maṣāḥif ahl al-amṣār*. 2nd ed. Damascus: Dār al-fikr, 1983.

al-Dāraquṭanī, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Umar. *Su'ālāt al-Ḥākim*. 1st ed. Riyāḍ: Maktabah al-ma'ārif, 1984.
_____. *Sunan*. Beirut: Dār al-ma'rifah, 1966.
_____. *Al-'Ilal al-wāridah fī al-aḥādīth al-nabawiyyah*. 1st ed. 11 vols. Riyāḍ: Dār ṭayyibah, 1985.

al-Dārimī, 'Uthmān ibn Sa'īd. *Tarīkh Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn*. Beirut: Dār al-ma'mūn li al-turāth, n.d.

al-Dārimī, Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān. *Sunan*. 1st ed. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kitāb al-'arabī, 1407 AH.

al-Dhahabī, Abū 'Abdullāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Uthmān ibn Qāyamaz ibn 'Abdullāh. *Ma'rifah al-qurrā' al-kibār*. 1st ed. 4 vols. Istanbul: Manshūrāt markaz al-buḥūth al-islāmiyyah, 1995.
_____. *Tārīkh al-Islām*. 1st ed. 52 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'arabī, 1407.
_____. *Tadhkirah al-ḥuffāẓ*. 1st ed. 4 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, n.d.
_____. *Al-Kāshif fī ma'rifah man lahū riwāyah fī al-kutub al-sittah*. 1st ed. 2 vols. Jeddah: Dār al-qiblah al-thaqāfah al-islāmiyyah, 1992.
_____. *Mīzān al-i'tidāl fī naqd al-rijāl*. 1st ed. 8 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1995.
_____. *Al-Mūqizah fī muṣṭaliḥ al-ḥadīth*. 1st ed. Beirut: Dār al-bashā'ir al-islāmiyyah, 1405.
_____. *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*. 9th ed. 23 vols. Beirut: Mu'assasah al-risālah, 1413 AH.
_____ *Dhikr asmā' man tukullima fīhī wa huwa muwaththaq*. 1st ed. al-Zarqā': Dār al-manār, 1406 AH.

al-Durī, 'Abbās ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥātim. *Tārīkh Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn*. 1st ed. 4 vols. Makkah: Markaz al-baḥth 'ilmī wa iḥyā' al-turāth al-islāmī, 1979.

al-Fākihī, Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq. *Akhbār Makkah*. 2nd ed. 6 vols. Beirut: Dār Khiḍr, 1414 AH.

al-Farāhī, Ḥamīd al-Dīn. *Tafsīr Sūrah al-Qiyāmah min niẓām al-Qur'ān wa ta'wīl al-Furqān bi al-Furqān*. 2nd ed. Azamgarh: Dāi'rah ḥamīdiyyah, 1403

AH.

al-Fasawī, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Sufyān. *Al-Ma'rifah wa al-tārīkh*. 3 vols. Beirut: Dār-al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1999.

al-Ḥākim, Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdullāh. *Al-Mustadrak 'alā al-ṣaḥīḥayn*. 1ˢᵗ ed. 4 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1990.

al-Ḥalbī, Abū al-Wafā' Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Sibṭ ibn al-'Ajamī. *Kashf al-ḥathīth 'amman rumiya bi waḍ al-ḥadīth*. 1ˢᵗ ed. Beirut: Maktabah al-nahḍah al-'arabiyyah, 1987.
_____. *Nihāyah al-sū'l fī ruwāt al-sittah al-uṣūl*. 1ˢᵗ ed. 10 vols. Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 2003.

al-Ḥarrānī, Abū 'Arūbah al-Ḥusayn ibn Abī Ma'shar. *Kitāb al-awā'il*. 1ˢᵗ ed. Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2003.

al-Ḥarbī, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Isḥāq. *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*. 1ˢᵗ ed. 2 vols. Makkah: Jāmi'ah Umm al-Qurā, 1405 AH.

al-Ḥaskānī, Ḥākim. *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*. 1ˢᵗ ed. Beirut: Mu'assasah al-a'lamī li al-maṭbū'āt, 1974.
_____. *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*. 2 vols. N.p.: Mu'assasah chāp wa nashr, 1411 AH.

Ḥassān ibn Thābit, *Dīwān*. 2 vols. Lahore: Maktabah al-'ilmiyyah, n.d.

al-Hawaynī, Abū Isḥāq Ḥijāzī ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Sharīf. *Badhl al-iḥsān bi taqrīb Sunan al-Nasā'ī Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān*. 1ˢᵗ ed. 2 vols. N.p.: Maktabah al-tarbiyah al-islāmiyyah, 1990.

al-Haythamī, 'Alī ibn Abī Bakr. *Mawārid al-ẓam'ān ilā zawā'id ibn Ḥibbān*. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, n.d.

al-Ḥillī, Ḥasan ibn Yūsuf. *Rijāl*. Qum: Manshūrāt al-raḍī, 1402 AH.

al-Ḥumaydī, Abū Bakr 'Abdullāh ibn Zubayr. *Musnad*. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, n.d.

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Yūsuf ibn 'Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad. *Al-Istī'āb fī ma'rifah al-aṣḥāb*. 1ˢᵗ ed. 4 vols. Beirut: Dār al-jīl, 1412 AH.
_____. *Al-Mudawwanah al-kubrā*. 16 vols. Beirut: Dār ṣādir, n.d.

Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. *Al-'Iqd al-farīd*. 3ʳᵈ ed. 6 vols. Beirut: Dār iḥyā' al-turāth al-arabī, 1999.

Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 'Abd al-Raḥmān. *Al-Jarḥ wa al-ta'dīl*. 1ˢᵗ ed. 9 vols. Beirut: Dār al-iḥyā' al-turāth al-'arabī, 1952.

Ibn Abī Shaybah, Abū Bakr 'Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad. *Al-Muṣannaf fī al-ḥadīth*

wa al-āthār. 1ˢᵗ ed. 7 vols. Riyāḍ: Maktabah al-rushd, 1409 AH.

Ibn ‘Adī, Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdullāh. *Al-Kāmil fī al-ḍu‘afā’*. 3ʳᵈ ed. 7 vols. Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 1998.

Ibn al-Adīm, Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn Aḥmad. *Bughyah al-ṭalab fī tārīkh al-Ḥalab*. 10 vols. N.p.: Dār al-fikr, n.d.

Ibn ‘Asākir, Abū al-Qāsim ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn. *Tārīkh Madīnah Dimashq*. 70 vols. Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 1995.
_____. *Tafsīr*. 10 vols. Ṣaydā’: Al-Maktabah al-‘aṣriyyah, n.d.

Ibn al-Athīr, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Jazarī. *Usud al-ghābah*. 1ˢᵗ ed. 7 vols. Beirut: Dār ihyā’ al-turāth al-‘arabī, 1996.
_____. *Al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*. 2ⁿᵈ ed. 10 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmiyyah, 1415 AH.

Ibn Bashkawāl, Abū al-Qāsim Khalaf ibn ‘Abd al-Mālik. *Ghawāmiḍ al-asmā’ al-mubhamah al-wāqi‘ah fī mutūn al-aḥādīth al-musnadah*. 1ˢᵗ ed. 2 vols. Beirut: ‘Ālam al-kutub, 1407 AH.

Ibn Dā’ūd, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī. *Rijāl*. Tehran: Intishārāt dānishgah Tehran, 1383 AH.

Ibn Durayd, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan. *Jamhurah al-lughah*. 1ˢᵗ ed. 3 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmiyyah, 1426 AH.

Ibn Ḍurays, Abū ‘Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Ayyūb. *Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān*. 1ˢᵗ ed. Damascus: Dār al-fikr, 1988.

Ibn Ghadā’irī, Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn. *Rijāl*. 7 vols. Qum: Mu’assasah ismā‘ilīyāṇ, 1364 AH.

Ibn al-Jawzī, Abū al-Faraj ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad. *Al-Muntaẓam fī tārīkh al-mulūk wa al-umam*. 1ˢᵗ ed. 12 vols. Beirut: Dār ṣādir, 1358 AH.
_____. *Kashf al-mushkil min ḥadīth al-ṣaḥiḥayn*. 4 vols. Riyāḍ: Dār al-waṭan, 1997.

Ibn Ḥajar, Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-‘Asqalānī. *Al-Iṣābah fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥābah*. 1ˢᵗ ed. 8 vols. Beirut: Dār al-jīl, 1992.
_____. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*. 4ᵗʰ ed. 13 vols. Beirut: Dār ihyā’ al-turāth al-‘arabī, 1988.
_____. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*. 13 vols. Beirut: Dār al-ma‘rifah, 1379 AH.
_____. *Lisān al-mīzān*. 7 vols. Beirut: Mu’assasah al-a‘lamī li al-maṭbū‘āt, 1986.
_____. *Muqaddimah fatḥ al-Bārī*. Beirut: Dār ihyā’ al-turāth al-‘arabī, 1988.
_____. *Ṭabaqāt al-mudallisīn*. 1ˢᵗ ed. Aman: Maktabah al-manār, 1983.
_____. *Ta‘jīl al-manfa‘ah bi zawā’id rijāl al-a’immah al-arba‘ah*. 1ˢᵗ ed. Beirut: Dār al-kitāb al-‘arabī, n.d.
_____. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*. 1ˢᵗ ed. 12 vols. Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 1984.
_____. *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*. 1ˢᵗ ed. Syria: Dār al-rashīd, 1986.

Ibn Ḥazm, Abū Muḥammad ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Sa‘īd. *Al-Iḥkām fi uṣūl al-aḥkām.* 1ˢᵗ ed. 8 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmiyyah, 2004.
_____. *Al-Muḥallā bi al-āthār.* 11 vols. Beirut: Dār al-āfāq al-jadīdah, n.d.

Ibn Ḥibbān, Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad al-Bustī. *Al-Majrūḥīn min al-muḥaddithīn wa al-ḍu‘afā’ wa al-matrūkīn.* 1ˢᵗ ed. 3 vols. Ḥalab: Dār al-wa‘y, 1396 AH.
_____. *Al-Thiqāt.* 1ˢᵗ ed. 9 vols. Np.: Dār al-fikr, 1975.
_____. *Mashāhīr ‘ulamā’ al-amṣār.* Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmiyyah, 1959.
_____. *Ṣaḥīḥ.* 2ⁿᵈ ed. Beirut: Mu’assasah al-risālah, 1993.

Ibn Hishām, Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Mālik. *Al-Sīrah al-nabawiyyah.* 1ˢᵗ ed. 6 vols. Beirut: Dār al-jīl, 1411 AH.

Ibn Kathīr, Abū al-Fadā’ Ismā‘īl ibn ‘Umar. *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah.* 14 vols. Beirut: Maktabah al-ma‘ārif, n.d.
_____. *Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān.* Cairo: Dār al-ḥadīth, n.d.
_____. *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān al-‘Azīm.* 4 vols. Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 1401 AH.

Ibn Khaldūn, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad. *Muqaddimah.* 5ᵗʰ ed. Beirut: Dār al-qalam, 1984, 37.
_____. *Kitāb al-‘ibar wa diwān al-mubtada’ wa al-khabar fī ma‘rifah ayyām al-‘arab wa al-‘ajam wa al-barbar wa man ‘āṣarahum min dhawī al-sulṭān al-akbar.* 5ᵗʰ ed. 7 vols. Beirut: Dār al-qalam, 1984.

Ibn Mājah, Abū ‘Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Qazwīnī. *Sunan.* 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-fikr, n.d.

Ibn Mandah, Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Yaḥyā. *Al-Īmān.* 2ⁿᵈ ed. 2 vols. Beirut: Mu’assasah al-risālah, 1406 AH.

Ibn Manẓūr, Muḥammad ibn Mukarram. *Lisān al-‘arab.* 1ˢᵗ ed. 15 vols. Beirut: Dār ṣādir, n.d.

Ibn Mardawayh, Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr. *Juz’ fīhī aḥādīth Ibn Ḥibbān.* 1ˢᵗ ed. Riyāḍ: Dār al-‘āṣimah, 1414 AH.

Ibn Nadīm, Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq. *Al-Fihrist.* 2ⁿᵈ ed. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmiyyah, 2002.
_____. *Al-Fihrist.* Beirut: Dār al-ma‘rifah, 1978.

Ibn Qutaybah, Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdullāh ibn Muslim. *Al-Ma‘ārif.* 2ⁿᵈ ed. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmiyyah, 2003.
_____. *Gharīb al-ḥadīth.* 1ˢᵗ ed. 3 vols. Baghdād: Maṭba‘ah al-‘ānī, 1397 AH.

Ibn Rajab, Abū al-Faraj Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī. *Fatḥ al-Bārī.* 1ˢᵗ ed. 7 vols. Jaddah: Dār Ibn al-Jawzī, 1996.

Ibn Sa‘d, Abū ‘Abdullāh Muḥammad al-Zuhrī. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā.* 8 vols. Beirut: Dār ṣādir, n.d.

Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, Muḥammad ibn Abdullāh. *'Uyūn al-athr fī al-maghāzī wa al-shamā'il wa al-siyar.* 1st ed. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-qalam, 1993.

Ibn Sīdah, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ismā'īl. *Al-Muḥkam wa al-muḥīṭ al-a'ẓam.* 1st ed. 10 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 2000.

Ibn Taymiyah, Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥalīm. *Al-Ṣārim al-maslūl 'alā shātim al-rasūl.* 1st ed. 3 vols. Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1417 AH.
_____ *Muqaddimah fī uṣūl al-tafsīr*, 1st ed. Lahore: Maktabah al-'ilmiyyah, 1388 AH.

Ibn al-Wardī, 'Umar ibn Muzaffar. *Tārīkh.* 1st ed. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1417 AH.

al-'Ijlī, Aḥmad ibn 'Abdullāh ibn Ṣāliḥ. *Ma'rifah al-thiqāt.* 1st ed. 2 vols. Madīnah: Maktabah al-dār, 1985.

Imru' al-Qays. *Dīwān.* Beirut: Shirkah dār al-Arqam ibn Abī Arqam, n.d.

al-Jāḥiẓ, Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr ibn Baḥr. *Kitāb al-ḥayawān.* 7 vols. Beirut: Dār al-jīl, 1996.

al-Jazarī, al-Mubārak ibn Muḥammad. *Al-Nihāyah fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa al-athr.* 5 vols. Beirut: Al-Maktabah al-'ilmiyyah, 1979.

Jeffery, Arthur (ed). *Muqaddimatān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān.* 1st ed. Cairo: Maktbah al-khanji, 1954.

al-Juzjānī, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb. *Aḥwāl al-rijāl.* 1st ed. Beirut: Mu'assasah al-risālah, 1405 AH.

al-Ka'bī, Abū al-Qāsim 'Abdullāh. *Qabūl al-akhbār fī ma'rifah al-rijāl.* 1st ed. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 2000.

al-Kashshī, Muḥammad ibn 'Umar. *Rijāl.* Mashhad: Intishārāt dānishgāh Mashhad, 1348 AH.

Khalīfah ibn Khayyāṭ, Abū 'Umar al-Laythī. *Tārīkh.* 1st ed. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1995.

al-Khū'ī, Muḥammad Abū Al-Qāsim. *Al-Bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān.* 5th ed. Qum: al-Maṭba'ah al-'ilmiyyah, 1974.
_____ *Mu'jam al-rijāl al-ḥadīth.* 5th ed. 24 vols. N.p: Markaz nashr al-thaqāfah al-islāmiyyah, 1992.

al-Kulaynī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb ibn Isḥāq. *Al-Rawḍah min al-kāfī.* 4th ed. Tehrān: Dār al-kutub al-islāmiyyah, 1362 AH.
_____. *Al-Uṣūl min al-kafī.* 4th / 5th ed. 2 vols. Tehrān: Dār al-kutub al-islāmiyyah, 1363-1365 AH.

al-Kurdī, Muḥammad Ṭāhir ibn 'Abd al-Qādir. *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān wa gharā'ib rasmihī*. 2nd ed. Cairo: Maktabah wa maṭba'ah muṣṭafā al-bābī, 1953.

Labīd ibn Rabī'ah. *Dīwān*. 1st ed. Beirut: Dār al-ma'rifah, 2004.

Maḥmūd Shīt Khaṭṭāb. *Qādah al-fatḥ al-islāmiyyah fī Armenia*. 1st ed. Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1998.

al-Majlisī, Muḥammad Bāqir. *Biḥār al-anwār fī āthār al-a'immah al-aṭhār*. 1st ed. 110 vols. Beirut: Mu'assasah al-wafā', 1404 AH.
_____. *Mir'āt al-'uqūl fī sharḥ akhbār āl al-rasūl*. 2nd ed. 30 vols. Tehrān: Dār al-kutub al-islāmiyyah, 1363 AH.

Mayrathī, Shabbīr Aḥmad Aẓhar. *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī kā muṭala'ah*. 1st ed. Lahore: Dār al-tazkīr, 2005.

Mālik ibn Anas. *Al-Mu'aṭṭa'*. 2 vols. Cairo: Dār ihyā' al-turāth al-'arabī, n.d.

Mannā' al-Qaṭṭān. *Mabāḥith fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*. 2nd ed. Riyāḍ: Maktabah al-ma'ārif li al-nashr wa al-tawzī', 1996.

Ma'rifah, Muḥammad Hādī. *Al-Tamhīd fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*. 11 vols. Qum: Maṭba'ah mahr, 1396 AH.

al-Maqdisī, Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Aḥmad. *Al-Aḥādīth al-mukhtārah*. 1st ed. 10 vols. Makkah: Maktabah al-nahḍah al-ḥadīthah, 1410 AH.

al-Maqdisī, Muṭṭahhir ibn Ṭāhir. *Al-Bad' wa al-tārīkh*. 6 vols. Būr Sa'īd: Maktabah al-thaqāfah al-dīniyyah, n.d.

al-Marwazī, Aḥmad ibn 'Alī. *Musnad Abī Bakr*. Beirut: Al-Maktab al-islāmī, n.d.

al-Mizzī, Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn al-Zakī. *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmā' al-rijāl*. 1st ed. 35 vols. Beirut: Mu'assasah al-risālah, 1980.

Muhalhal ibn Rabī'ah. *Dīwān*. N.p.: Al-Dār al-'ālamiyyah, n.d.

Muḥāmilī, Ḥusayn ibn Ismā'īl. *Amālī*. 1st ed. Oman: Dār Ibn al-Qayyim, 1412 AH.

Muḥammad Abū Shahbah. *Al-Madkhal li dirāsāt al-Qur'ān al-Karīm.* 1st ed. Kuwait: Ghirās li al-nashr wa al-tawzī', 2003.

Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Yasār. *Al-Sīrah al-nabawiyyah*. 1st ed. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 2004.

Muḥammad ibn Shahr Āshūb. *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*. 4 vols. Qum: Mu'assasah intishārāt 'allāmah, 1379 AH.

al-Mundhirī, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Aẓīm ibn ʿAbd al-Qawī. *Mukhtaṣar Abī Dāʾūd*. 1st ed. 4 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyyah, 2001.
_____ *Risālah fī al-jarḥ wa al-taʿdīl*. 1st ed. Kuwait: Maktabah dār al-aqṣā, 1406 AH.

Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Qushayrī. *Al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*. 4 vols. Beirut: Dār iḥyāʾ al-turāth al-ʿarabī, n.d.
_____. *Al-Kunā wa al-asmāʾ*. 1st ed. 2 vols. Madīnah: Al-Jāmiʿah al-islāmiyyah, 1404 AH.
_____. *Al-Ṭabaqāt*. 1st ed. 2 vols. Riyāḍ: Dār al-hijrah, 1991.

al-Mustaghfirī, Abū al-ʿAbbās Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad. *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān*. 1st ed. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2006.

al-Muttaqī ibn Ḥussām al-Dīn, ʿAlā al-Dīn ʿAlī. *Kanz al-ʿummāl fī sunan al-aqwāl wa al-afʿāl*. 1st ed. 16 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyyah, 1998.

al-Naḥḥās, Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl. *Al-Nāsikh wa al-mansūkh*. 1st ed. Kuwait: Maktabah al-fallāḥ, 1408 AH.

al-Najāshī, Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn al-ʿAbbās. *Rijāl*. Qum: Muʾassasah al-nashr al-islāmī, 1407 AH.

al-Nasāʾī, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb. *Al-Ḍuʿafāʾ wa al-matrūkīn*. Ḥalab: Dār al-waʿy, 1396 AH.
_____. *Al-Sunan al-kubrā*. 1st ed. 6 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyyah, 1991.
_____. *Al-Sunan al-mujtabā*. 2nd ed. 8 vols. Ḥalab: Maktab al-maṭbūʿāt al-islāmiyyah, 1986.
_____. *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān*. 2nd ed. Beirut: Dār bayḍāʾ, 1992.

Nāṣir al-Dīn Asad. *Maṣādir al-shiʿr al-jāhilī wa qīmatuhā al-tārīkhiyyah*. 1st ed. Cairo: Dār al-maʿārif, 1956.

Noeldeke, Theodore and Fredrich Schwally. *Geschichte des Qorans* (Tarīkh al-Qurʾān). Translated by Georges Tamer. 1st ed. Beirut: Konrad-Adenauer-Stitfung, 2004.

al-Nuʿmānī, Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm. *Al-Ghaybah*. Tehran: Maktabah al-ṣadūq, 1397 AH.

al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī. *Ṣubḥ al aʿshā fī ṣinaʿah al-inshāʾ*. 14 vols. Damascus: Wazārah al-thaqāfah, 1981.

al-Qasṭalānī, Abū al-ʿAbbās Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. *Irshād al-sārī li sharḥi Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. 10 vols. Beirut: Dār iḥyāʾ al-turāth al-ʿarabī, n.d.

Qudāmah ibn Jaʿfar. *Al-Khirāj wa ṣanāʿah al-kitābah*. 1st ed. Irāq: Dār al-rashīd,

n.d.

al-Quhpā'ī, 'Ināyatullāh ibn 'Alī. *Majma' al-rijāl*. 2nd ed. 7 vols. Qum: Mu'assasah maṭbū'āt ismā'īliyān, 1364 AH.

al-Qummī, 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm. *Tafsīr*. 2 vols. Najaf: Maṭba'ah al-Najaf, 1387 AH

al-Qurṭubī, Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abū Bakr. *Al-Jāmi' li aḥkām al-Qur'ān*. 20 vols. Cairo: Dār al-shu'ab, n.d.

al-Rabī' ibn Ḥabīb. *Musnad*. 1st ed. Beirut: Dār al-ḥikmah, 1415 AH.

Rāmahurmuzī, Ḥasan ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khallād. *Al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil bayn al-rāwī wa al-wa'ī*. 3rd ed. Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 1404.

al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar. *Al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*. 1st ed. 32 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 2000.

al-Ṣābūnī, Muḥammad 'Alī. *Al-Tibyān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*. 1st ed. Tehrān: Dār iḥsān, 1380 AH.

al-Ṣafadī, Abū al-Ṣafā' Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak ibn 'Abdullāh. *Al-Wāfī bi al-wafayāt*. 29 vols. Beirut: Dār iḥyā' al-turāth, 2000.

Sa'īd ibn Manṣūr. *Sunan*. 1st ed. 2 vols. India: Dār al-salafiyyah, 1982.

al-Sakhāwī, al-'Alam al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad. *Jamāl al-qurrā' wa kamāl al-iqrā'*. 1st ed. 3 vols. Makkah: Maktabah al-turāth, 1987.

al-Sakhāwī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān. *Fatḥ al-Mughīth*. 1st ed. 3 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1403 AH.

al-Ṣāliḥ, Ṣubḥī. *Mabāḥith fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*. 5th ed. Beirut: Dār al-'ilm li al-malāyīn, 1968.

al-Sam'ānī, Abū Sa'd 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr. *Adab al-imlā' wa istimlā'*. 1st ed. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1981.

al-Ṣan'ānī, 'Abd al-Razzāq ibn Ḥammām. *Tafsīr*. 1st ed. 3 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1999.
_____. *Muṣannaf*. 2nd ed. 11 vols. Beirut: Al-Maktab al-islāmī, 1403 AH.

al-Ṣaydāwī, Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Jamī'. *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh*. 1st ed. Beirut: Mu'assasah al-risālah, 1405 AH.

al-Shāfi'ī, Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Idrīs. *Al-Sunan al-māthūrah*. 1st ed. Beirut: Dār al-ma'rifah, 1406 AH.
_____. *Al-Umm*. 1st ed. 8 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 2002.

al-Shahrazūrī, Abū 'Amr ibn Ṣalāḥ. *Muqaddimah*. Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 1977.

al-Shartūnī, Saʿīd al-Khūrī. *Aqrab al-mawārid fī fuṣaḥi al-ʿarabiyyah wa al-shawārid*. 1ˢᵗ ed. 4 vols. Tehrān: Dār al-uswah, 1416 AH.

al-Shāshī, Abū Saʿīd al-Haytham ibn Kulayb. *Musnad*. 3 vols. Madīnah: Maktabah al-ʿulūm wa al-ḥikam, 1410 AH.

al-Shaybānī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿAmr ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk. *Al-Aḥād wa al-mathānī*. 1ˢᵗ ed. 6 vols. Riyāḍ: Dār al-rāyah, 1991.

Shaykh al-Mufīd, Abū ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nuʿmān al-ʿUkbarī. *Taṣḥīḥ al-iʿtiqād*. Qum: Qangarah Shaykh Mufīd, 1413 AH.

Sulaym ibn Qays. *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays*. Tehran: Muʾassasah al-baʿthah, 1407 AH.
_____ *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays*. Qum: Markaz al-abḥāth al-ʿaqāʾidiyyah, n.d.

al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Kamāl al-Dīn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn Sābiq al-Dīn. *Tadrīb al-rāwī*. 2 vols. Riyāḍ: Maktabah al-riyāḍ al-ḥadīthah, n.d.
_____. *Al-Itqān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān*. 1ˢᵗ ed. 4 vols. Baydār: Manshūrāt al-raḍī, 1349 AH.
_____. *Kitāb al-khulafāʾ*. 1ˢᵗ ed. Egypt: Maṭbaʿah al-saʿādah, 1952.
_____. *Bughyah al-wuʿāh fī ṭabaqāt al-lughwiyyīn wa al-nuḥāt*. 2 vols. Beirut: Al-Maktabah al-ʿaṣriyyah, n.d.
_____. *Jāmiʿ al-aḥādīth*. 30 vols. Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 1994.
_____. *Al-Durr al-manthūr*. 8 vols. Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 1993.

al-Ṭabarānī, Abū al-Qāsim Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad. *Al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*. 9 vols. Cairo: Dār al-Ḥaramayn, 1415 AH.
_____. *Al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*. 2ⁿᵈ ed. 25 vols. Mawsil: Maktabah al-zahrāʾ, 1983.
_____. *Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn*. 1ˢᵗ ed. 4 vols. Beirut: Muʾassasah al-risālah, 1984.

al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr. *Tārīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*. 5 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyyah, n.d.
_____. *Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan tāʾwīl Āy al-Qurʾān*. 1ˢᵗ ed. 30 vols. Beirut Dār iḥyāʾ al-turāth al-ʿarabī, 2001.

al-Ṭabrasī, Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. *Al-Iḥtijāj*. 3 vols. Najaf: Maṭbūʿāt al-Nuʿmān, 1386 AH.

al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, Muḥammad Ḥusayn. *Al-Mīzān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān*. 2ⁿᵈ ed. 20 vols. Qum: 1974.

al-Ṭaḥāwī, Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṣalāmah. *Sharḥ maʿānī al-āthār*. 1ˢᵗ ed. 4 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyyah, 1399 AH.
_____. *Sharḥ mushkil al-āthār*. 1ˢᵗ ed. 15 vols. Beirut: Muʾassasah al-risālah, 1987.

Ṭarfah ibn al-'Abd. 1ˢᵗ ed. *Dīwān*. Beirut: Dār al-ma'rifah, 2003.

Tashkubrazādah, Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafā. *Mawsū'ah muṣṭalaḥāt miftāḥ al-sa'ādah wa miṣbāḥ al-siyādah bi mawḍū'āt al-'ulūm*. 1ˢᵗ ed. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1985.

al-Ṭayālisī, Abū Dā'ūd Sulaymān ibn Dā'ūd. *Musnad*. Beirut: Dār al-ma'rifah, n.d.

al-Taymī, Abū al-Qāsim. *Al-Ḥujjah fī bayān al-maḥajjah wa sharḥ 'aqīdah ahl al-sunnah*. 2ⁿᵈ ed. 2 vols. Riyāḍ: Dār al-rāyah, 1999.

al-Tha'labī, Abū Isḥāq Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm. *Al-Kashf wa al-bayān*. 1ˢᵗ ed. 10 vols. Beirut: Dār iḥyā' al-turāth al-'arabī, 2002.

al-Tirmidhī, Abū 'Īsā Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā. *Al-Jāmi' al-kabīr*. 2ⁿᵈ ed. 6 vols. Beirut: Dār al-gharb al-islāmī, 1998.
_____.*Sunan*. 5 vols. Beirut: Dār iḥyā' al-turāth al-'arabī, n.d.

al-Ṭūsī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan. *Rijāl*. 1ˢᵗ ed. Najaf: Intisharāt-i ḥaydariyyah, 1381 AH.
_____. *Al-Tibyān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*. 1ˢᵗ ed. 10 vols. Qum: Maktab al-a'lām al-islāmī, 1409 AH.

'Umar ibn Shabbah. *Akhbār al-Madīnah*. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1996.

al-'Uqaylī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn Mūsā. *Al-Ḍu'afā' al-kabīr*. 1ˢᵗ ed. 4 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1984.

al-'Uthmānī, Zafar Aḥmad. *Qawā'īd fī 'ulūm al-ḥadīth*. Karachi: Idārah al-Qur'ān wa 'ulūm al-islāmiyyah, n.d.

al-Wāqidī, Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn 'Umar. *Kitāb futūḥ al-islām li bilād al-'ajam wa Khurāsāṇ*. Egypt: Matba'ah al-maḥrūsah, 1309 AH.

al-Wāsiṭī, Aslam ibn Sahl. *Tārīkh Wāsiṭ*. 1ˢᵗ ed. Beirut: 'Ālam al-kitāb, 1406 AH.

al-Ya'qūbī, Aḥmad ibn Abī Ya'qūb ibn Ja'far ibn Wahb ibn Wāḍiḥ. *Tārīkh*. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār ṣādir, n.d.

Yāqūt ibn 'Abdullāh, Abū 'Abdullāh al-Ḥamawī. *Mu'jam al-buldān*. 5 vols. Beirut: Dār al-fikr, n.d.

Yūsuf ibn Mūsā, Abū al-Maḥāsin. *Kitāb al-mu'taṣar min al-mukhtaṣar min mushkil al-āthār*. 2 vols. Beirut: 'Ālam al-kitāb, n.d.

al-Zamakhasharī, Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad ibn 'Umar. *Al-Fā'iq fi gharīb al-ḥadīth*. 2ⁿᵈ ed. 4 vols. Beirut: Dār al-ma'rifah, n.d.

_____. *Al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq al-tanzīl wa 'uyūn al-aqāwīl fī wujūh al-ta'wīl.* 4 vols. Beirut: Dār iḥyā' al-turāth al-'arabī, n.d.

al-Zanjānī, Abū 'Abdullāh ibn Mirzā Naṣr al-Dīn. *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān.* 2nd ed. Beirut: Mu'assasah al-a'lamī li al-maṭbū'āt, 1969.

al-Zarkashī, Abū 'Abdullāh Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Bahādur ibn 'Abdullāh. *Al-Burhān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān.* 2nd ed. 4 vols. Beirut: Dār al-fikr, 1980.

al-Zawzanī, Abū 'Abdullāh. *Sharḥ al-mu'allaqāt al-sab'.* 2nd ed. Beirut: Dār al-ma'rifah, 2004.

al-Zubaydī, Muḥammad Murtaḍā. *Tāj al-'arūs.* 40 vols. N.p.: Dār al-hidāyah, n.d.

Zuhayr ibn Abī Salamah. *Dīwān.* Beirut: Shirkah dār al-Arqam ibn Abī Arqam, n.d.

al-Zurqānī, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī ibn Yūsuf. *Sharḥ al-Zurqānī 'alā Mu'aṭṭa' Imām Mālik.* 1st ed. 4 vols. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1411 AH.

al-Zurqānī, Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Aẓīm. *Manāhil al-'irfān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān.* 2nd ed. 2 vols. Beirut: Dār iḥyā' al-turāth al-'arabī, 1998.

English

Abbott, Nabia. *The Rise of the North Arabic Script and its Kur'ānic Development with a Full Description of the Kur'ānic Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute.* 1st ed. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1939.

al-'Āẓamī, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā. *The History of the Qur'ānic Text from Revelation to Compilation.* 1st ed. Leicester: UK Islamic Academy, 2003.

Berg, Herbert. 'The Implication of, and Opposition to, the Methods and Theories of John Wansbrough.' *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 9 (1997): 3-22.

Burton, John. *The Collection of the Qur'ān.* 1st ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Caetani, Leone. 'Uthman and the Recension of the Koran.' *The Muslim World* 5 (1915): 180-190.

Casanova, Paul. *Mohamed et la fin du monde etude critique sur l'Islam primiti.* Paris: P. Geuthner, 1911.

Crone, Patricia and Micheal Cook. *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

Donner, Fred McGraw. 'The Qur'ān in Recent Scholarship, Challenges and Desiderata.' In *The Qur'ān in its Historical Context*, ed. Gabriel Said Reynolds, 1st ed. Oxford: Routledge, 29-50.
_____. *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing*. 1st ed. New Jersey: The Darwin Press, 1998.

Gilchrist, John. *Jam' al-Qur'ān: The Codification of the Qur'ān Text*. 1st ed. Mondeor: MERCSA, 1989.

Herschfeld, Hartwig. *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Qur'ān*. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1902.

Jeffery, Arthur, ed. *Muqadimmatān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*. Cairo: Maktabah khanjī, 1954.

Jeffery, Arthur. *Materials for the History of the Text of the Koran*. 1st ed. Netherlands: 1936.

Juynboll, G.H.A. ed., *Encyclopedia of Canonical Ḥadīth*, 1st ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2007), xvii-xxxiii.

Juynboll, G.H.A., 'Some Isnad Analytical Methods Illustrate on the Basis of Several Women Demeaning Sayings from Ḥadīth Literature.' In *Studies on the Origins and Uses of Islamic Ḥadīth*, 1st ed. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1996.

Mingana, Alphonse. 'The Transmission of the Qur'ān.' *The Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society* 6 (1915-1916): 25-47.

Mir, Mustansir. *Coherence in the Qur'ān, A Study of Nazm in Tadabbur-i Qur'ān*. 1st ed. Indianapolis: American Trust Publications, 1986.

Motzki, Harald. 'Dating Muslim Traditions: A Survey.' *Arabica* 52 (2005): 204-253.
_____ 'The Collection of the Qur'ān: A Reconsideration of Western Views in the Light of Recent Methodological Developments.' *Der Islam* 78 (2001): 1-34.
_____ Alternative Accounts on the Qur'ān's Formation in *The Cambridge Companion to the Qur'ān*, ed. Jane Dammen Mcauliffe, 1st ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 59-75.

Motzki, Harald., ed. *Ḥadīth: Origins and Developments*. The Formation of the Classical Islamic World. Vol. 28, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004.

Muir, William, ed. *The Apology of Al-Kindy*. 2nd ed. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1887.

Nevo, Yehuda. D., 'Towards a Pre-History of *Islam' Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islām*, 17 (1994): 108-141.

Ozkan, Halit. 'The Common Link and its Relation to the Madār.' *The Islāmīc Law Quarterly* 11 (2004): 42-77.

Reynolds, Gabriel Said. 'Introduction: Qur'ānic Studies and its Controversies.' In *The Qur'ān in its Historical Context*, ed. Gabriel Said Reynolds, 1st ed. Oxford: Routledge, 2007, 1-25.

Schacht, Joseph. *Origins of Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*. 1st ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1950.

Wansbrough, John. *Qur'ānic Studies, Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation*. 1st ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Watt, William Montgommery and Richard Bell. *Introduction to the Qur'ān*. 1st ed. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970.

Urdu

'Imādī, Tamannā. *Jam' al-Qur'ān.* 2nd ed. Karachi: al-Raḥmān Publishing Trust, 1994.
_____ *Imām Zuhrī and Imam Tabarī*. Karachi: Raḥmān Publishing Trust, 1994.

Iṣlāḥī, Amīn Aḥsan. *Tadabbur-i Qur'ān*, 2nd ed. 9 vols. Lahore: Faran Foundation, 1986).

Nu'mānī, Shiblī. *Maqālāt*. 1st ed. 8 vols. Lahore: National Book Foundation, 1989.

Raḥmānī, 'Abd al-Laṭīf. *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*. 1sted. Lahore: Ṣuffah Publications, 2001.

Rāmyār, Maḥmūd. Translated by Sayyid Anwār Aḥmad Bilgarāmī. *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*. 1st ed. Lahore: Misbāḥ al-Qur'ān Trust, 1421 AH.

_____