

The Historiography of the Qur'an in the Muslim World: The Influence of Theodor Nöldeke

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Almost 75 years after the initial publication of Theodor Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorâns*,¹ Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Zanjānī (1892–1941), an Iranian religious scholar, made a brief reference in the final chapter of his *Tārīkh al-Qurʾān* to an edition of Nöldeke's work revised by Schwally, Bergsträsser and Pretzl. He described Nöldeke as a great scholar and his *Geschichte des Qorâns* as a valuable contribution. Al-Zanjānī's work also included an outline of Nöldeke's discussion on the order of the revelation of the suras.² It is probably safe to say that al-Zanjānī's book is the first independent work on the history of the Qur'an by a Muslim scholar. This fact leads one to wonder about the apparent lack of previous interest in the historiography of the Qur'an among Islamic scholarship. The present paper seeks to address this question and offer an overview of historical scholarship on the Qur'an contributed by Muslim writers both before and following Nöldeke.

1. Before Nöldeke

In its contemporary usage, the subject area 'history of the Qur'an' encompasses the revelation of the Qur'an, chronological dating of its chapters, the initial recording and subsequent preservation of its contents, its compilation, the early manuscripts, the variant readings, development and evaluation of the Qur'anic script and the associated punctuation system, and last but not least, the translation of its meanings into other languages. Prior to the twentieth century, Muslim writers seldom concerned themselves with these issues. Thus, never during the premodern period was the issue of history of the Qur'an as interesting to Muslim theologians, commentators, historians and philologists as other aspects such as the question of its inimitability, the

Journal of Qur'anic Studies 15.1 (2013): 46–68

Edinburgh University Press

DOI: 10.3366/jqs.2013.0077

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www.euppublishing.com/jqs

issue of whether the Qur'an was created (*hudūth*) or existed eternally (*qidam*), and whether or not any distortions have crept into the original text. Some may argue that the classical Islamic literature on Qur'anic scholarship which dealt with the issue of variant readings and discrepancies among Qur'an compilations may amount to works on history of the Qur'an in its modern sense. In this writer's opinion, however, such a classification is unjustified. The bulk of material compiled in early Islamic works such as *maṣāḥif* books merely constitute raw data and reports, the authenticity or validity of which may or may not be recognised. From the viewpoint of modern Qur'anic scholarship, the many reports on compilation of the Qur'an narrated in al-Bukhārī's *al-Jāmi'* or Abū 'Ubayd's *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān* and Ibn Sa'd's *al-Ṭabaqāt*, or the reports in al-Suyūṭī's *al-Itqān*, specifying the order of revelation of Qur'anic verses, do not constitute historiographical literature on the Qur'an in their own right in the accepted sense of the term, unless these are accompanied by critical discussions, evaluations and other analytical material.

I first want to address the question of why, prior to the twentieth century, no Muslim scholar has ever authored a book specifically dedicated to or entitled 'the History of the Qur'an'. We should perhaps not set too much in the store by the exact wording of this title, but even so one may wonder why, in comparison with Western writers, so few Muslim scholars have concerned themselves with the historical aspects of the Qur'an. I believe the answer to this question lies in the fact that the subdiscipline of Qur'anic historiography, as an independent branch of Qur'anic scholarship, originated in the West. As mentioned above, in classical Islamic literature one can occasionally find reports or even chapters dedicated to discussions of the chronological ordering of verses and chapters of the Qur'an, or comments on the process of the compilation of the Qur'an undertaken during the caliphates of Abū Bakr and 'Uthmān, but such unsystematic studies can never be considered the same as the recent works specifically devoted to Qur'anic historiography authored by, for example, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Zanjānī, Maḥmūd Rāmyār and Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-A'zamī. The latter works all demonstrate a modern – to some extent, Western – approach and defy classification in terms of the genres of traditional Islamic works.³ A work on specific subjects in history of the Qur'an such as the compilation of the Qur'an, the history of the variant readings and the transformation of the Qur'anic script by the prominent scholars of the premodern and early modern periods such as al-Ṭabarī, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Rāzī or even al-Ālūsī al-Baghdādī (1857–1924) would be as much an anachronism as a world cup game played in the third century!⁴

The above discussion gives rise to the question of why the history of the Qur'an as we know it today, should be considered a Western discipline. The reasons are threefold:

1. The Western academic tradition was generally more preoccupied with history, including the history of knowledge, concepts and disciplines, than the Muslim

scholarship tradition. Consequently, historical subdisciplines such as the history of Islamic law and jurisprudence, the history of *ḥadīth* and the history of Arabic grammar were not much developed among the Muslim scholars of the Middle Ages. Following the European Renaissance, Western interest in historical research grew profoundly. The historical approach to study of religions and their scriptures is a relatively modern phenomenon and dates back to less than three centuries ago. Therefore, it is only natural and unsurprising that the pioneering historical works on the Qur'an were authored in the West, where historical scholarship has been noted.

2. The second reason relates largely to the chronological ordering and dating of Qur'anic verses and chapters. It has to do with the fact that throughout the centuries, Muslims have become habituated to the Qur'an's present configuration and have therefore come to take it for granted. This made investigating the relative chronology of the Qur'an superfluous or unnecessary for many scholars. On the other hand, when Westerners began to read Islamic scripture, they sought to understand the Qur'an in terms of their own background in Christian and Jewish Scriptures. The chronological order is better maintained in the books and narratives of the Bible than in the Qur'an, which is by comparison irregular and repetitive. Furthermore, the basic chronological division into the Old and the New Testament has remained valid till today. This has motivated interest in the problem of chronology.

3. The third reason has to do with the general attitude of Muslims towards the holy text and their perception of the duties of an Islamic scholar. By default, the Muslim scholar, throughout the course of the centuries, has applied himself to deriving Islamic legal code from the Qur'an and understanding its various theological, legal, exegetical and literary aspects. From this vantage point, the holy text is timeless. Its divine status means that it exists independently of temporal constraints. This is especially true in the prevalent (Ash'arī and *ahl al-ḥadīth*) view in which the Qur'an is held to exist independently of time and location.⁵ This notion of the pre-eternity and timelessness of the Qur'an was, however, a problematic concept to Western scholars. To them, acquiring a detailed historical understanding of the events during the life of the Prophet and his personality was of much higher priority; for this knowledge was instrumental in theological and ideological interaction with their Muslim counterparts.⁶ This subsequently gave rise to the first ever translations of the Qur'an in Europe such as the *Corpus Toletanum*. In a later period when the Western approach to Islamic studies had taken a more systematic form in academic circles, the evolution of Islamic thought remained the prime focus. From the perspective of Western scholars, the Qur'an had developed in stages: it had grown from a period of infancy, through childhood and adolescence. The contemporary Qur'an, which enjoys a complete writing system along with full punctuation and diacritics, including even the signs of *al-waqf* (pause during reading), is a completely mature text. Even the all-important development of Qur'an translations or the Islamic tradition of manuscript

illumination (*tadhīb*) is part of the history of the Qur'an. It is only natural to assume that from the point of view of a Western scholar, such a work possesses a rich background and significant history. This highlights the priority of historical studies as the focus of Western Qur'anic scholarship.⁷

In sum, it is the needs of a society and the problems and questions posed by its scholars that drive the rise of new disciplines and determine the course of further developments. The need for the historiography of the Qur'an as an independent field of inquiry in Qur'anic studies was not particularly felt by Muslim society and thus it did not warrant research during the early centuries of Islamic period. Because of this, the limited amount of such material which had been gathered and was of a rather general character, would often find its way into the prefaces of various commentaries or works of a general nature which were usually supplied with generic titles such as '*Ulūm al-Qur'ān* ('Qur'anic Sciences').⁸

2. After Nöldeke

As previously mentioned, historical Qur'anic scholarship has its roots in the Western tradition and it was with Nöldeke-Schwally's *Geschichte des Qorāns* that the field finally achieved maturity in its modern approach. Although prior to Nöldeke, there were a number of contributions to the subject by other Western individuals, including Gustav Weil (1808–89),⁹ William Muir (1819–1905)¹⁰ and Aloys Sprenger (1813–93),¹¹ it was Nöldeke who first supplied an independent work which carried the title 'The History of the Qur'an'.¹² After him, many more scholars have worked on the subject but never again – to my knowledge – has anyone in the West entitled a book in a similar fashion;¹³ it seems that 'The History of the Qur'an' as an independent title faded into obscurity in contemporary Western literature.¹⁴ Conversely, in the same period in the Muslim world (Turkey, Iran, Malaysia, the Indian subcontinent and the Arab world) many works have been authored under the title 'The History of the Qur'an'. In the West, this field has been pursued as an elaborate discipline with various specialisations, many of which have been treated in independent works under headings such as *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān* (Arthur Jeffery, 1937), *Introduction to the Qur'ān* (Richard Bell, 1953), *Introduction au Coran* (Régis Blachère, 1977), *The Collection of the Qur'ān* (John Burton, 1979), and *Studien zur Komposition der mekkanischen Suren* (Angelika Neuwirth, 1980). Also over the past couple of decades, emerging questions pertaining to the origins of the Qur'anic text and its particular linguistic style, the socio-historical context in which Islam developed and the 'issue of the sources' have gained prominence and established newfound connections with the old and traditional areas of inquiry in Qur'anic historiography. Works including *Quranic Studies* (John Wansbrough, 1978), *Hagarism* (Michael Cook and Patricia Crone, 1979) and

Die Syro-Aramäische Lesart des Koran (Christoph Luxenberg, 2000) may be interpreted as contributions within this trend.

The situation is, however, completely different within the Muslim world. Some of the more prominent works by Muslim scholars which bear the title of 'History of the Qur'an' have more or less been directly influenced by earlier original contributions by Western sources like Nöldeke, Blachère and Bell and often contain serious criticism of Western scholarship. The unifying characteristic of such works is their underlying *Islamic* approach to historical Qur'anic scholarship; that is, they are intended to be primarily appreciated by a Muslim audience. Certain questions, forms of evidence and inferences that have priority for Western scholars may be treated as topics of secondary interest in the writings of their Muslim counterparts.

The earliest known Muslim work on the history of the Qur'an in the twentieth century can be attributed to Mūsā Jārullāh Turkistānī¹⁵ (1878–1949) and is entitled *Tārīkh al-Qurʾān wa'l-maṣāḥif* ('The History of the Qur'an and its Manuscripts'). This somewhat compact piece of writing was authored in Arabic in St Petersburg, and was chiefly intended as a supplement to reform and improve the educational standard of religious schools in Russia rather than being a scholarly work on the history of the Qur'an in the modern sense. As the author pointed out in his introduction, he offered an exposition of several couplets from al-Shāḥibī's *al-ʿAqīla* as well as Ibn Jazarī's *al-Ṭayyiba* on the collection of the Qur'an and its recitation, so that students of Islamic studies would acquire a greater understanding of the Qur'an, its history and the associated sciences than what was commonly offered at seminaries at the time.¹⁶ Some of his remarks show his familiarity with related works by non-Muslims on the subject: 'In recent centuries we often see non-Muslim scholars taking a keener interest and paying greater attention than Muslim scholars to the history of the Qur'an and the early codices.'¹⁷ Additionally, Mūsā Jārullāh wrote a number of separate articles on the history of the Qur'an.¹⁸

Arguably, the single most important and earliest standalone piece of published scholarship belongs to Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Zanjānī. His *Tārīkh al-Qurʾān*, which later gained recognition in the Arab world, was first published in Cairo in 1935.¹⁹ It consists of a substantial introduction and three main parts. The introduction offers a brief biography of the Prophet as well as an overview of the general state of world affairs at his time. The first part of the book covers the following topics: the development of writing in the Hijaz, the Qur'anic script; the commencement of divine revelation; the chronology of the revelation of the Qur'an; the Prophet's recitation of the Qur'an to his companions; the writing and transcription of the Qur'an while it was being revealed upon the Prophet's command, and its actual writers; the principal writing materials at the time of the Prophet; the collectors and compilers of the Qur'an

at the time of the Prophet; the chronology of revelation of suras; and the chronological ordering of Meccan and Medinan verses.

In the second part, al-Zanjānī discusses the process of collection of the Qur'an during the caliphate of Abū Bakr, °Umar and °Uthmān and the order of the suras in the manuscripts compiled by °Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (*muṣḥaf °Alī*), Ubayy b. Ka°b, Ibn Mas°ūd, Ibn °Abbās and Ja°far al-Šādiq. The names of the master reciters of each reading are given along with the list of those who have transmitted each version. Also covered is the issue of punctuation and *i°jām* (the dotting of Arabic letters to differentiate them). The third part of the book concerns the translation of the Qur'an into European languages, the historiography of the Qur'an from the point of view of Western orientalism, and the *fawātiḥ al-suwar* (the so-called 'mysterious letters'). Considering that he was educated in Iran, Iraq and Egypt, the scope of al-Zanjānī's command of European languages is unclear.²⁰ Nevertheless, his work clearly manifests the influence of Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorāns* in both structure and content. His writings were published at a time when no other standalone work on the subject existed throughout the Muslim and Arab world. Consequently, this rather compact and modest book has had a lasting influence on subsequent writings in the Muslim world.²¹

Moving forward to the early twentieth century, we find Muḥammad °Abd Allāh Drāz (1894–1958), who offered a thorough treatment of the history of the Qur'an in his writings. He graduated from al-Azhar University in 1916, and later pursued advanced studies in France in 1936 where he was a student of Louis Massignon. He authored two doctoral dissertations in French, both of which were later translated into Arabic and a number of other Islamic languages. His second dissertation was entitled *Initiation au Qur'ān: exposé historique analytique et comparative*, which he later published in Cairo (in 1949) and Paris (in 1951).²² The first chapter of this work, 'The Collection of the Text of the Qur'ān', offers a comprehensive summary of the subject. While drawing attention to the earlier works of Mūsā Jārullāh and Abū °Abd Allāh al-Zanjānī, the book contains numerous references to the major Western contributions including the works of Nöldeke and Schwally, Jeffery and Lammens. On occasion he does not hesitate to support his arguments by quoting Nöldeke. As an example, he writes: 'It is impossible to explain everybody's acceptance of the °Uthmānic codex without dispute and opposition in terms of blind submission on their part. We find Nöldeke (*GdQ*, vol. 2, p. 93) admitting, "This can be considered the strongest indication that the Qur'anic text has a high level of completeness and accuracy."²³

Šubḥī al-Šāliḥ (1925–86) is a later figure who, like Drāz is considered among the pioneers of historical Qur'anic scholarship in the Arab world. He studied at al-Azhar and the Sorbonne²⁴ and later taught at the Universities of Damascus and Beirut. He wrote extensively on various Islamic disciplines, but is particularly

recognised for his *Mabāhiṭh fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* ('Studies in Qur'anic Sciences'), the second chapter of which deals exclusively with history of the Qur'an.²⁵ Although major Western scholars are frequently named and referenced throughout the work, it is Régis Blachère who receives the greatest attention, and he is cited systematically whenever there is a connection with the topic at hand.²⁶ Sometimes al-Ṣāliḥ dismisses Blachère's views, at other times he recognises their validity, and on yet other occasions he cites them only to support the dominant Muslim position.²⁷

In the second half of the twentieth century, a number of Muslim exegetes also became interested in the history of the Qur'an. Two well-known Shīʿī jurists and exegetes, namely Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī (1892–1982) and Sayyid Abū'l Qāsim al-Khūʾī (1899–1992), have treated the subject in some detail in their respective works on the Qur'an. In his *al-Bayān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, which saw initial publication in Najaf in 1955, al-Khūʾī dedicated a whole section to the history of the Qur'an, where he covered such topics as its collection, the *aḥādīth* of the *sabʿat aḥruf* (the seven 'modes' or 'versions'), the perennial question of alterations in the holy text, the variant readings and the prominent reciters, and the subject of *naskh* ('abrogation') in the Qur'an. Al-Khūʾī, whose expertise in Islamic jurisprudence and law is widely recognised, was the first Shīʿī figure to explicitly dismiss as inauthentic the bulk of reports which accredit collection of the Qur'an to the first caliph (Abū Bakr) due to their internal inconsistency and lack of agreement with other historical evidence or religious precepts. By discarding such reports, as John Burton had done, he dated the initial collection and compilation of the Qur'an to the time of the Prophet himself.²⁸ Elsewhere he rejected the validity of the *aḥādīth* of the *sabʿat aḥruf* on both internal grounds (i.e. content) and external ones (i.e. the *asānīd*). He also questioned the status of the 'seven readings' (*al-qirāʾāt al-sabʿa*) as *mutawātir*.²⁹ Later translated into both Persian and English,³⁰ al-Khūʾī's work greatly influenced the general atmosphere of Qur'anic scholarship in Iran, where many subsequent scholars followed him in rejecting the role of Abū Bakr in the collection of the Qur'an and asserting that it was the Prophet who had the text collected.³¹ In his extensive introduction to the *al-Tafsīr al-ḥadīth*, the Syrian Sunnī scholar, Muḥammad ʿIzzat Davaza (1887–1984), took a somewhat similar position.³² The late al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, on the other hand, in his voluminous commentary *al-Mizān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, includes a lengthy section on the reports about the history and collection of the Qur'an in connection with his discussion on rejecting any possible alterations to the Qur'anic text.³³ Al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī offers a completely different view from that of al-Khūʾī about the authenticity of reports that link Abū Bakr to the collection of the Qur'an.³⁴ Yet they both agree in their refusal to use the title of 'History of the Qur'an' to characterise their respective discussions, preferring instead titles that are more recognisable and common in the classical Islamic literature.

°Abd al-Şabūr Shāhīn (1928–2010) was the author of arguably the most influential and well-recognised work on the history of the Qur'an in the Arab and particularly Sunnī, Muslim world. He too was a graduate of French schools and was hence familiar with Western Qur'an scholarship. His work, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, first published in 1966,³⁵ covered all of the major topics in historical Qur'anic studies and contained frequent quotations from Nöldeke, Schwally and Blachère. An important distinguishing feature of Shāhīn's work is his expertise in Qur'anic script and the less-commonly reported or rare readings of the Qur'an (*shawādh*); the relevant sections in *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān* are unparalleled in quality and authority. He mentions only al-Zanjānī and al-Khū'ī among contemporary Muslim writers, and in the case of the latter his tone is usually critical.

The first and most comprehensive work in Persian on the history of the Qur'an was *Tārīkh-e Qur'ān* authored by Maḥmūd Rāmyār (1922–84) and published in 1967.³⁶ A profound command of the Arabic and Persian languages and sources, and knowledge of English, French and German³⁷ have made his work, in this writer's opinion, the most reliable and comprehensive of its kind among the Islamic contributions to the field. His book was published at approximately the same time as Shāhīn's *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, but – being in Persian – has never enjoyed the same level of recognition and popularity as the works of Shāhīn and al-Zanjānī in the Arab world.

Rāmyār held a doctoral degree in political science from Tehran University. After becoming acquainted with William Montgomery Watt, he undertook a second doctoral dissertation under Watt's supervision at Edinburgh University, from October 1974 to July 1977. Prior to this, he was briefly (in 1965) in France, during which time he worked on a translation of Blachère's *Introduction au Coran*. Later, he became a Member of Parliament, although for most of his life he was a Professor of Islamic studies at the Ferdowsi University of Mashhad.³⁸ His work is important in many respects, but we shall focus here on the degree to which it has been enriched with so many references to Western sources, especially Nöldeke-Schwally's *Geschichte des Qorāns*. Needless to say, throughout the book, Rāmyār introduces numerous other Western figures, both pre- and post-dating Nöldeke, whose views he later proceeds to examine.³⁹

He offers a critical assessment of the Western position from the point of view of an orthodox Muslim who is clearly familiar with their methodology and sources. By providing occasional quotations and careful presentations of Western views he adds greatly to the knowledge of the average reader who might know only Persian.⁴⁰ For instance, in his revised edition of Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorāns* (at vol. 2, p. 20), Schwally has reiterated the claim made by Caetani about the losses during the battle of Yamāma where he states that these fatalities were mostly from the new Muslim

converts and that the lists such as that found in Ibn Sa'ad's *al-Ṭabaqāt* name only two individuals who are certain to be well-known reciters (*qurrā'*).⁴¹ Rāmyār responds to this claim by consulting lists in several sources including the *Ansāb al-ashraf* and the *Futūḥ al-buldān* (both by al-Balādhurī) and arguing that if we base our conclusions on the reports in Islamic sources, the list of people killed in the battle of Yamāma would include many more *qurrā'* and even transcribers (*kuttāb*) of the revelations.⁴² Many other instances of criticism of non-Muslim authors can be found throughout the book, on topics including but not limited to the alleged tutors of the Prophet, the story of Bahira the Monk (pp. 120–33), Buhl's view on the 'mysterious letters' (p. 292), the claims by Garcin de Tassy and Mirza Kazem Beg about their discovery of new suras (pp. 378–80), and Schwally's criticism of the alleged collection of the Qur'an during the reign of Abū Bakr (pp. 393–400).⁴³

Other contemporary Iranians who have written on the history of the Qur'an along more or less similar lines include Sayyid Abū'l-Faḍl Mīr-Muḥammadī, Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir Ḥujjatī, Sayyid Muḥammad Rezā Jalālī Nā'īnī, 'Alī Ḥujjatī Kermānī and Muḥammad Hādī Ma'refat. One need look no further than Muḥammad Hādī Ma'refat (1930–2008) to find a substantially different view of Qur'anic history. He was a student of the late Sayyid Abū'l Qāsim al-Khū'ī in Iraq and from a young age demonstrated a keen interest in Qur'anic studies and exegesis, in contrast to majority of his peers in the seminary, who tended to apply themselves to positive law and legal theory. He published his first and most important work, *al-Tamhīd fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, in multiple volumes in Iraq and Iran, two of which are dedicated to the history of the Qur'an, its collection and compilation, and its multiple readings.⁴⁴ It also contains a discussion of Qur'anic scripts. The closely related *Tārīkh-e Qur'ān* is an abridged edition of his *al-Tamhīd* in Persian, which was written for university curricula in Iran.⁴⁵ Perhaps his most surprising position, at least to Sunnī Arab and Western scholars, is his powerful criticism of the established 'Uthmānī writing system (*rasm*). He maintains that during transcription of the early manuscripts, a lot of inadvertent mistakes crept into the copied text, due to various reasons that may include the inherent imperfections or crudeness of the early scripts and lack of sufficient cognitive skills on part of the transcribers. Later, many of these mistakes came to be considered part of the sacred text and thus were deemed beyond modification. He supplies an extensive list of the assumed orthographical errors in the Qur'an and goes on to recommend that they should be modified in a consistent manner to conform to the established and modern orthographical standards of the Arabic script.⁴⁶

A bridge between East and West on the historiography of the Qur'an and its dating, however, is found in the works of Mehdi Bāzargān (1907–95) the first post-revolutionary prime minister of Iran. His most notable work on the subject is *Seyr-e taḥawwul-e Qur'ān* ('The Evolutionary Course of the Qur'an'),⁴⁷ a title which

reveals the degree to which the viewpoint of contemporary Muslim scholars has transformed. Bāzargān grew up in a deeply religious family and harboured Iranian-nationalist tendencies. During the 1940s he studied engineering at Central College in France. Later – while in Shah Prison – he would combine his classical knowledge of Qur'anic sciences and exegesis with the Western scholarship of such figures as Régis Blachère.

According to him, the early revelations had shorter verses. Verse length grew gradually and linearly over the years. To him the overall trend suggests a gradual evolutionary process in the revelation of the Qur'an in terms of both syntax (form) and content. After a thorough examination of the old sources and existing theories, he classified the verses into a number of theme-based categories and then proposed a 'mathematical model' which attempted to estimate the time of revelation of each fragment in the 23-year span of the Prophet's mission.

By comparing the predicted results with the available historical reports on dates of certain verses, he evaluated the accuracy of his proposed model. After having obtained and evaluated his chronology, he used it to examine the degree to which different themes appeared, giving plots of the frequency of different topics against time. He thus gives an account of the way in which the treatment of different topics developed over time. In common with Richard Bell, in Bāzargān's chronological sequence for the Qur'an, many suras including *Sūrat al-Baqara* are broken down and the resulting fragments of verses are independently dated.⁴⁸

Contemporary Qur'anic historiography involves many scholars from Muslim countries other than Iran and the Arab world. The Indian subcontinent has long been a major centre of Qur'anic historical scholarship. That may be due to the fact that certain British orientalists (notably William Muir, Edward Sell and Arthur Jeffery) published some of their writings in the subcontinent, which resulted in Indian Muslims' very early exposure to Western scholarship. However, to the extent of my knowledge, no English-language works have ever been published by the Muslim writers of the subcontinent, practically all of the published material has been in Urdu, often designated with the Arabic title *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*. A few of these works, however, were later translated into English.⁴⁹ The oldest known book on the history of the Qur'an in the Urdu language, published in 1917 in Lahore, was apparently written by Maulana Muhammad Ali Lahori (1931–78) and entitled *Jam'c-i Qur'ān* ('The Collection of the Qur'an').⁵⁰ A number of other works on the Qur'an have since been written in Urdu and a list of these can be found Appendix IV below. All of these were only known in the Urdu-speaking world and consequently these works failed to have a major impact on scholarship elsewhere.

Turkish was among the first languages of the Muslim world to feature a modern work on the history of the Qur'an. The earliest of such writings, entitled *Tārīh-i*

Kur'ân-ı Kerîm, was authored by Sherefettin Yaltkaya (1879–1947), and was published in 1915 in Istanbul. Even though Turkish Qur'anic scholarship holds the distinction of having the greatest number of historical works on the Qur'an among the Islamic languages, nearly all these are almost unknown outside the cultural borders of Turkey. In this respect, three major works by Muhammad Hamidullah (1908–2002) and a Turkish translation of Muḥammad Muṣṭafa al-A^czamî's *Kur'an Tarihi Vahyedilişinden Derlenişin*⁵¹ deserve mention. It is notable that thanks to a geographical and cultural proximity with Europe, Turkish is the only language (among Islamic languages) to feature research on the so-called historicity of the Qur'anic text.⁵²

3. Literature on the History of the Qur'an in the Muslim World

As mentioned above, prior to the twentieth century, Muslim scholars had never before undertaken independent scholarly works on the historical context of the Qur'an. The amount and diversity of literature produced during the past century on the subject, however, is substantial. Many of these works are of limited academic or scientific significance and are only worth mentioning in the context of highlighting a general rise in interest in the subject. On the other hand, there are also a number of very worthy contributions that serve well as reliable academic textbooks in universities and seminaries. The works of Maḥmūd Rāmyār, Muḥammad Bāqir Hujjatī and Muḥammad Hādī Ma^crefat are the most notable examples in this category.

Translations of Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorâns* in the Muslim world have had a history that can be characterised as inconsistent at best. It was Amīn al-Khūlī (1895–1966) who first referred, in his article on 'Tafsīr' in the *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif al-Islāmiyya*,⁵³ to an Arabic translation of this work undertaken by a graduate of the Faculty of Literature at University of Cairo, but this never saw publication and its fate remains unknown. A partial Turkish translation by Muammer Sencer was released in Istanbul in 1970,⁵⁴ but this was merely an abridged rendition of the second volume of the original German text.⁵⁵ At the same time, there was a faithful and fluent translation in Persian underway (translated by the late Iranian scholar and politician, Sayyed Muḥammad Beheshtī (1928–81) during his stay in Germany, where he led the prayers at Imām ^cAlī Mosque in Hamburg between 1965 and 1970), but this also remains unpublished to the present day.⁵⁶ In a side-by-side comparison I performed on the majority of this work some ten years ago, the degree of its accuracy and faithfulness became evident to me. It is not clear whether Beheshtī ultimately intended to publish his translation: his family has prepared it for publication, but apparently its release has been delayed for some reason.

The only complete translation of Nöldeke into one of the languages of Islamic scholarship is an Arabic version carried out under the supervision of Georges Tamer.

This was published in 2004 in Beirut and Berlin⁵⁷ and quickly gained recognition in the Islamic world, making Nöldeke, Schawally, Bergsträsser and Pretzl accessible to many Muslim scholars who had previously no means of accessing these texts.⁵⁸ Tamer's translation is sufficiently fluent and modern. However, it seems that confusion caused by the sheer amount of cross references in the original text has led to numerous unintentional omissions on part of the translator. Moreover, possibly due to his not having a particularly strong background in Qur'anic studies, some key terms or even ordinary expressions have sometimes been rendered incorrectly in an obvious way.⁵⁹

In addition to Nöldeke–Schwally, two other equally remarkable contributions, by Richard Bell and Régis Blachère respectively, have been translated into Islamic languages, both under the title of 'Introduction to the Qur'an'. Bell's outstanding work, revised by William Montgomery Watt, has been translated into Turkish (by Süleyman Kalkan),⁶⁰ Persian (by Bahā' al-Dīn Khurramshāhī)⁶¹ and Indonesian (by Taufik Adnan Amal).⁶² Also, Blachère's *Introduction au Coran* has been translated into Persian (by Rāmyār)⁶³ and his other, shorter, text, *Le Coran*, has been rendered into Persian and Arabic.⁶⁴ Within the Muslim world, a number of Islamic texts have been translated into other languages of the region, including the works of Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-A'zamī (Turkish, Indonesian),⁶⁵ 'Abd al-Ṣabūr Shāhīn and Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī (Persian, Indonesian),⁶⁶ and Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Zanjānī's *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān* has been published in Persian, English and German.⁶⁷

This article concludes by providing appendices listing the more notable contributions by Muslim writers on the history of the Qur'an in the six major languages of the Islamic world, namely Arabic, Malay, Persian, Turkish, Urdu and Indonesian. It should be mentioned that the list is only partial and is in no way exhaustive, but it should hopefully prove useful as a preliminary catalogue of the most prominent works in the field.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Works in Arabic

Ṣābir Ḥassan Muḥammad Abū Sulaymān, *Aḍwā' al-bayān fī tārikh al-Qur'ān*, (Riyadh: Dār 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1421/2000).

Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Dār al-Qalam, 1385/1965).

Khālid Abdul Raḥmān al-Ak, *Tārīkh tawthīq naṣṣ al-Qur'ān al-karīm* (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1406/1986).

Ja'far Murtaḍā Al-'Āmilī, *Ḥaqā'iq hāmma ḥawl al-Qur'ān al-karīm* (Qum: Mu'assasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1410/1990).

- Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Amīn al-Anṣārī, *Marāḥil jam^c al-Qur^ʿān al-karīm* (Mecca: Maktabat al-Asadī, n.d.).
- Muḥammad ^cIzzat Darwaza, *al-Qur^ʿān al-karīm: tanzīluḥū wa-uslūbuhū wa-āthāruhū wa-jam^cuhū wa-tadwīnuḥū wa-tarībuhū* (Sidon & Beirut: al-Maktaba al-^cAṣriyya, n.d.).
- Muḥammad ^cAbd Allāh Drāz, *Madkhal ilā^cl-Qur^ʿān al-karīm: arḍ tārīkhī wa-taḥlīl muqārīn*, tr. Muḥammad Abd al-^cAzīm ^cAlī (Kuwait: Dār al-Qur^ʿān & Dār al-Qalam, 1391/1971).
- Akram ^cAbd Khalīfa al-Dulaymī, *Jam^c al-Qur^ʿān: dirāsa taḥlīliyya li-marwīyyātihi* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-^cIlmiyya, 1427/2006).
- Mushtāq Bashīr al-Ghazālī, *al-Qur^ʿān al-karīm fī dirāsāt al-mustashriqīn: dirāsāt fī tārīkh al-Qur^ʿān* (Damascus: Dār al-Nafā^cis, 1429/2008).
- Ghānem Qaddūri al-Ḥamad, *Rasm al-muṣṣḥaf: dirasat lughawīyya tārīkhiyya* (Baghdad: al-Lajna al-Waṭaniyya li^cl-Iḥtifāl bi-Maṭla^ci al-Qarn al-Khāmis ^cAshar al-Hijrī, 1402/1982).
- Maḥmūd Muḥammad Ḥanṭūr, *Fuṣūl min tārīkh al-Qur^ʿān* (Cairo: Maktaba al-Ādāb, 1419/1998).
- Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ḥujjātī, *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh al-Qur^ʿān al-karīm* (Damascus: al-Mustashāriyya al-Thaqāfiyya li^cl-Jumhūriyya al-Islāmiyya, 1405/1985).
- Sayyid Abū^cl-Qāsim al-Mūsawī al-Khū^ʿī, *al-Bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur^ʿān* (Najaf: al-Maṭba^cat al-^cIlmiyya, 1377/1957). Printed in English as: *Prolegomena to the Qur^ʿān*, tr. and intr. Abdulaziz A. Sachedina, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- ^cAlī al-Kūrānī al-^cĀmilī, *Tadwīn al-Qur^ʿān* (Qum: Dār al-Qurān al-Karīm, 1418/1997).
- Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. ^cAbd al-Qādir al-Kurdī, *Tārīkh al-Qur^ʿān wa-gharā^cibu rasmiḥ wa-ḥukmi* (Jeddah: Maṭba^cat al-Fath, 1365/1946).
- Muḥammad Bāqir Malikīyān, *Tadwīn al-muṣṣḥaf al-sharīf* (Tehran: Uswa, 1388 SH/2009).
- Muḥammad Hādī al-Ma^crefat, *al-Tamhīd fī ^culūm al-Qur^ʿān* (Qum: Mu^cassasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1412/1992).
- Muḥammad ^cAbd al-^cAzīz Marzūq, *al-Muṣṣḥaf al-sharīf: dirāsāt tārīkhiyya wa-fanniyya* (Cairo: al-Hay^ca al-^cĀmma al-Miṣriyya li^cl-Kitāb, 1405/1985).
- Abū^cl-Faḍl Mīr-Muḥammadī Zarandī, *Buḥūth fī tārīkh al-Qur^ʿān wa-^culūmihi* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma^cārif, 1400/1980).
- Muḥammad Sālim Muḥaysin, *Tārīkh al-Qur^ʿān al-karīm* (Iskandria: Mu^cassasat Shabāb al-Jāmi^ca, 1401/1981).
- Theodor Nöldeke, *Tārīkh al-Qur^ʿān*, tr. George Tamer (Beirut & Berlin: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2004).
- Mūsā Jārullāh Rustūfidunī, *Tārīkh al-Qur^ʿān wa^cl-maṣāḥif* (St Petersburg: n.p., 1313/1905).

- °Abd al-Fattāh Qādī, *Tārīkh al-muṣḥaf al-sharīf* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Qāhira, 1420/1999).
- Muḥammad Qubaysī, *Tadwīn al-Qur'ān al-karīm* (Beirut: Dār al-Afāq, 1401/1980).
- Muḥammad Raf'at Sa'īd, *Tārīkh nuzūl al-Qur'ān al-karīm* (al-Manṣūra: Dār al-Wafā', 1422/2002).
- Muḥammad Ḥusayn °Alī al-Ṣaghīr, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān* (Beirut, n.p, 1403/1983).
- Ṣubḥī Ṣālīḥ, *Mabāḥith fī °ulūm al-Qur'ān* (Beirut: Dār al-°Ilm li'l-Malāyīn, 1384/1965).
- °Abd Allāh Maḥmūd Shaḥḥāta, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān wa'l-tafsīr* (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-°Āmma al-Miṣriyya li'l-Kitāb, 1392/1972).
- °Abd al-Ṣabūr Shāhīn, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān* (Beirut & Cairo: Dār al-Qalam, 1966).
- Sayyid Muḥammad °Alī °Ushayqir, *Lamaḥāt min tārīkh al-Qur'ān* (Najaf: Maṭba'at al-Nu'c mān, n.d. and Beirut: Mu'assasat al-A'lamī, 1408/1988).
- Abū °Abd Allāh al-Zanjānī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Lajnat al-Ta'lif wa'l-Tarjuma bi'l-Qāhira, 1353/1935).
- °Adnān Zarzūr, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān wa-°ulūmuhu* (Damascus: Maktabat Dār al-Faṭḥ, 1395/1975).
- Aḥmad °Umrān al-Zāwī, *Jawlat fī kitāb Nöldeke: tārīkh al-Qur'ān* (Damascus: Maktabat Dār al-Ṭalās, 2008).

Appendix II: Works in Indonesian

- Abu Bakar Aceh, *Sejarah al-Qur'an* (Ramadhani: Solo, 1981).
- Taufik Adnan Amal, *Rekonstruksi Sejarah Al-Quran* (Yogyakarta: FkBA, 2001).
- Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-A'zamī, *Sejarah Teks Al-Qur'an dari Wahyu sampai Kompilasi*, tr. Sohirin Solihin (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 2005).
- Richard Bell, *Pengantar studi al Qur'an*, tr. Taufik Adnan Amal (Jakarta: Rajawali, 1991).
- Rivai Burhanuddin, *Sejarah Alkitab dan Alqur'an* (Depok: Persahabatan, 1983–4).
- Wawan Djunaedi, *Sejarah qira'at al-Qur'an di Nusantara* (Jakarta: Pustaka STAINU, 2008).
- Ibrahim al-Ibaryiy, *Pengenalan sejarah Al-Qur'an*, tr. Saad Abdul Wahid (Jakarta: Rajawali, 1988).
- M. Quraish Shihab, *Sejarah dan Ulumul Qur'an*, ed. Azyumardi Azra (Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 2001).
- Abdussabur Syahin, *Sejarah Al-Qur'an*, tr. Ahmad Bachmid (Jakarta: Rehal Publika, 2008).
- Ismail Tekan, *Pelajaran Tajwid Al-Qur'an: dengan secara praktis - populer - dan sistematis (Tambahan dengan ringkasan sejarah Al-qur'an)* (Jakarta: al Husna Zikra, 1995).

W. Montgomery Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'an diterjemahkan oleh Lillian dengan judul Richard Bell: Pengantar Quran* (Jakarta: INIS, 1998).

Appendix III: Works in Malay

- Haji Aboebakar, *Sejarah al-Quran* (Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Antara, 1973).
 Mohd. Yusuf Ahmad, *Sejarah al Quran: Anugerah dari Langit* (Kuala Lumpur: Darul Nu'man, 2003 [2010]).
 Haji Abubakar Atjeh, *Falsafat al-Quran: sejarah pembukuan (Mashaf) peraturan dan hukum* (Kota Bharu: Pustaka Aman Press, 1980).
 Abd. Rahamn Muhammad al-Azhari, *Sejarah al-Qur'an & Kegemilangan Islam* (Johor Bahru: Perniagaan Jahabersa, 2002).
 Fadhilah Syeikh Abdul Fattah el-Qadhi, *Sejarah kitab al-Quran*, tr. Ismail bin Mohd. Hassan (Kuala Terengganu: Yayasan Islam Terengganu, 1986).

Appendix IV: Works in Persian

- Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, tr. Abdussatar Qamarī (Kermanshāh: Rāzī University, 1386 SH/2007).
 Sayyed Muḥammad °Alī Ayāzī, *Kāveshī dar Tārīkh-e Jam'e Qur'ān* (Rasht: Ketāb Mobīn, 1378 SH/1997).
 Mehdī Bāzargān, *Seyr-e Tahawwul-e Qur'ān* (Tehran: Sherkat-e Sahāmī-e Enteshār, 1355 SH/1977).
 Bell-Watt, *Darāmadī bar Tārīkh-e Qur'ān*, tr. Bahā° al-Dīn Khorramshāhī (Qum: Centre for Translating the Holy Qur'an, 1382 SH/2003).
 Regis Blachere, *Dar Āstāneye Qur'ān*, tr. Maḥmūd Rāmyār (Tehran: Daftar-e Nashr-e Farhang-e Islāmī, 1359 SH/1980).
 Regis Blachere, *Darāmadī bar Tārīkh-e Qur'ān*, tr. Asadullāh Mubashsherī (Tehran: Arghanūn, 1372 SH/1993).
 Muḥammad °Izzat Darwaza, *Tārīkh-e Qur'ān*, tr. Muḥammad °Alī Lesānī Feshārakī, (Tehran: Nahdat-e Zanān-e Musalmān, 1359 SH/1980).
 Arshad Ershād, *Tārīkh va °ulūm-e Qur'ān* (Tehran: Iḥsān, 1368 SH/1989).
 Yūsuf & Muḥammad Heydarī Fazā°ī, *Seyre Takāmoli-e Tārīkh-e Jam'e Qur'ān va Tafsīr* (Tehran: n.p., 1373 SH/1994).
 Ghānim Qaddūrī al-Ḥamad, *Rasm al-Khaṭṭ-e Muṣḥaf*, tr. Ya°qūb Ja°farī (Qum: Centre for Translating the Holy Qur'an, 1372 SH/1993).
 °Alī Hojjatī Kermānī, *Tārīkh va °ulūm-e Qur'ān* (Tehran: n.p., 1394/1974; 2nd edn, Tehran: Bunyād-e Qur'an, 1360 SH/1981).
 Muḥammad Bāqir Ḥujjatī, *Pajūheshī dar tārīkh-e Qur'ān-e karīm* (Tehran: Daftar-e Nashr-e Farhang-e Islāmī, 1359 SH/1980).

- Ja^cfar Nekūnām, *Darāmadī bar Tārīkhgozārī-e Qur^ʿān* (Tehran: Hastinama, 1380 SH/2001).
- Muḥammad Rezā Jalālī Nā^ʿinī, *Tārīkh-e Jamāvarī-e Qur^ʿān- Karīm* (Tehran: Noqreh, 1365 SH/1986).
- °Alī Kūrānī, *Tadwīn-e Qur^ʿān*, tr. Sayyid Mahmūd °Azīmī (Tehran: Soroush, 1379 SH/2000).
- Muḥammad Ṭāhir Kurdī, *Tārīkh-e Qur^ʿān va Shegefūthāye Rasmul Khaṭṭ*, tr. Muḥammad Sāleḥ Saeedī (Sanandaj & Tehran: Mas^ʿūd Publications, 1370 SH/1991).
- Muḥammad Hādī Ma^crefat, *Tārīkh-e Qur^ʿān* (Tehran: Samt, 1375 SH/1996).
- Majīd Ma^cāref, *Darāmadī bar Tārīkh-e Qur^ʿān* (Tehran: Naba^ʿ, 1383 SH/2004).
- Abū'l-Faḍl Mīr-Muḥammadī Zarandī. *Tārīkh va °Ulūm-e Qur^ʿān* (Qum: Daftar-e Enteshārāt-e Islāmī, 1363 SH/1384).
- Muḥammad Ḥusayn Muḥammadī, *Tārīkh-e Qur^ʿān* (Qum: Markaz-e Jahānī, 1385 SH/2006).
- Maḥmūd Rāmyār, *Tārīkh-e Qur^ʿān* (Tehran: Andishe, 1346 SH/1967; 2nd rev. edn, Tehran: Amirkabir, 1362 SH/1983).
- Şubḥī Şālīḥ, *Pajūhesh-hayi Darbāreye Waḥy va Qur^ʿān* tr. Muhammad Mujtāhed Shabestari (Tehran: Daftar-e Nashr-e Farhang-e Islāmī, 1362 SH/1983).
- °Abd al-Şabūr Shāhīn, *Tārīkh-e Qur^ʿān*, tr. Hāmid Bezdī Thānī (Mashhad: Āstān-e Quds-e Raḍawī, 1382 SH/2003).
- Muḥammad Walīkhāh, *Darāmadī bar Tārīkh-e Qur^ʿān-e Karīm* (Tehran: Islamic Azad University, 1382 SH/2003).
- Abū Abdullāh al-Zanjānī, *Tārīkh-e Qur^ʿān*, tr. Abū'l-Qāsem Saḥāb, Tabriz: Soroush, 1382AH/ 1341 SH/1962).

Appendix V: Works in Turkish

- Muḥammad Muştafā al-A^czamī, *Kur^ʿan Tarihi Vahyedilişinden Derlenişine*, tr. Ömer Türker & Fatih Serenli (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2006).
- Mehdī Bāzergan, *Kur^ʿan'ın Nüz l Süreci*, tr. Yasin Demirkiran & Mela Muhammed Feyzullah (Ankara: Fecr Yayınları, 1998).
- Abdülhamit Birişik, 'Kur^ʿān: Tanımı, Tarihi, Tertibi' in *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi Ankara* 26 (2002), pp. 383–8.
- Abdurrahman Çetin, *Kur^ʿan İlimleri ve Kur^ʿan-ı Kerim Tarihi* (İstanbul: Dergāh Yayınları, 1982).
- Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Kur^ʿan Tarihi ve Kur^ʿan Okumanın Edepleri*, tr. Ali Osman Yüksel (İstanbul: n.p., 1985, 1989).
- Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Muhtasar Kur^ʿan Tarihi* (İstanbul: n.p., 1985).

- Muhsin Demirci, *Kur'ân Tarihi* (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Vakfı, 2005).
- Derveze, İzzet, *Kur'an-ı'l-Mecid*, tr. Vahdettin İnce (İstanbul: Ekin Yayınları, 1997).
- Muhammad Abdullah Draz, *Kur'an'a Giriş*, tr. Salih Akdemir (Ankara: Kitabiyat Yayınları, 2000).
- Ali Eroğlu, *Kur'ân Tarihi ve Kur'ân İlimleri Üzerine* ('On the History of the Koran and the Sciences of the Koran') (Erzurum: EKEV Yayınevi, 2002).
- İsmet Ersöz, *Kuran Tarihi: Kur'an-ı Kerim'in İndirilişi ve Bugüne Gelişi* (İstanbul: Ravza Yayınları, 1996).
- Muhammed Hamidullah, & Macit Yasaroglu, *Kur'an-ı Kerim Tarihi ve Türkçe Tefsirler Bilbiyografyası* (İstanbul: Yagmur Yayınları, 1965).
- Muhammed Hamidullah, *Kur'ânı Kerîm Tarihi*, tr. Salih Tug (İstanbul: Yagmur Yayınları, 1993).
- Muhammed Hamidullah, *Kur'an-ı Kerim Tarihi: bir Denem* tr. Mehmet Sait Mutlu (İstanbul: Yagmur Yayınları, 1965) and also (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1991).
- Muhammed Hamidullah, *Kur'an-ı Kerim Tarihi Bütün Eserleri 9* (İstanbul: Beyan Yayınları, 2000).
- İsmail Hakkı İzmirli, *Tarih-i Kur'an (Kur'an-ı Kerimin Tarihi)* (İstanbul: Böre Yayınları, 1956).
- İsmail Karaçam, *Kur'an-ı Kerim'in Nüzulü ve Kıraatı* (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Vakfı Yayınları, 1995).
- Şaban Karataş, *Şia'da ve Sünni Kaynaklarda Kur'an Tarihi* (İstanbul: Ekin Yayınları, 1996).
- Osman Keskiöğlü, *Kuran Tarihi ve Kur'an Hakkında Ansiklopedik Bilgiler* (İstanbul: Nebioğlü Yayınevi, 1953).
- Osman Keskiöğlü, *Nüz lünden Günümüze Kur'an-ı Kerim Bilgileri* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1989 [1993]).
- Şevket Kotan, *Kur'an ve tarihselcilik* (İstanbul: Beyan Yayınevi, 2001).
- Theodor Nöldeke & Friedrich Schwally, *Kur'an tarihi*, tr. Muammer Sencer (İstanbul: Ilke Yayinlari, 1970).
- Vahap Okay, *Müslümanlar için Kuran Tarihi* (İstanbul: Okay Yayınevi, 1960).
- Ömer Özsoy, *Kur'an ve Tarihsellik Yazıları* ('Schriften zur Historizität des Koran') (Ankara: Kitabiyat Yayınları, 2004).
- Mehmet Paçacı, *Kur'an ve ben ne Kadar Tarihseliz?* (Ankara: Ankara Okulu Yayınları, 2002).
- Subhi Salih, *Kur'an İlimleri*, tr. M. Sait Şimşek (Konya: Hibaş Yayınları, 2008).
- M. Şerefeddin Yalkaya (1879–947), *Târîh-i Kur'ân-ı Kerîm* (İstanbul, 1331/1915).
- Mehmet H. Soysaldı, *Nüzûlünden Günümüze Kur'an İlimleri ve Tarihi* (Elazığ: n.p., 1996).

- W. Montgomery Watt, *Kur'an'a Giri*, tr. Süleyman Kalkan (Ankara: Ankara Okulu Yayınları, 1998).
- Suat Yıldırım, *Kur'ân'ın Mûcizevî Korunması* (İstanbul: Işık Yayınları, 2004).

Appendix VI: Works in Urdu

- Sharîf Aşmad, *Tārīkh-i Qur'ân (°aksī) al-ma°rûf Qur'ân kī bâten: jis men tārīkh-i nuzûl-i Qur'ân ... tārīkhī bâten jam kar dī ga'ī hain* (Karachi: Maktabah-yi Rashīdiyāh, 1977).
- Muḥammad °Abduhū al-Fallāh, *Tārīkh-i Qur'ân: Jam'o Tadvīn, aur Maşāhif-i 'Usmānī* (Lahore: Milne kā patah, Subḥānī Ikaīdamī, 1979).
- Maulana Muhammad Aslam Jairajpurī, *Tarikhul Quran* (Aligrah: n.p., 1331 AH).
- Maulana Muhammad °Alī, *Jam° Qur'ân* (Lahore: Mufīd-i °Ām Press, 1917).
- Abū Muḥammad Muşliḥ, *Alamgir Tārīkh i Qur'ân* (Hyderabad: Quran Academy, 1952).
- °Abd al-Latīf Raḥmānī, *Tarikhul Qur'an* (Delhi: Shah Abu'l-Khayr Academy, 1983).
- Maḥmūd Rāmyār, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ân*, tr. Sayyed Anwār Aḥmad Belgrāmī (Lahore: Mesbah al-Quran Trust, 1415 AH).
- °Abduş Şamad Şārim, *Tārīkh ul Qur'an*, 2nd edn (Lahore: Idāra i °Ilmiyya, 1963).
- Sayyid Şiddīq Ḥasan, *Jam° va-Tadvīn-i Qur'ân* (A°zamgarh: Darulmusannifin, Shibli Akaidmi, 1996).
- Şubḥī Şālīḥ, *°Ulūm al-Qur'ân*, tr. Gholam Ahmad Hariri (Faisalabad: Malek Sans, 1994).
- Tamannā °Imādī (Syed Hayatul Haq Muhammad Mohi-ud-Din), *Jam°u'l-Qur'ân* (Karachi: Rahman Publishing Trust, 1994).
- Zuhūr al-Ḥassan, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ân* (Lahore: Idare Ilmiyyeh, 1963).

NOTES

This essay was presented at the 'Colloque: Les origines du Coran. Le Coran des origins' (Paris, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 3–4 Mar. 2011). I am grateful to Behnam Sadeghi for useful discussions as well as his written comments on the first draft.

1 T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns* (Göttingen: Verlag der Dieterichschen Buchhandlung, 1860).

2 Abū °Abd Allāh al-Zanjānī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ân* (Cairo: Lajnat al-Ta°lif wa'l-Tarjama bi'l-Qāhira, 1935), pp. 92–3. The book has been translated into German: *Die Geschichte des Qur'āns* (Hamburg: Islamisches Zentrum Hamburg e.V., 1999); and parts of it into English as 'The History of the Qur'ān' (*al-Tawḥīd* 4:3 (1987), pp. 21–45; 5:1 (1987), pp. 17–26; 5:2 (1987–88), pp. 13–28; 5:3 (1988), pp. 5–18).

3 Compare with similar views expressed by Bahā° al-Dīn Khurramshāhī in the following Persian article: 'Tārīkh-e Qur'ān' in Kāmran Fānī et al. (eds), *Dāyeratul Ma°āref-e Tashayyū°* ('The Encyclopaedia of Shī°ism') (14 vols. Tehran: Sa°id Mohebbī Publishing, 1377/1998), vol. 4, p. 40.

4 In his *al-Fihrist* (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifā, 1417/1997, p. 184), Ibn al-Nadīm has made reference to *Tāriḫ āy al-Qurʾān li-taʾyīd al-sultān* by Abū'l-ʿAbbās Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad al-Marwazī (d. 274/ 887). Judging from the fact that the list of his works in *al-Fihrist* does not demonstrate any remarkable expertise or interest in Qur'anic scholarship, his book can hardly be classified as a historiographical text on the Qur'an. Also Ibn Ṭawūs (*Saʿd al-Suʿūd* (Qum: Dalīl, 1421/2000), p. 186) has referenced another similarly entitled work by Abū'l Ḥassan ʿAlī b. ʿIsā b. Dāwūd al-Jarrāḥ, known as al-Rummānī (d. 334/946). The cited material, however, clearly characterises the work as an exegetical text. Fāris Tabrizīyān al-Ḥasūn (the editor of *Saʿd al-Suʿūd*) has points out that the correct title is probably *Taʾrīḫ al-Qurʾān*.

5 It is safe to say that the notion of pre-eternity (*qidam*) of the Qur'an among the Ashʿarīs and al-Ghazālī's somewhat Ṣūfī bias towards the Qur'an have contributed to this view.

6 Through his many works, Harmut Bobzin has provided an accurate and detailed account of the evolution of Western Qur'anic studies in the Middle Ages and early centuries of European Renaissance. His works on the subject are numerous, only four of which are included here for reference: Hartmut Bobzin, "A Treasury of Heresies": Christian Polemics Against the Koran' in Stefan Wild (ed.), *The Qurʾān as Text* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 157–75; Hartmut Bobzin, art. 'Pre-1800 Preoccupations of Qurʾānic Studies' in *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*; Hartmut Bobzin, 'Latin Translations of the Koran: A Short Overview', *Der Islam* 70:2 (1993), pp. 193–206; also in Colin Turner (ed.), *The Koran: Critical Concepts in Islamic Studies* (4 vols. London & New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004), vol. 4, pp. 116–27; Hartmut Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation: Studien zur Frühgeschichte der Arabistik und Islamkunde in Europa*, Beirut Texts and Studies, 42 (Beirut: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft; and Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995).

7 To better understand the transformation of Muslim viewpoint in recent decades one can refer to some of the recent works on historicity of the Qur'an, including the writings of Mohammed Arkoun, Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd, and Mohamed Abed al-Jabri. For similar works in Turkish refer to the following: Omer Ozsoy, *Kur'anve Tarihselcilik Yazıları* ('Writings on the Qur'an and its Historicity') (Ankara: Kitābiyyāt, 2004); Mehmet Paçacı, '*Kur'anve Tarihselcilik Tartıması*', *Kur'an'ı Anlama'da Tarihsellik Sempozyumu* ('Symposium on the Role of Historicity in Understanding the Qur'an') (Bursa: Kurav-Bayrak, 2000); Şevket Kotan, *Kur'anve Tarihselcilik* ('The Qur'an and Historicism') (Istanbul: Beyan Yayınları, 2001); Hayrettin Karaman et al. (eds), *Kur'an-ı Kerim, Tarihselcilik ve Hermenötik* (Istanbul: Işık Yayınları, 2003).

8 For an example of such commentaries, see al-Qurṭubī's introductory section in his *al-Jāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Qurʾān* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d).

9 Gustav Weil, *Historische-kritische Einleitung in den Koran* (Leipzig & Bielefeld: Velhagen und Klasing, 1844, 2nd rev. edn 1878).

10 William Muir, *The Life of Mahomet* (4 vols. London: Smith, Elder, 1858–61).

11 Aloys Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad: Nach bisher grösstentheils unbenutzten Quellenbearb* (3 vols. Berlin: Nicolai sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1861–5).

12 For a review of Western historiography of the Qur'an before Nöldeke and its relation to *Geschichte des Qorāns*, see Emmanuelle Stefanidis, 'The Qur'an Made Linear: A Study of the *Geschichte des Qorāns*' Chronological Reordering', *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 10:2 (2008) pp. 1–22.

13 Despite this, Muslim scholars have authored a considerable number of books and essays which bear the title of 'History of the Qur'an'. Perhaps the most famous is al-Azami's work, *The History of the Qurʾānic Text from Revelation to Compilation: A Comparative Study with the Old and New Testaments* (Leicester: UK Islamic Academy, 2003), which has since been translated into Turkish and Indonesian.

14 This is especially true in the case the *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an* which has no entry designated as 'History of the Qur'an'. Instead of this general title, there are several specialised entries on collection of the Qur'an, historical dating of the Qur'an, the variant readings, Qur'an translation, script, etc. On the other hand, in Persian sources such as *Dāyeratul Ma'āref-e Qur'an-e Karīm* ('Encyclopaedia of the Holy Qur'an') (8 vols up to now. Qom: Būstan-e Ketāb, 1382 SH/2005) and *Dāyeratul Ma'āref-e Tashayyu'* ('The Encyclopaedia of Shi'ism') (14 vols. Tehran: Sa'id Mohebbi Publishing, 1377 SH/1998), there are dedicated entries with the title of 'History of the Qur'an'.

15 Mūsā Jārullāh Rustūfidunī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'an wa'l-maṣāḥif* (St Petersburg: publisher, 1313/1905).

16 Rustūfidunī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'an*, p. 7, p. 11, p. 13.

17 Rustūfidunī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'an*, p. 12: 'wa-kathīran mā narā rijālan min al-ulamā' al-ajānib yahtamūn wa-ya'tanūn bi-tārīkh al-maṣāḥif wa'l-Qur'an akthar min i'tinā' ulamā' al-Islām bihi fī hādhihi'l-qurūn al-akhīra.'

18 See for example his article entitled 'Tārīkh al-maṣāḥif' in *al-Manār* 2:4 (1907), pp. 260ff.

19 In his 1935 introduction, Aḥmad Amīn (1878–1945) has praised al-Zanjānī's work (p. *zā'*, p. *ḥā'*, p. *ṭā'*). Also the High Committee for Arabic Translation of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (= *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif al-Islāmiyya*) has included an opening section in English in which al-Zanjānī's text is introduced to the Western audience and its significance is explained (p. *hā'*, p. *wāw*).

20 In his article on 'Tafsīr' in *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif al-Islāmiyya* (15 vols. Cairo: Wizārat al-Mā'arif, 1933–60), vol. 5, p. 369), after bestowing high praise upon Nöldeke and recommending his discussion as indispensable to mainstream Muslim scholarship, al-Khūlī goes on to say 'A graduate of the Faculty of Literature at the University of Cairo has indeed produced a translation of Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorāns* into Arabic, but it has not been published'. It seems plausible to suggest that al-Zanjānī, who had spent some years in Cairo, had received his knowledge of Nöldeke's text through the same unpublished work.

21 It appears that many Shi'ī scholars and commentators, when they refer to *Tārīkh al-Qur'an*, almost always have al-Zanjānī's work in mind, as this is the only text from which they quote. Examples include Ja'far Murtaḍā al-Āmilī (*al-Ṣaḥīḥ min sirat al-nabī al-a'zam*), Makārim Shīrāzī (*Tafsīr-e Nemūneh*), Muṭṣafā Khomeinī (*Tafsīr al-Qur'an al-karīm*) and Ja'far Subḥānī (*Mafāhīm al-Qur'an*). For examples of Sunnī texts, see Muḥammad 'Abd al-Āzīm al-Zurqānī, *Manāhil al-'irfān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'an* (2 vols. Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabīyya, 1362/1943), vol. 2, p. 77.

22 Cairo: Éditions al-Ma'aref, 1949; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1951. The book has been also translated into English by Ayesha Abdel-Haleem as *Introduction to the Qur'an* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000). Unfortunately I do not have access to the original French, nor could I find the English version; so I refer here to the Arabic rendering by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Āzīm 'Alī (*Madkhal ilā'l-Qur'an al-karīm: 'arḍ tārīkhī wa-taḥlīl muqārīn* (Kuwait: Dār al-Qur'an & Dār al-Qalam, 1971).

23 Muḥammad A. Drāz, *Madkhal ilā'l-Qur'an al-karīm*, p. 39; and for another instance see p. 46.

24 His doctoral dissertation was published as Ṣoubḥī el-Ṣāleḥ, *La vie future selon le Coran* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1971).

25 Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *Mabāḥith fī 'ulūm al-Qur'an* (Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm li'l-Malāyīn, 1965), pp. 64–116. For discussion of historical dating of Meccan and Medinan suras, refer to pp. 164–233. Along with his other book on *ḥadīth*, this work has served as a textbook in a number of Iranian, and possibly Arab, universities.

26 According to a search conducted by myself, al-Ṣāliḥ has quoted Blachère no less than 40 times and Nöldeke about 10 times. Also, compared to Nöldeke, he agrees on many more occasions with Blachère. He (*Mabāḥith*, p. 177) goes as far as to suggest that Blachère's French translation of the Qur'an is the most accurate of its kind.

27 Other works which have covered historiography of the Qur'an as an independent subject, include: Muḥammad °Abd al-°Azīm al-Zurqānī, *Manāhil al-°irfān fī °ulūm al-Qur°ān* (Cairo: Dār Iḥyā° al-Kutub al-°Arabīyya, 1362/1943); Muḥammad Abū Zahra, *al-Mu°jiza al-kubrā* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-°Arabī, 1390/1970). For an instance of Western Muslim scholarship on the subject, see the following: Ahmad von Denfer, *°Ulūm al-Qur°ān: An Introduction to the Sciences of the Qur°ān* (Leicester: The Islamic Foundation, 1983 [1994]). This has been rendered into German as Mohamed Abdallah Weth (tr.), *°Ulūm al-Qur°ān: Einführung in die Koranwissenschaften* (Stuttgart: Deutscher Informationsdienst über Islam (Idid), 2005). As a Turkish sample, one can refer to Osman Keskiöglü, *Nüz lünden Günümüze Kur'an-ı Kerim Bilgileri* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1989 [1993]).

28 See John Burton, *The Collection of the Qur'an* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 239–40.

29 Compare with al-Ṭabāṭabā°ī's sanctioning view of the reports of *sab°at aḥruf* in *al-Mīzān fī tafsīr al-Qur°ān* (20 vols. Tehran: Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmīyya, 1375/1956), vol. 3, pp. 74–5.

30 Sayyid Abū'l-Qāsim al-Mūsawī al-Khū°ī, *Prolegomena to the Qur°ān*, tr. Abdulaziz A. Sachedina (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998). Another English translation of two chapters of the book is also available in Mulla Asgharali M.M. Jaffer (tr.), *The Collection and Preservation of Qur°ān: Two Important Chapters from al-Bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur°ān* (Stanmore, UK: Madrasa as Syed el-Khui, 1987).

31 Maḥmūd Abū Rayya, an Egyptian Sunnī scholar, while referring his readers to al-Khū°ī's discussion of collection and compilation of the Qur'an in *al-Bayān*, considers it an unparalleled authority, and singly sufficient on the subject. He even regards it as a religious duty for every Muslim to study it. See his *Aḍwā° °alā'l-sunna al-Muḥammadiyya* (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-Islāmī, 1377/1958), pp. 248–9.

32 Muḥammad Izzat Darwaza, *al-Tafsīr al-ḥadīth* (12 vols. Cairo: Dār Iḥyā° al-Kutub al-°Arabīyya, 1381–3), vol. 1, pp. 67–140. For some uncritical views on the collection's traditions from other modern Muslim exegetes, see the introductory sections in Ibn °Ashūr, *al-Taḥrīr wa'l-tanwīr* (30 vols. Tunisia: Dar Saḥnūn, 1997), vol. 1, pp. 51–63; Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, *al-Mawsū°a al-Qur°āniyya* (11 vols. Beirut: Mu°assasa Sijill al-°Arab, 1405/1985), vol. 1, pp. 339–82; and °Abd al-Qādir Melāḥuwīsh Āl Ghāzī, *Bayān al-ma°ānī* (6 vols. Damascus: Maṭba°at al-Taraqqī, 1382/1965), vol. 1, pp. 28–33.

33 Al-Ṭabāṭabā°ī, *al-Mīzān*, vol. 12, pp. 104–33.

34 In his *The Qur°ān in Islam*, which al-Ṭabāṭabā°ī wrote for a general, non-technical audience, he quotes the report of the battle of Yamāma and the collection of the Qur'an by Abū Bakr verbatim, and with no comment of his own. See Sayyed Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ṭabāṭabā°ī, *The Qur°ān in Islam: Its Impact and Influence on the Life of Muslims* (Blanco TX: Zahra Publications, 1981; and London: Kegan Paul, 1988), pp. 98–9.

35 For full publication details see Appendix I. As far as I know, his book has been translated into Persian as *Tārīkh-e Qur°ān* by Ḥāmid Bezdī Thānī: Mashhad: Āstān-e Quds-e Raḍawī, 1382 SH/2003), and Indonesian as *Sejarah Al-Qur'an* by Ahmad Bachmid (Jakarta: Rehal Publik, 2008).

36 The initial publication of Rāmyār's *Tārīkh-e Qur°ān* (Tehran: Andīshe) was in 1967. Later, a more complete version of the book was released in 1983. The only translation thereof is in Urdu as *Tārīkh al-Qur°ān*, tr. Sayyed Anwār Aḥmad Belgrāmī (Lahore: Mesbah al-Quran Trust, 1415 AH).

37 The final bibliography of his book lists some 500 sources in various Islamic and Western languages.

38 For an extensive account of his life and works, refer to Sayyed Kāzēm al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 'Jostejū dar Ahvāl va Āthār-e Shādravān Maḥmūd Rāmyār', *Motāle'āt-e Eslāmī* 65–6 (2004–5), pp. 133–66.

39 Among such individuals one can name Michelle Amari, Tor Andrae, Hans Bauer, Richard Bell, G. Bergsträsser, Régis Blachère, Frants Buhl, John Burton, Leone Caetani, Paul Casanova, Gustav Flügel, S. Frankel, Hamilton Gibb, Ignaz Goldziher, A. Grohmann, H. Hirschfeld, Joseph Horowitz, J. La Beaume, Henry Lammens, Dennis Mason, Louis Massignon, Alphonse Mingana, Sir William Muir, Reynold Nicholson, Theodor Nöldeke, Rudi Paret, Delacy O'Leary, Edward Sell, W.S. Tisdall, Charles Torrey, William Montgomery Watt, Gustav Weil, Julius Wellhausen and A.J. Wensinck.

40 For instance see pp. 18–19 on Nöldeke, Blachère, Schwally, Wellhausen and Jeffery's views on the etymology of 'Qur'an'; pp. 291–3 on Buhl, Bell, Torrey and Blachère acknowledging the existence of complete compilations of the Qur'an at the time of the Prophet; pp. 619–22 about description of the methods employed by Muir, Sprenger, Weil, Grimme and Hirschfeld in their chronological dating of the Qur'anic suras.

41 Leone Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam* (Milan: Hoepli, 1905), II/i, p. 713.

42 Rāmyār, *Tārīkh-e Qur'ān*, pp. 301–3.

43 On the whole, Rāmyār's assessment of the intellectual efforts of Western orientalisks regarding the history of the Qur'an is positive. Toward the end of his book (pp. 657–8), after offering a survey of the many contributions of Nöldeke, Schwally, Grimme, Weil and Flügel, he does not hesitate to emphasise their significance, and explains in detail the scholarly undertakings of Blachère. In a similar fashion to Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ (*Mabāḥith*, p. 177), he honours Blachère's French version of the Qur'an as the best available translation.

44 Muḥammad Hādī Ma'refat, *Tārīkh-e Qur'ān* (Tehran: Samt, 1375 SH/1996).

45 Muḥammad Hādī Ma'refat, *al-Tamhīd fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān* (5 vols. Qum: Mu'assasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1412/1992), vol. 2, pp. 365–402.

46 Ma'refat, *Tārīkh-e Qur'ān*, pp. 122–36. See also his *al-Tamhīd*, vol. 2, pp. 365–402.

47 Mehdī Bāzargān, *Seyr-e taḥawwul-e Qur'ān* (Tehran: Sherkat-e Sahāmī-e Inteshār, 1355 SH/1977). A Turkish translation of the book can be found as Mehdī Bāzergan, *Kur'an'in Nüz İ Süreci*, tr. Yasin Demirkiran & Mela Muhammed Feyzullah (Ankara: Feqr Yayınları, 1998).

48 For further discussion, see Ja'far Nekūnām, *Darāmādī bar tārīkhgozārī-e Qur'ān* ('An Introduction to Dating the Qur'an') (Tehran: Hastinama, 2001), pp. 41–51.

49 See, for instance, Sayyid Ṣiddīq Ḥasan, *Reflections on the Collection of the Qur'ān*, translated from Urdu into English by A.R. Kidwai, with a foreword by Shaykh Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi (Birmingham: Qur'anic Arabic Foundation, 1999).

50 Maulana Muhammad Ali Lahori, *Jam'ī Qur'ān* ('The Collection of the Qur'ān') Lahore: Please insert publishing house, 1917.

51 See Appendix V for further details.

52 More examples of such works are discussed earlier in this article.

53 *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif al-Islāmiyya*, vol. 5, p. 369.

54 Theodor Nöldeke & Friedrich Schwally, *Kur'antarihi*, tr. Muammer Sencer (Istanbul: Ilke Yayınları, 1970).

55 A pdf version of the book is accessible at: http://www.archive.org/download/124_T.Noldeke_F.Schwally_Kuran.Tarihi/124_T.Noldeke_F.Schwally_Kuran.Tarihi.pdf

56 A prominent student of Ayatollah Khomeini, an architect of the post-revolutionary constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the first head of the judiciary after the Iranian revolution of 1979, he was killed in a terrorist bombing in 1981.

57 Theodor Nöldeke, *Tārīkh al-Qurʾān*, tr. George Tamer (Beirut & Berlin: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2004).

58 Several academic dissertations, based on the Arabic translation of Nöldeke-Schwally's text, have been written in Iran and some Arabic countries, which offer a critical analysis of each of the book's three independent volumes. For a representative example, see Aḥmad ʿUmrān al-Zāwī, *Jawla fī kitāb Nöldeke: tārikh al-Qurʾān* (Damascus: Maktabat Dār al-Talās, 2008).

59 For more representative cases of such errors consult my article (in Persian) 'Tārīkh-e Qurʾān (Nöldeke va Schwally): Tārīkhche-ye Tadvīn va Naqd va Barresī-e Tarjome-ye Arabī-e Ān' in *Pazhūhesh Nāme-ye Qurʾān va Ḥadīth* 51 (1385/2006). In this, different sample fragments from the original German text and its Arabic rendition have been compared.

60 See Appendix V for details.

61 See Appendix IV for details.

62 See Appendix II for details.

63 See Appendix IV for details.

64 See Appendices I & IV for details.

65 See Appendices II & V for details.

66 See Appendices II & IV for details.

67 See Appendices I & IV as well as endnote 2 for details.