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# The History of the Qur'ān



BY

THEODOR NÖLDEKE, FRIEDRICH SCHWALLY,  
GOTTHELF BERGSTRÄßER AND OTTO PRETZL

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY  
WOLFGANG H. BEHN

BRILL

# The History of the Qur'ān

# Texts and Studies on the Qur'ān

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Theodor Nöldeke  
Friedrich Schwally  
Gotthelf Bergsträßer  
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## PREFACE TO THIS EDITION

The *Geschichte des Qurāns* was originally Nöldeke's doctoral thesis, submitted in 1860 to the Universität Göttingen. It is burdened by over-documentation in the footnotes, which amount to well over 3,110. He became the most successful scholar to work out a chronology of the Koran. This attempt at a chronology was followed in general until the present day by three scholars: Alfred Guillaume—who in 1955 still considered Nöldeke indispensable to critical study—Régis Blachère, and Montgomery Watt, the translator's sometime teacher at Toronto.

The present *History of the Qur'ān* is a translation of the second edition of *Geschichte des Qurāns*, and which was dedicated to Ignaz Goldziher and Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje as well as Frau Marga Bergsträsser. The fourth reprint of the Leipzig edition, 1909–1938, appeared in 2000.

In 1909, Nöldeke's eyesight had deteriorated to the point that he could no longer consider large scale academic work. In such circumstances, Friedrich Schwally, Nöldeke's former student and friend, felt morally obliged and academically honoured to start the updating and completion of Nöldeke's study in accordance with the wishes of his publisher. It then took three scholars to complete the second edition. Two died, one after the other, before the work was completed: Schwally was one of the casualties of the Anglo-American starvation blockade and expired on 5 February 1919, and Bergsträsser died in a mountaineering accident on Mount Watzmann on 16 August 1933.

Pretzl was largely destined to abandon his own plans and finish Bergsträsser's work, with which, of course, he had been largely familiar, since he had witnessed its genesis and growth. He became the heir to the project but was not its originator. He considered it a duty to continue and preserve this heritage with which he came to identify himself. Although he came to realize that his pet project, the science of *qirā'āt*, was of secondary importance when viewed in proper perspective, he became so interested in this dry subject that early in his research he took lessons in Koranic reading from a Turkish *muqri'*. He became unbelievably competent in the most varied minutiae of the practical aspects of the *qirā'āt*, so much so that he once even astonished an old Damascene *muqri'* with this particular competence. Anton Spitaler, one of Pretzl's students, was a witness to the surprise and admiration which Pretzl's proficiency caused at this *muqri'*'s reception. This competence in a field which is the innate domain of Muslims was

undoubtedly one reason why Pretzl was a favourite in Muslim circles. In no time was he able to win the hearts of all, from the peevish and sceptical *ḥāfiẓ* of a mosque library to the most inaccessible director of a museum. Whenever he returned to Istanbul he was a welcome guest of dignified sheikhs and scholars. But Otto Pretzl became the only author to see the complete *History of the Qurʾān* in print. He died in an aircraft crash in 1941 while on military duty in Germany.<sup>1</sup>

German writings around the eve of the twentieth century are a nightmare for a translator. For example, Bergsträsser's need to accentuate the point he is making by spaced type is a reflection on the kind of style the reader has to wade through. In the original, some of Schwally's paragraphs run up to a solid five pages. An attempt has been made to break up paragraphs of more than one page in length, but this has not always been possible.

It also makes rough reading when, for example, several lines of references are wedged in (p. 150 footnote 188) between subject and predicate in the footnotes. The over-use of spaced type, exclamation marks (on one occasion there are 17 on 14 pages), and the superlative are signs of stylistic weakness.

Wherever possible the references to German writings have been replaced by English translations that have appeared over the years. This applies particularly to Ignaz Goldziher's monographs, but also to the writings of Adam Mez, Fuat Sezgin, Aloys Sprenger, and Jan A. Wensinck. Conversely, the English originals have been used—indicating volume and page—where Nöldeke's original edition included German translations, namely the writings of J.L. Burckhardt, Richard Burton, E.W. Lane, Adam Mez, Wm. Muir, E.H. Palmer, and George Sale.

Some of the Arabic texts are fully vocalized in the German edition. Most of such texts appear here either without vowel marks at all or with the vocalization reduced to the decisive vowel.

The translations from the Koran are normally those of Arthur Arberry, but occasionally, for the sake of harmonizing with the context, they have been modified or replaced by some other rendering. The translator is much obliged to Mrs. Anna Evans, Professor Arberry's daughter, for permitting the quotations from her father's work.

Muslim personal names are listed under their first element. If, however, a Muslim writer is not generally known by the first part of his name, that

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<sup>1</sup> Anton Spitaler, Otto Pretzl, 1893–1941; ein Nachruf. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 99 (1942), 161–170.



part—or those parts—of the name by which he is generally known in Anglo-American writings appears in small CAPITALS.

To facilitate the location of a passage in the German original, in the left margin reference is made to the first new paragraph of a page of the separately paginated three parts of the German text, but as some German paragraphs run over several pages, there are sometimes long gaps between these references. However, as an aid, new divisions have been introduced at the discretion of the translator, wherever this was possible.

Thanks are also due to Jeremy Kurzyniec and Stewart Moore for their meticulous copy-editing and for Ali Rida Rizek for checking the Arabic text.

W.H. Behn



NÖLDEKE

[PREFACE TO THE GERMAN EDITION, PART I, PP. VII–VIII]

In the year 1898 the honourable publisher surprised me with an inquiry as to whether I would be prepared to produce a second edition of my *Geschichte des Qorāns*, or, in case of a negative reply, I could suggest a suitable scholar for the task. For a number of reasons I was unable to oblige to produce such a revision in the form which would somehow satisfy myself. After brief considerations I suggested my old student and friend, Professor Schwally, for the enterprise; and he obligingly agreed. The book which I had completed half a century earlier in a rush, he brought up to current requirements as far as this was possible. I purposely say “as far as possible” because the traces of youthful boldness could not be entirely obliterated without resulting in an entirely different work. Many a thing that I had presented with more or less certainty later turned out to be rather dubious.

My personal copy contained haphazard unimportant notes which Schwally was free to use. The result, which is now presented in printed form, I proof-read once. In so doing I made all sorts of marginal notes but left it to him whether or not to incorporate them. I did not check every detail, and by no means did I make researches as if it had been my own rewritten text. Thus, the second edition has the advantage of being the result of two scholars’ researches, but also the disadvantage that the responsibility is divided between the two of them.

It seems doubtful that I shall be able to proof-read the second part since my failing eyesight is making reading increasingly difficult.

Herrenalb (Württemberg), August, 1909.  
Th. Nöldeke



SCHWALLY

[PREFACE TO THE GERMAN EDITION, PART 1, PP. IX–X]

When I was entrusted with the honourable task of preparing a second edition of Th. Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorāns* I did not doubt for a moment that the new edition of this book, which in the world of learning was considered a standard work, must proceed with great care. Although it would have been far easier to produce a new book by making use of the first edition, I did not consider myself justified to do so. Rather, I attempted to bring the text up to the current state of research by making as few changes as possible. Only when such means failed did I decide on radical changes or extensive additions. In spite of this conservative procedure the volume of the present first part has grown by five sheets of paper. In view of this working procedure it turned out to be impossible to indicate changes from the first edition.

Nearly all the discussions regarding Muir, Sprenger, and Weil I retained. Even if the view of these scholars is now largely outdated, their research is of lasting importance. Relatively few works on the genesis of the Koran have appeared during the last four decades. The number of valuable publications is even fewer. If anything substantial has been omitted this is purely accidental.

In general, the Arabic works of tradition are quoted according to books, chapters and paragraphs respectively. Whenever passages were too voluminous, references to volume and page number of a certain edition had to be added. In the literature of *ḥadīth* there is regrettably no counterpart to the established pagination of the Talmud.

For advice and corrections I am grateful to Th. Nöldeke, my dear teacher and author of the first edition. I am much obliged to the two scholars to whom this work could be dedicated, my highly esteemed friend Professor Dr. Ignaz Goldziher of Budapest, and Staatsraad Professor Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje of Leiden. Only after my manuscript had been completed, and upon my request, did Th. Nöldeke and I. Goldziher make their private copies of the book available to me for a few days.

The Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften, and the Ministry of State of the Grand Duchy of Hesse enabled me with their financial support to conduct research in Cairo, the very centre of Muslim learning, for which I here take the opportunity to express my most respectful thanks.

The work on this project dragged on for a long time because under the pressure of other literary commitments as well as an extensive teaching load I was able to pursue Koranic studies only with lengthy interruptions. The supervision of the printing, which had commenced in the Spring of 1908, I had to interrupt for half a year because of most urgent research in Turkey.

The second section of the work, including the literary introduction, is scheduled to appear next year. The preliminaries for the third section came to a halt at an important moment since it has not been possible for me to study the old manuscripts of the Koran at the libraries of Paris, London, and Petersburg. During last year's visit to Constantinople none of these codices was accessible to me. Still, I am optimistic that also those treasures, which have been too well-guarded for too long, will be made accessible to me.

Giessen, August 27, 1909  
Fr. Schwally



ZIMMERN

[PREFACE TO THE GERMAN EDITION, PART 2, PP. III–IV]

On 5 February of this year the author of the second section of the book, my dear brother-in-law, Friedrich Schwally, expired in his fifty-sixth year as one of the many casualties of the Anglo-American starvation blockade to which his frail health finally succumbed. Until the last weeks before his death he was strenuously busy with the completion of the manuscript of the *Geschichte des Qorāns*. Thus, at the time of his death, the manuscript of the second part of this work was nearly ready to be sent to the printers. In such circumstances it could easily be seen through the press also by a Semitic scholar who, like the present writer, was not an Arabist. This task was supported by my local colleague, August Fischer, who kindly agreed to share in the professional proof-reading and revision, thus guaranteeing the proper and consistent choice and romanization of Arabic names and book titles which had not been entirely completed in the manuscript. August Fischer also supplied some additions which led to the correction of some actual errors as well as some references to important works which have appeared recently.

The present second part of the *History of the Koran* together with its literary-historical supplement is not only more voluminous than the corresponding second part and the literary introduction of the first edition of Nöldeke's edition because Schwally went much further and considered a wealth of new source material and the important advances in the field during the last sixty years. In comparison to the first part, this second part changed to such an extent that, as he repeatedly emphasized, little of Nöldeke's original work remained. This second volume constitutes largely Schwally's own contribution. As pointed out above, Schwally's manuscript could essentially be sent straight to the printers without textual changes. The final part of the literary-historical supplement, which treats more recent Christian investigations, has been taken over without changes, although, unlike the rest of the work, there existed no final draft, and it is likely that Schwally would have made minor changes and possibly additions. This applies in particular to additional translations of the Koran as well as the corrections at the end, which have been incorporated in the present text. There are indications in the manuscript to supplementary information but, unfortunately, this could no longer be discovered.

For Schwally's third part, "reading variants of the Koran" only preliminary notes were found among his papers, nothing ready for the printers. Upon my request, Gotthelf Bergsträßer, Schwally's successor to the chair at the Universität Königsberg, kindly agreed to look after this third part by utilizing Schwally's remaining material—for which, incidentally, he had already completed all sorts of preliminary investigation during his stay at Constantinople—as soon as his other literary commitments would permit.

There is, thus, a good chance that a new edition of Theodor Nöldeke's excellent first publication does not remain unfinished so that it can be presented to the public within a short time. May our respected old master live long enough to see this.

Leipzig, September, 1919  
Heinrich Zimmern

FISCHER

[PREFACE TO THE GERMAN EDITION, PART 3, PP. 220–224]

Obviously this constitutes nothing but additions and corrections, which would certainly have met with Schwally's approval. There are, first of all, those that he would have most likely made himself if he had been granted to put the final touches on his manuscript, and then see it through the printers himself. Then there are such that he would have readily accepted when suggested by competent outsiders. With the consent of the publisher, the type of additions and corrections which required only minor changes in the type I tacitly made directly on the proofs.

[The four pages of additions that follow here have been incorporated directly in the English text.]

August Fischer



PRETZL

[PREFACE TO THE GERMAN EDITION, PART 3, PP. VII–IX]

Sixty-seven years have passed since the first edition of this work was published. Death swept away two scholars who had been entrusted with the production of the second edition. Friedrich Schwally died on 5 February, 1919, having worked on the first two volumes until he breathed his last. Gotthelf Bergsträsser then continued with the third volume. He was still working on the third and final instalment of the “History of the Text of the Koran” when he died on 16 August, 1933. The first two instalments had been published already in 1926 and 1929 respectively. The reason for the long delay of the remaining part was the accumulated bulk of unknown manuscript source material which had been unearthed on his initiative. It thus happened that Bergsträsser spent the last years of his busy life doing preliminary work without being able to make use of it himself. As his colleague it fell to me to complete the work. In 1929, he himself saw the text through the printers down to page 173. For the continuation of the part on the “historical development” I discovered an outline among his papers—as main source for this served a nearly complete edition of Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt al-qurrāʾ*, authored by him. It was pure accident that we had agreed on a mutual working scheme, where I became responsible for the literature of the reading variants according to manuscript sources. This was intended to constitute the main part of the third instalment. Precisely on this subject I had just then published a lengthy paper entitled “Die Wissenschaft der Koranlesung (*ʿilm al-qirāʾah*), ihre literarischen Quellen und ihre Aussprachegrundlagen (*uṣūl.*)” [the science of *qirāʾah*, its literary sources and principles of pronunciation.] Ever since, additional visits to libraries enabled me to discover and photograph new material. The results have been used mainly in the chapter on manuscripts of the Koran.

Bergsträsser left valuable material on variant readings of the Koran nearly ready to go to the printers, viz. a complete collection of canonical variants, to which he intended to add a complete list of the uncanonical readings. For his two editions of the *shawādh* works of Ibn Jinnī and Ibn Khālawayh he had completed the preliminary research, without leaving written notes. I could not get myself to include Bergsträsser’s completed collection of the canonical variants without the far more important uncanonical ones. I think that I can justify this change of his plan since the arbitrarily selected reading

of the Seven—considerably limited by tradition—is of too little interest. An edition of the *shawādh* would have unduly postponed the publication of the work, and this particularly since the most comprehensive and important source material became known only after the death of Bergsträsser. I hope that my presentation of the main differences of the pronunciation of the readers of the Koran (*qurrāʾ*)—with special reference to the general *tajwīd*-rules of pronunciation—satisfies the most urgent need of scholarship. The realization of Bergsträsser's plan is intended to fit the framework of his projected "*apparatus criticus* to the Koran."

I am much obliged to Dr. Anneliese Gottschalk-Baur for her detailed indexes to the three parts which she competently compiled.

I acknowledge with thanks the generous support from the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften which enabled me to complete my predecessors' work. This assistance enabled me to study the much neglected field of the variant readings of the Koran at libraries in Europe and the Orient, and accumulate a large photographic archive of manuscripts of the Koran as well as Koran-related works. For this purpose I received considerable funds for the acquisition of photographs from the Einjahrhundert-Stiftung [centenary foundation] of the Universität München as well as from the Universitätsgesellschaft München.

I was much encouraged to carry on the difficult task of my great predecessors, in particular the kindly promised and readily granted help of Herrn Geheimen Hofrat Dr. A. Fischer, Leipzig. He read the proofs and corrected many a mistake and obscurity. Prof. A. Jeffery, Cairo, obligingly shared with me and my predecessor the treasure of his own Koranic researches. My sincere thanks are due to these gentlemen as well as to my assistant, Dr. Anton Spitaler, who was most helpful and displayed great understanding and indefatigable diligence when it came to reading the proofs.

Since I can no longer thank the scholar to whom I am indebted most, my respected and unforgettable teacher, Gotthelf Bergsträsser, I am asking his wife to accept the dedication of the book, in the completion of which she participated like no one else as the partner of her husband.

München, 26 January 1937  
Dr. Otto Pretzl



## THE ORIGIN OF THE KORAN

### *The Notion of Prophecy*

Although it is beyond question that something resembling prophecy appeared at various times among many different peoples, it was only among the Israelites<sup>1</sup> that prophethood developed from very primitive origins into a force influencing the entire realm of religion and state. The essence of a prophet is that his mind becomes so filled and taken by a religious idea that he ultimately feels compelled, as though driven by a divine force, to announce that idea to his peers as a God-given truth.<sup>2</sup> Why prophecy appeared particularly among this people, and what influence it exerted in turn upon their history, we cannot discuss in detail at this point.<sup>3</sup> While the prophetic movement receded in Judaism, it never vanished altogether, as is evident from the various so-called false messiahs and prophets of Roman times. Jesus of Nazareth wanted to be more than a prophet. He felt that he was the promised messiah of Israel's prophets and the founder of a new religion of the heart and sentiment. Indeed he knew how to instil in his community the belief that he, as the Son of God and Lord of the faithful, would enter into the glory of the Father in spite of his martyrdom and death. Among the original Christian communities, too, the prophetic spirit beat its wings, although after the decline of Montanism it was forced to retreat to the most distant corners of obscure sects.

The most powerful prophetic movement recorded subsequently by ecclesiastical history arose suddenly and unexpectedly on the outermost fringe of Christian missionary activity, in the immediate vicinity of the Ka'ba of

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<sup>1</sup> The ancient Arabian *kāhin*, pl. *kūhhān* (soothsayers) are likely to have been familiar with a similar phenomenon, but we know too little about them. Let us state here that all the other Semitic languages derive their expression for prophet from the Hebrew נביא.

<sup>2</sup> Prophecy in its broadest sense is thus a divine art. Yet as soon as an attempt is made to teach it in schools or pass it on, and organize prophets in guilds, it quickly becomes reduced to a profession. Typical of the essence of the genuine prophet is *Amos*, 7:14: "I am no prophet (by class), neither a prophet's son, but an herdsman, and a gatherer of sycamore fruit: And Yahweh took me as I followed the flock, and said unto me, Go, prophesy to my people Israel."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. thereon Heinrich Ewald's introduction to *Propheten des Alten Bundes*.

Mecca, the central sanctuary of the pagan Arabs. That Muḥammad was a true prophet<sup>4</sup> must be conceded if one considers his character carefully and without prejudice, and properly interprets the notion of prophethood. One could perhaps object that the main tenets of his teaching are not the product of his own mind but rather originate from Jews and Christians. While the best parts of Islam certainly do have this origin, the way Muḥammad utilized these precursors spiritually, how he considered them a revelation descended from God, destined to be preached to all mankind, shows him to be a true prophet. Indeed, if possessing entirely new and unprecedented ideas were the only prerequisite of prophethood, would not then every last man of God and founder of a religion be denied the title of prophet? On the contrary, we must recognize the fervour of prophethood, frequently bordering on fanaticism, in Muḥammad's receiving those external ideas, carrying them with him during his long solitude, and allowing them to influence and shape his own thinking until, at long last, his decisive inner voice obliged him to face his countrymen and attempt to convert them, despite danger and ridicule.

### *The Type of Muḥammad's Prophetic Endowments*

[i/3] The more one becomes acquainted with the best biographies of Muḥammad, as well as with the uncorrupted source for our knowledge of his mind, the Koran, the more one becomes convinced that Muḥammad sincerely believed in the truth of his mission to replace the false idolatry of the Arabs<sup>5</sup> with a higher, soul-saving religion. How else could he have preached so fervently in the Koran against the deniers, whom he threatened with the most horrible torments of hell, confessing that he himself would have suffered divine chastisement if he had not proclaimed the complete revelation?<sup>6</sup> How could so many noble and sensible Muslims, particularly his

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<sup>4</sup> This is the view of writers of the recent past like Henri de Boulainvilliers, *Vie de Mahomed* (1730); J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Gemäldeaal der Lebensbeschreibungen*, vol. 1; Thomas Carlyle, *On heroes, hero-worship and heroic in history* (1840); Aloys Sprenger, *Life of Mohammad* (1851); Ernest Renan, "Mahomet et les origines de l'islamisme" (1851); cf. now Chr. Snouck-Hurgronje, "Une nouvelle biographie de Mohammed" (1894).

<sup>5</sup> The Meccans were insulted not so much by the new message *per se* but by the accompanying attack on their ancestors. They venerated their ancient gods, but without true faith, their cult was sacred only in so far as it was taken over from their ancestors and, like all other traditions, mere *superstitio*.

<sup>6</sup> Sūras 5:71, 6:15, 10:16, 39:15.

close friends Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddiq<sup>7</sup> and ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb,<sup>8</sup> have stood by him in good days and bad if he had been nothing but an impostor? Added to the testament of such a numerous following is especially the fact that men from noted families, raised in the pedigree-arrogance of the thoroughly aristocratic Arab, joined a sect consisting largely of slaves, freedmen, and individuals from the lowest strata of society, even though their countrymen considered this to be the greatest shame, solely because of their enthusiasm for the Prophet and his teaching. Furthermore, there is the fact, which the Muslims naturally tried to hide, that Muḥammad was by nature a soft, even fearful person who initially did not dare to make public appearances. His inner voice, however, allowed him no peace. He was compelled to preach and, whenever he felt discouraged, to rally his spirits in the face of the ridicule and insults of his early friends.<sup>9</sup>

Muḥammad's mind, however, suffered from two serious impediments that affected his authority. If prophecy in general originates from excited fantasy and direct impulse of feeling rather than from speculative reasoning, it is the latter that Muḥammad was lacking. Although endowed with great practical acumen, without which he would have never been triumphant over his enemies, he was almost totally incapable of logical abstraction. As a consequence, he regarded whatever moved his inner self as coming from external, heavenly sources. He never questioned his belief, relying on his instinct as it led here and there, for it was precisely this instinct that he considered to be the voice of God, destined uniquely for him. The superficial, literal interpretation of the revelation, which forms the basis of Islam, follows from this.

Connected with this is the fact Muḥammad presented those sūras that he clearly produced with conscious effort, using foreign stories, as the first fruit of his excited mind and a real, divine message. This reproach, however, can equally be heaped upon the Israelite prophets who presented their literary products as the “words of Yahweh Sabaoth.” Yet in general such claims, here or elsewhere, are not made purposely to deceive but rather follow from a naïve belief. Prophets, after all, are the medium of the deity not only in their

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<sup>7</sup> *EP*<sup>2</sup>; *EQ*; G. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia of canonical ḥadīth*, p. 460, col. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *EP*<sup>2</sup>; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. xxsq.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, p. 171, v. 9, p. 16 & 31.

<sup>9</sup> Of course we cannot trust all reports of persecutions he suffered before his emigration. There is little likelihood that his enemies at any time could resort to bodily maltreatment because the honour of his protectors and all the Banū Hāshim, believing and disbelieving alike, would have demanded revenge. Also the reports concerning Muḥammad's unprotected followers are certainly an exaggeration.

state of ecstasy; all of their thoughts and actions can appear to them to be the direct emanation from the Divine Essence. In spite of this—as we shall see later<sup>10</sup>—Muḥammad did not intend every revelation to be proclaimed in the Koran, nor indeed did he present all of his communications as revelations.

[i/5] Since Muḥammad was unable to distinguish precisely between religious and mundane matters, he frequently used the authority of the Koran to issue ordinances that are not at all related to religion. When reviewing these facts it must not be overlooked that at that time religion and the social order were closely connected, and that by involving God in the most human affairs daily life thus became elevated to a higher, divine sphere.

The naïve thinker that he was, Muḥammad was forced to consider permissible everything that did not blatantly conflict with the voice of his heart. Since he was not endowed with an acute and robust perception of good and evil—which alone can save a person walking in the heights of humanity from the most suspicious lapses—he did not hesitate to use reprehensible means, even pious fraud,<sup>11</sup> to spread his belief. While Muslim writers tend to hide these traits, European biographers of the Prophet are easily shocked at one moral indignation after another. Both conceptions are equally unhistorical. It would be a miracle if prophets were without blemish and sin, particularly in the case of Muḥammad, who was at the same time a military leader and statesman. If we knew as much of the private lives of other prophets as we know of Muḥammad, some of them would be less exalted than they now appear to be on the basis of the fragmentary surviving literature, endlessly sifted through throughout the centuries. Muḥammad was no saint, and did not aspire to be one (47:21; 48:2, etc.) We will hardly ever be able to tell for sure how much of our criticism owes to the semi-barbaric conditions of the time, to his good faith, or to the weakness of his character. The central point is that until he breathed his last he was struggling for his God, for the salvation of his people—even all of humanity—and that he never lost faith in his divine mission.

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<sup>10</sup> In the chapter on “Muḥammad’s uncanonical promulgations.”

<sup>11</sup> A. Sprenger rightfully says in his *Life of Mohammad*, p. 124sq. “enthusiasm, in its progress, remains as rarely free from fraud, as fire from smoke; and men with the most sincere conviction of the sacredness of their cause are most prone to commit pious frauds.” This applies not only to the field of religion, but equally to political and other affairs.

*Jewish and Christian Influences*

The principal source of the revelations was undoubtedly Jewish scripture, a source, according to the rude faith of the Muslims, as well as to the entire Middle Ages and even a few of our contemporaries, literally infused into the prophets. Muḥammad's entire doctrine carries already in its first sūras the obvious traces of this origin. It would be superfluous to explain here that not only most of the histories of the prophets in the Koran but also many of the dogmas and laws are of Jewish origin.<sup>12</sup> In comparison, the influence of the Gospels on the Koran is much slighter.<sup>13</sup> A closer investigation of the apparent Jewish and Christian elements in the Koran will lead to the conclusion that the primary elements shared by Christianity and Islam are of Jewish colouring. For example, the familiar Muslim creed, لا إله إلا الله is derived from a Jewish formula; verse II Samuel 22:33 = Psalms 18:32 מִי־אֵל מִבְּלַעֲדֵי יְהוָה and appears in the Targum as " לִיחַ אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים " and also in the Syriac Peshitta ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ.

This is not to say that all Jewish elements can be traced back to Jewish authorities. Jews were, of course, numerous in several regions of Arabia, particularly in the vicinity of Yathrib, which had multiple connections with Muḥammad's place of birth; they must have visited Mecca frequently as well. By the same token, Oriental Christianity in general was strongly infused with Jewish ideas. In education and edification throughout the ancient Church the New Testament always took the second place to the Old Testament. Christianity in particular had experienced a notable proliferation in the Arabian Peninsula<sup>14</sup> among the tribes of the Byzantine-Persian border (Kalb, Tayyi', Tanūkh, Taghlib, Bakr), in the interior among the Tamim, and in the Yemen, which for a long time had been politically subservient to Christian Abyssinia. Wherever Christianity had not become established at least some knowledge of it prevailed. Some of the best-known pre-Islamic poets, though remaining pagan, display familiarity with Christianity in their attitude and thinking. We must therefore recognize that apart from Jewish influence on the Prophet there was also a Christian counterpart. In view of

<sup>12</sup> It would be desirable that a profound scholar of ancient Arabia, Islam, and Jewish literature would continue Abraham Geiger's penetrating study, *Was hat Mohamed aus dem Judentum aufgenommen* (1833). The Arabic as well as the Jewish sources (Midrashim), are now of such abundance that the mere reprint of the work (Leipzig, 1902) was totally superfluous.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. thereon Nöldeke, "Hatte Muḥammad christliche Lehrer?" *ZDMG*, 12 (1858), 699–708.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Julius Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heiligtums* (Berlin, 1897), pp. 234–242.

much evidence it must remain to be seen from which source it reached him. In some instances the Christian origin is beyond doubt. For me this includes the institution of vigils, several forms of the prayer rite, the designation of revelation as فرقان, which can have been derived only from Christian Aramaic (*furqān* in the meaning of “redemption,” cf. below, the detailed explanation on p. 25, foot-note 59), then the central importance and notion of the Final Judgement, and, above all, Jesus’ superiority over all the prophets.

These facts might lead to the conclusion that Islam is basically a religion following in the footsteps of Christianity, or, even further, that it is the manifestation in which Christianity entered Greater Arabia. This combination would find a welcome support in the verdict of Muḥammad’s contemporaries. The Arabian disbelievers frequently called his followers Sabians, who were closely related to certain Christian sects (Mandaeans, Elkesaites, Hemerobaptists). On the other hand, Muslims consider themselves to be descendants of the Ḥanīfs, people who, disillusioned with paganism, sought fulfilment in Christian and Jewish teachings. Since this name was also applied to Christian ascetics, this would strongly suggest that the Muslims were particularly close to Christians. The emigration of some followers of the Prophet to the Christian King of Abyssinia would also fit into that picture.

[i/8] There can thus be no doubt that Muḥammad’s prime source of information was not the Bible but uncanonical liturgical and dogmatic literature. For this reason the Old Testament stories in the Koran are much closer to Haggadic embellishments than their originals;<sup>15</sup> the New Testament stories are totally legendary and display some common features with the reports of the apocryphal Gospels, e.g., sūras 3:41 and 43 as well as 19:17 with *Evangelium Infantiae*, cap. 1, *Evangelium Thomasi*, cap. 2, and *Nativity of the Virgin*, chapter 9. The only brief passage of the Koran copied verbatim from the Old Testament is sūra 21:105: For We have written in *Psalms*, ‘The earth shall be the inheritance of My righteous servants;’ cf. *Psalms*, 37:29.

[i/9] Sūra 61:6, however, where Jesus predicts that after him God shall send a messenger whose name shall be Aḥmad,<sup>16</sup> does not refer to any precise passage in the New Testament.

<sup>15</sup> For details cf. A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohamed aus dem Judentum aufgenommen*.

<sup>16</sup> According to the most likely guess, Muḥammad took this to refer to himself, and with allusion to his name محمد, the promised messenger, أحمد. Cf. Ibn Sa’d (*Ṭabaqāt*) *Biographie Muhammads bis zur Flucht*, p. 64 sq. It is known that sūra 61:6 has been referred to as evidence that Muḥammad allegedly had read the Bible. Marracci’s idea (*Pronomi ad refutationem, Alcorani*, vol. 1, p. 27, and the note on sūra 61:6) to take παράκλητος to mean περιελευτός and

[i/10] It is very difficult to determine the form and extent of the religious literature prevalent among the Jews and Christians of the period. The Arabian Christians, who, by the way, were far less numerous than Sprenger thinks, were to a large extent rather superficially converted. Caliph 'Alī is supposed to have remarked regarding one of the tribes among whom Christianity had

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translate this by أحمد, which would prove the unthinkable, i.e., Muḥammad knew Greek, is modified by both Sprenger, *Life of Mohammed*, p. 97, note 1, *Das Leben*, vol. 1, p. 158, and Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 1 (1858), p. 17, because in a contemporary Arabic translation of the Gospel of St. John παράκλητος is translated by أحمد. But also this is wrong. Such a corruption of the text cannot be explained by no matter what; this cannot be documented either in a Syriac or Arabic transmission. Rather, the different forms of the name Paraclete encountered among Muslims pretty much all correspond to παράκλητος with or without the \ of the Aramaic *stat. emphat.* (Marracci, loc. cit.; al-Shahrastānī, vol. 1, p. 167; Ibn Hishām [*EP*; *EQ*; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 297–299,] p. 150). If Ibn Hishām, loc. cit., on the basis of the Gospel of St. John 15:26 lists also منحنما as a name of Muḥammad, this is nothing but the usual translation of παράκλητος *m'nahmānā* in the dialect of Christian Palestinian Aramaic (cf. Schwally, *Idioticon*) which, misled by the outward sound, he erroneously associates with محمد. In Talmud and Midrash the name מנחם of the Jewish Messiah is not uncommon, cf. J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 3, p. 153; G. Rösch, “Die Namen,” p. 439. Mani, the founder of Manichaeism, also considered himself a Paraclete; cf. G. Flügel, *Mānī*, pp. 51, 64, and 162 sq.; *Eusebii Historiae, libri vii*, p. 31; Efreim, ed. Rom. II, 487. Incidentally, there are still other Aramaic names for the Prophet, e.g. مشفق, i.e. موصد = محمد, like شفقا لها i.e. موصد له (cf. Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khāmīs*, vol. 1, 206, and Goldziher, “Über muhammedanische Polemik,” p. 374). Sprenger (*Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 1, pp. 155–162) carried the above hypothesis regarding Aḥmad even further, claiming that also Muḥammad was not really the name of the Prophet but a by-name, which he adopted only at Medina, conforming to Jewish diction and belief to appear as the promised and “anticipated” Messiah. But all the arguments supporting this view and advanced by Sprenger himself—and afterwards by H. Hirschfeld (*New researches*, pp. 23 sq. and 139), Fr. H.C. Bethge (*Rahmān et Aḥmad*, p. 53 sq.), and L. Caetani (*Annali dell'islam*, vol. 1, p. 151)—are invalid because: (1) Muḥammad always appears as the proper name of the Prophet in the entire ancient historical tradition, and in indubitable genuine documents like the Constitution of Medina (Ibn Hishām., pp. 341 sqq.), the Pact of al-Ḥudaybiyya (Ibn Hishām, 747), the diplomatic correspondence with the Arabian tribes (Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Heft 4), and lastly the Koran. (2) If the name had been originally an epithet, and the fact that it does not even once occur with the article, would be difficult to understand, despite Sprenger, vol. 3, p. 31, n. 2. (3) The Jewish Messiah never had a name derived from the verb חמד “to long for”; the Messianic interpretation of passages like *Haggai* 2:7 and *Canticles*, 2:3 is pure invention. (4) Muḥammad had been a common masculine name in Arabia even before the rise of Islam. Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, part 1: *Biographie Muhammads bis zur Flucht*, p. 111 sqq., Ibn Qutayba, Wüstenfeld ed., p. 276, and Ibn Rustah, *Kitāb al-Alāk an-nafīsa*, p. 194, quote three men with this name, Ibn Durayd lists five, adding that he found fifteen in another source entitled إشارة. There is not the least reason to distrust these references. What on earth ought to have been the reason for the forgery? By the way, the name Θαι μοαμεδης on a Greek inscription from Palmyra, anno 425 Seleuc. = 114/115 AD (*Corpus inscriptiorum Graecarum*, vol. 3, no. 4500) is to be equated with חיימעמד as the Aramaic text reads in de Vogüé, p. 124, l 4.

been best established: "The Taghlib are no Christians, and adopted only their wine-drinking habits."<sup>17</sup>

### *Literacy in Pre-Islamic Arabia*

Wherever the missionaries of the two religions of the Book went, it is inconceivable that they should not have carried with them some kind of religious literature, be it in Hebrew, Aramaic, Ethiopic, and, now and then, probably also in Greek. The rabbis and clergy were thus obliged to translate foreign prayers, liturgies, hymns and homilies into Arabic. Although it is unlikely that they ever expressed their own theological writings in Arabic—as can be seen from existing Syriac works of ancient Arab clerics—it is nevertheless conceivable that people began in pre-Islamic times to fix in written form those oral Targums. As the art of writing among the Meccans and Medinans in the age of Muḥammad was anything but common (cf. below, p. 115sq.) and, as it seems, it was usual to put in writing important correspondence (e.g., Muḥammad with the Bedouins) and treaties (al-Ḥudaybiyya, Constitution of Medina), it can reasonably be assumed that the Arabic script was used also to record the productions of poets, singers, and story-tellers. Literature presupposes *ad hoc* writing. Sheets of note-paper (صحيفة), panegyric songs or satirical poems (cf. Goldziher, introduction to "Dīwān al-Ḥuṭej'a," p. 18) etc. are likely to have been widely circulated (Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, vol. 20, p. 24, and vol. 2, p. 16; Hudhayl (al-Sukkaṛī, *The Poems of the Huzā'ilis*,<sup>18</sup>) p. 3 n. 4; Jarīr al-Mutalammis,<sup>19</sup> p. 2 n. 2; Labīd b. Rabī'a,<sup>20</sup> *Der Dīwān des Labīd*, edited by Chalidi, p 47, l 1; Aws b. Ḥajar,<sup>21</sup> *Gedichte*, p. 23, l. 9, etc.). Collections of pre-Islamic authors' work, however, are not known.

As far as Muḥammad's relation to Jewish and Christian literatures is concerned, it is undoubtedly safe to say that he had no access to material in languages other than Arabic, even if only because of his ignorance of foreign languages. The superstitious fear with which the Jews—long before the Muslims—were watching the لا يمسه إلا المطهرون would not be an insurmountable obstacle *per se*, not to mention that this inviolability by followers of other faiths applied to canonical books only. But the matter of whether or

<sup>17</sup> al-Ṭabarī, al-Zamakhsharī [*EP*; *EQ*,] and Bayḍāwī, *Ansāb al-tanzīl*, on sūra 5:7.

<sup>18</sup> Ed. in the Arabic from an original manuscript and translated by J.G.L. Kosegarten.

<sup>19</sup> Edited by Karl Vollers; *EP*; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 173–175.

<sup>20</sup> *EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 126–127, sqq.

<sup>21</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 171–172.



not the Prophet was able to read and understand written Arabic translations cannot easily be determined from either the Koran or the traditions.

On these points the statements of Muslims differ. Worst of all, those who agree as well as those who disagree are less concerned with the truth of the matter than with the pursuit of dogmatic or political interests. Both parties resort to the weapon of fabricated or twisted traditions, a method that was widespread in early Islam. The Sunnites, generally, tend to think that Muḥammad could not read and write; the Shi'ites hold the opposite view.<sup>22</sup> The latter consider it beneath the dignity of the Prophet—whom they consider مدينة العلم—that he could have been lacking the foundation of learning. Added to this is the attempt to excuse the pact between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya (Ibn Abī Sufyān)<sup>23</sup>—which they considered offensive—by the example of the Prophet. At al-Ḥudaybiyya he allegedly signed a similar agreement where, in his own handwriting, he replaced the words (*Rasūl Allāh*) رسول الله—to which the disbelievers objected—and substituted them with بن عبد الله. A different version of the same account merely states that after 'Alī's objection, the Prophet himself crossed out those words and that 'Alī then inserted the new words. There are still other reports stating that 'Alī wrote both the new and the previous words.<sup>24</sup> In these circumstances we cannot hope to settle the matter, particularly when we remember that the word فكتب can refer not only to a person's actually writing but also to someone else's writing his words, namely dictation. In the letters of Muḥammad that have come down to us in Ibn Sa'd we frequently read وكتب وكتبنا where only dictating can be meant, which is made quite clear by the addition at the end of فلان وكتب. Also in Ibn Hishām, loc. cit., particularly in the account of the peace pact, we read فيينا رسول الله صلعم يكتب الكتاب هو وسهيل وإلخ where also only the indirect form writing can be meant. The insertion of بيده, intentionally or mistakenly, could thus easily be explained as another distortion of this tradition.

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<sup>22</sup> A. Sprenger, *Life of Mohammad*, p. 101, n. 2; and *Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 2, p. 398, where he mentions that "Muḥammad b. Muḥammad IBN NU'MĀN [al-Mufid b. al-Mu'allim] d. 413/1022 [*EP*<sup>2</sup>; Sezgin, *GAS*, vols, 1, 4, and 8] wrote a monograph to prove that Mohammad could write."

<sup>23</sup> *EP*<sup>2</sup>; G. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 11 sqq.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, p. 172.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 747; Ṭabarī, *Akhbār*, vol. 1, 1546; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 1, p. 540; al-Bukhārī, كتاب المغازي (غزوة الحديبية); *K. al-Shurūṭ*, § 15; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* vol. 2, p. 170 sq.; (al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 7, p. 415 sqq., *K. al-Jihād*, § 29); Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on sūra 48:25; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt-ul-masābih*; or, *A collection of the most authentic traditions*, pp. 345 and 347 = 353 and 355, *Bāb al-ṣulḥ*); al-Bajūrī [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol 1, p. 158,] *al-Mawāhib al-laduniyya*, *Bāb al-bay'at al-[riḍ]wān*, where this matter is treated in detail.

Another tradition is equally uncertain: On his death bed Muḥammad allegedly requested a reed and tablet in order to write down something that was to protect the Muslims from error.<sup>25</sup> But this tradition going back to ‘Abd Allāh IBN ‘ABBĀS (d. 68/687)<sup>26</sup> is suspicious when compared with another tradition, openly betraying its bias, in which ‘Ā’isha tells the story that Muḥammad thus intended to fix in writing the appointment of Abū Bakr as his successor.<sup>27</sup> It is consequently certain that this entire tradition, which is not found in Ibn Hishām, was forged to defend Abū Bakr’s claim to succession. But even if this were not the case, also in this instance the words “so that I write” can be interpreted as “so that I dictate”; once again we would lack a sound argument.

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Even the Koran itself does not afford any more certainty, regardless of how one interprets the frequently occurring verb قرأ, particularly the passage in sūra 96:1 and 3. If it simply means “to lecture, to preach,” it is *a priori* irrelevant. If, however, this means “to read” or “to lecture on what has been read,” even this interpretation does not contribute anything towards solving the problem since it is in the nature of heavenly texts—which are beyond human speech or writing—and is therefore comprehensible only by divine inspiration.

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We can see that the evidence for Muḥammad’s ability to read and write is very weak. But what about the evidence generally marshalled to prove the opposite? The main argument is that in sūra 7:156 and 158 Muḥammad is called النبي الأعمى, words that nearly all commentators take to mean “the Prophet who could neither read nor write.” However, when we make a thorough investigation of all the Koranic passages that contain أعمى we find that it is used everywhere to mean the opposite of أهل الكتاب, namely, not a person capable of writing but the owner (or expert) of the Holy Scripture; sūra 2:73 even says that there were أميون who have a poor understanding of the Scriptures. In relation to Muḥammad, this word must mean that he was not familiar with ancient divine texts and knew the truth only from divine inspiration—characteristics frequently mentioned on other occasions as

<sup>25</sup> al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Bāb mawt al-nabī*, appendix to كتاب المغازي, *K. al-‘Ilm*, § 40; Muslim, vol. 2, p. 78sq. (al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 7, p. 95sq., كتاب الوصية, § 4); al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt-ul-mašābih*; or, *A collection*, p. 540 (548 وفاة النبي); cf. G. Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 329sq.; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l’histoire des Arabes*, vol. 3, p. 321.

<sup>26</sup> *Et*²; G. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 1–2; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, pp. 21–22.

<sup>27</sup> Muslim, vol. 2, p. 457 (al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 9, p. 257, فضائل أبي بكر), and later al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt-ul-mašābih*; or, *A collection*, مناقب أبي بكر, *faṣl* 1, § 3. But Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. I, IV, [sic] p. ٤٢, 7, فليكتب (i.e. ابن أبي بكر) [This reference cannot be verified.]

well that do not mean that he could not read or write at all.<sup>28</sup> In addition, Muḥammad says in sūra 29:47 that before the revelation of the Koran he had not read a book;<sup>29</sup> yet even these words, taken by themselves, are nothing other than argument in one's own favour. Finally, it is claimed that to the first revelation, the Angel's command to اِقْرَأْ, he replied with the words مَا اَنَا بِقَارِئٍ <sup>30</sup>أَنَا But even this is of little importance since this entire tradition is extremely embellished,<sup>31</sup> others instead reporting his reply as مَا اِقْرَأْ or فَمَا اِقْرَأْ or, وما اِقْرَأْ, "what am I supposed to read?"<sup>32</sup>

Both parties, thus, offer nothing but pretences. Worthless, too, are statements that Muḥammad could write, but only little and not well. In a tradition regarding the first revelation he claims "to be unable to read well,"<sup>33</sup> and in the above-mentioned account of the Pact of al-Ḥudaybiyya some say لَيْسَ يَكْتُبُ فَيَكْتُبُ, "he did not write well but he nevertheless did write."<sup>34</sup> It is only too obvious that both variants are the weak attempts of an uncritical mind to mediate between two contradicting traditions.

Nevertheless, biased traditions may also contain a grain of truth. To some degree it seems quite likely that a man in whose neighbourhood some fifty people could read and compose notes in writing<sup>35</sup>—I know of forty-four, merely from Ibn Sa'd, *Biographien der medinischen Kämpfer Muhammads in der Schlacht bei Bedr*, p. 2; Wellhausen, *Medina vor dem Islam*, p. 105 sqq.; and al-Balādhurī,<sup>36</sup> p. 471 sqq.—not only understood enough of the craft

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<sup>28</sup> *Ummī* is derived from *ummah*, i.e. = λαϊκός = Aramaic 'almāyā. The Jews call people ignorant of the Scriptures and the Law 'am hā-āreṣ. The etymologies which Muslims supply for *ummī* we can pass in silence. Cf. H.L. Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, vol. 2, pp. 115 sqq.

<sup>29</sup> Arberry translates "Not before this didst thou recite any Book, or inscribe it with your right hand ..."

<sup>30</sup> Cf. foot-note 32.

<sup>31</sup> In comparison, Sprenger's interpretation is unsuitable; it purposes to neutralize the evidence of these words by saying that "I am not reading" merely means "I do not read", but in no case "I cannot read" (*Life of Mohammad*, p. 95, footnote; *Das Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 1, p. 332 n. 2.) As it reads in Ibn Hishām, p. 226 l. 14, كَانَ عَمْرٌ كَاتِبًا, and frequently in traditions, كَانَتْ كَاتِبًا where it can only refer to the ability to write, in the same way that these words must be interpreted in the context of the story. And they thus translate the Turkish *al-Mawāhib al-laduniyya* quite accurately with اَوْفِيوْجِي دَكْمِ, "nonsum lector" (p. 27).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 152, and al-Ṭabarī's original, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, 1150 (cf. A. Sprenger, "Notice of a copy of the fourth volume of the original text of Tabarī," p. 115). Others combine both, like the Persian al-Ṭabarī (چه چیز بخوانم که خواننده نیستم), and *al-Itqān*, p. 53.

<sup>33</sup> G. Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 46, n. 50.

<sup>34</sup> al-Bukhārī; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt-ul-mašābih*; p. 347 (p. 355, باب الصلح); Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on sūra 48:25, somewhat past the middle.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. also Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 1, pp. 105 sqq.

<sup>36</sup> *EP*; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 320–321.

to function as a merchant, dealing with notes, prices, and names, but also might have attempted to progress further, given his interest in the holy scriptures of the Jews and Christians. But since we are deprived of all reliable information we must be content with the few important certainties, namely that (1) Muḥammad himself did not want to be considered literate and therefore had others read the Koran as well as letters to him;<sup>37</sup> and that (2) on no account had he read the Bible or other important works. Still, Sprenger at all cost wants to make him a learned man. He considers it a fact<sup>38</sup> that Muḥammad read the *أساطير الأولين*, a book on dogmas and legends.<sup>39</sup> *Asāṭir al-awwālīn*<sup>40</sup> (roughly translated *The Legends of Old*) was the name applied by the Quraysh to Muḥammad's edifying but boring stories, exactly as in the Koran the 'Ādites call the sayings of the Prophet Hūd *خلق الأولين*. It is correct that Sprenger should be looking also for the title of a book. Yet it would be totally against the habit of the Prophet, who only referred to his own revelations, to make use of a generally known<sup>41</sup> book and then pursue a useless defence against the accusation. But even if he did indeed mean a book, he would have probably not said "this is only *asāṭir*" but this is *من أساطير الأولين*. It makes even less sense when Sprenger also declares as books used by Muḥammad the *صحف إبراهيم* (sūras 53:37sq.; 87:19), i.e., according to Muḥammad, the revelation made to Abraham and Moses.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Cf. al-Wāqidi, *K. al-Maghāzī*, edited by A. von Kremer, p. 202, l. 12 sqq.

<sup>38</sup> *Life of Mohammed*, p. 99sq., *Leben und die Lehre* (Berlin, 1869), vol. 2, p. 390, he only thinks so. Weil turns against him, "Mahomet savait-il lire et écrire?"

<sup>39</sup> For details regarding its origin etc., see Sprenger, *Life of Mohammed*, p. 99, foot-note 3; *Das Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 2, pp. 390–397.

<sup>40</sup> *أساطير* is considered the plural of a singular *أسطار* (ة) or *أسطور* (ة) (cf. أحذوثة). The origin of the word is not clear. One could think of the Syriac *ܥܣܬܘܪܐ* "chirographum" (Mishnaic *שטר* or Sabaic *سטר* "inscription") which must undoubtedly go back to Babylonian *šatāru*, to write. The same applies to Arabic *سَطَّرَ*, line, *مَسْطَرَّة*, ruler, *سَطَّرَ*, to write (sūras 17:60, 52:2, 68:1, etc. also Sabaic), *مُسَيِّطِرٌ مُصَيِّطِرٌ* (compare the Hebrew designation of a civil servant, which also originates from Babylonia, *שטר*, as well as Job 38:33, *משטר*, which too cannot be explained with certainty). In a tradition traced back to Ibn 'Abbās, and transmitted in al-Suyūṭī's *al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, p. 311, *أسطور* sūra 17:60 and *أسطورا* are considered outright Himyarite. I now consider it more likely to be a derivation of *أساطير*—but not the other words—from *ιστορία* (Georg W. Freytag in *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*; A. Sprenger, "Observations on the physiology", p. 119, and his *Das Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 2, p. 395; H.L. Fleischer, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 119), now more likely; also Th. Nöldeke himself has been suspecting this for quite some time.

<sup>41</sup> This must have been this book since the *asāṭir al-awwālīn* are mentioned nine times in the Koran, and on totally different occasions.

<sup>42</sup> Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 2, p. 367. It is already written in the Talmud (*'Abōdā Zārā*, 14b) that Abraham knew and followed the Halakah. He is later credited with the authorship of the Kabbalist book *Yezirā* or at least the lost *Liber de idolatria* (Johann

He is supposed to have laid open his own sources so carelessly for all the world to see!

We must therefore continue to resist the belief that Muḥammad utilized written sources; in contrast, he undoubtedly received the greater part of his his dogma by way of oral transmission from Jews and Christians. The Koran seems to allude to this fact in the following words (sūra 25:5), *وقال الذين كفروا إن هذا إلا إفك افتراه وأعانه عليه قوم آخرون* and (sūra 16:103), *أنهم يقولون إنا يعلمه بشر لسان الذي يلحدون به أعجمي*. The Commentators on the latter passage list several contemporaries of the Prophet to whom the reference applies (بلعام, يعيش, جبر, يسار, [EQ], جبر, يعيش, بلعام). These and other such reports from tradition do not mean very much. Even if there is a kernel of truth in the legend that associates Muḥammad with a Syrian monk Baḥīrā or Nestorios, such encounters can hardly have been of importance for his prophetic mission. And no matter how often Muḥammad might have gone to Syria—hundreds of his fellow countrymen made this journey year after year—it was hardly necessary for a pagan Meccan to go to Syria or Abyssinia, or a Syrian or Abyssinian Christian to come to Mecca, in order to gain acquaintance with revealed religions. As has been pointed out on pp. 4–5, numerous Jews and Christians were living not far away. There must have been abundant and multifaceted channels through which religious knowledge reached Muḥammad. Yet given his enthusiastic conviction of his divine mission, there was only one real source of truth for him: Allāh and His Divine Book.

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*Muḥammad's Relation to Zayd b. 'Amr and Umayya b. Abī l-Ṣalt*

Sprenger adds Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl<sup>43</sup> to the oral sources. According to some reports<sup>44</sup>—unfortunately modelled entirely on the Islamic point of view—Zayd b. 'Amr had denounced the idolatry of the Meccans for some

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Albert Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*, Hamburg, 1722, vol. 1, p. 400). In contrast, Epiphanius, Haer. 1, cap. 8, does not speak of books (thus [B.] Hamburger, *Real-encyklopädie*, s.v.) but of eight children (*liberi*) of Abraham.

<sup>43</sup> *EF*; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2 (1975), p. 271.

<sup>44</sup> See about him Ibn Hishām, p. 145sqq.; al-Bukhārī (كتاب فضائل أصحاب النبي); *al-Aghānī*, vol. 3, pp. 15–17; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, p. 29; al-Mas'ūdī, *Les prairies d'or*, vol. 1, p. 136; and its English translation, *Historical encyclopaedia*, by A. Sprenger. Cf. Sprenger, *Life of Mohammed*, p. 41sqq., and his *Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 1, pp. 82–89, pp. 119–124; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, vol. 1, p. 323. We must always remember that all this information is strongly influenced by the endeavour to present Islam as an old divine teaching that existed before the time of Muḥammad.

time before Muḥammad's appearance. It is conceivable that Muḥammad was stimulated by this man to think about religion—possibly for the first time. But details are lacking; Sprenger<sup>45</sup> in any case goes too far when he concludes from Zayd's sermon, which in its transmitted form has much in common with the Koran, that "Muḥammad borrowed from him not only the dogma but also his expressions." This sermon,<sup>46</sup> however, so obviously carries the mark of a fabrication of Koranic quotations by a Muslim that we may ignore it the same way we do Zayd's false poems, which are contained in Ibn Hishām and in *al-Aghānī* (vol. 3, pp. 15–17). It is highly farfetched that not only did Muḥammad memorize by heart Zayd's speeches and insert them later into the Koran, but also that, concurrently, someone else passed on the same speeches to posterity.

[i/19] Clément Huart<sup>47</sup> claims for himself the honour of having discovered a new source of the Koran in certain poems of Umayya b. Abī l-Ṣalt.<sup>48</sup> Yet all the passages he quotes in support of his hypothesis are under strong suspicion of being forgeries of the Koran. Other similarities can be traced to the fact that Umayya b. Abī l-Ṣalt, like Muḥammad, drew from Jewish and Christian sources.<sup>49</sup>

*Pagan Influence and Muḥammad's Personal  
Contribution to the Establishment of His Religion*

The ancient belief of Muḥammad's people was not unimportant as a source of his dogma. No reformer can completely escape the prevailing concepts with which he grew up. Additionally, the founder of Islam retained many ancient superstitions (e.g. *jinn*s) and opinions from the جاهليّة [Jāhiliyya] period. Certain other influences he deliberately retained more or less completely. He adapted to his dogma the customs at the Ka'ba and during the *ḥajj*,<sup>50</sup> believing them to be of Abrahamic origin—which, incidentally, was

<sup>45</sup> *Life of Mohammed*, pp. 95 and 98.

<sup>46</sup> *Life of Mohammed*, p. 41; *Das Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 1, p. 121 sqq.

<sup>47</sup> C. Huart, "Une nouvelle source du Qorân." The poems are from a fifth century work by al-Maḥḍisī, edited and translated under the title *Livre de la création et de l'histoire* [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 7, pp. 277–288].

<sup>48</sup> *EQ*; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 298–300, vol. 9, p. 277.

<sup>49</sup> See now Friedrich Schultheß, "Umajja ibn Abi-s-Salt."

<sup>50</sup> R.P.A. Dozy in his *Die Israeliten zu Mekka* (1864) intended to show that the Meccan sanctuary and the festival were established in the time of David by the Israelites, and particularly by the tribe of Simeon (after him = Ismaelites = Gorhum). This attempt, however, was a total failure; cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche feest*. Further, below on sūra 16:24. [In order

completely unknown to the ancient Arabs. Some ancient Arab legends, which we frequently come across in geographic names and old poetry, refer briefly or in abbreviated forms to 'Ād and Thamūd, to the سبيل العرم [*sayl al-'Arim*,<sup>51</sup>] etc. Muḥammad adopted these but changed them so completely in accord with his Jewish histories of the prophets that little remained of the originals.<sup>52</sup>

It was out of varied elements that the new religion, destined to shake the world, developed in Muḥammad's inner consciousness.<sup>53</sup> His own positive contribution was insignificant in comparison with foreign borrowings, except for the second principle of Islam, مُحَمَّد رَسُولُ اللَّهِ (sūra 48:29.) Although many religious figures of the past (Noah, Israel, Lot, Jethro, Moses, Aaron, Jesus, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ) are identified as such in the Koran, it was Muḥammad who placed himself far above them by claiming the finality of his prophetic importance (sūra 33:40 خَاتَمُ النَّبِيِّينَ [*sic*, Seal of the Prophets]).

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to follow up several of the references in the *History of the Koran*, considerable parts of *Het Mekkaansche feest* by Nöldeke's student had to be read. The English notes will later serve as the basis for a total English translation of this study by the translator.]

<sup>51</sup> This is an event that fixed itself ineffaceably in the memory of the Arabs, and which is known in their traditions as the Flood of the Dyke.

<sup>52</sup> One of Muḥammad's creations seems to have been the Prophet Ṣāliḥ, of whom we find no trace anywhere. Traditions about Ṣāliḥ in Aloys Sprenger, *Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 1, pp. 518–525.

<sup>53</sup> While the general terms for "religion" in the Koran, Persian دین, and Aramaic מלّة, are of foreign influence, the specific expression إسلام, Islām (sūras 3:17, 79; 6:125; 39:33; 49:17; 61:7) is truly Arabic, and probably coined by Muḥammad himself for his religion. Apart from the absolute usage of the corresponding verb أسلم (fifteen times), we also find the connection with رَّبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ (four times) or with رَّبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ (four times). D.S. Margoliouth's idea ("On the origin and import of the names 'Muslim' and 'Hanif'", p. 467 sqq.) that the name *Muslim* originally indicated a follower of the prophet Musaylima [*EQ*; G. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia of canonical ḥadīth*, pp. 72 and 73] was soon refuted by Ch.J. Lyall ("The words 'Hanif' and 'Muslim!'" p. 771 sqq.) *Aslama* "surrender", however, might be an old borrowing from the Aramaic. Cf. also I. Goldziher's article "Islām" in the *Jewish encyclopedia*, vol. 6, p. 651, col. 2.





## MUḤAMMAD'S REVELATIONS

### *The Various Types of Muḥammad's Revelations*

Muḥammad claimed to have received his revelations<sup>1</sup> from the divine spirit, روح القدس, الروح (Hebr.) and considered it to be an angel<sup>2</sup> who, in the Medinan sūras, is also called جبريل, Gabriel.<sup>3</sup> The revelations, however, did not always come to the Prophet in identical circumstances. Before enumerating them in detail, however, we should point out that for Muslims the word *waḥy* (وحي),<sup>4</sup> revelation, does not refer to the Koran alone but to every single

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<sup>1</sup> O. Pautz in his *Muhammads Lehre von der Offenbarung* says a great deal, but does not even explore all possibilities, nor is his thesis in any way conducive to the matter.

<sup>2</sup> Sūras 16:104; 26:193sq.; Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, vol. 1, part 1): *Biographie Muhammads bis zur Flucht*, p. 125. In the poem by Ka'b b. Mālik [*EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 293–294] in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, vol. 1, p. 528, l 13, both are found side by side, روح القدس and ميكال.

<sup>3</sup> Only sūras 2:91–92; and 66:4. In *ḥadīth*, however, the Angel is quite important. Muḥammad probably pronounced *Jabrīl* (identical with the reading of 'Abd Allāh IBN KATHĪR AL-DĀRĪ [*EP*; *EQ*]) or more according to Arabic vocalization *fibrīl*, since this is the form (- -) most frequently encountered in the poetry of his contemporaries. In a poem on his death in the notes to Ibn Hishām, p. 219, l 5, however, we find the form more closely corresponding to the Hebrew rhyme جبرئيل (-u - -). The identical form occurs outside the rhyme in a poem from the time of Mu'āwiya [Ibn Abī Sufyān; *EP*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia of canonical ḥadīth*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, p. 172,] and in *al-Aghānī*, Bulaq ed., vol. 13, p. 167, l 27. Al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 328sq.), and al-Bayḏāwī (on sūra 2:91) supply detailed discussions of the different vocalizations of the word. Also Ṭalayḥa had his Gabriel: al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 1890, l 13, and al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, p. 96. The earliest references to Gabriel's divine mission are St. Luke 1:19 and Daniel 8:16 as well as 9:21. Unless I am wrong, this is the figure of Nabu, the Babylonian god.—There is no support in the Koran for the opinion that during the first three years of his prophethood Muḥammad had anything to do with Seraphel (Isrāfīl) [*EP*; *EQ*], al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 1249, l 4sqq., p. 1255, l 10sqq.; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> وحى only in sūras 11:39; 20:113; 21:46; 23:27; 42:50; and 53:4; the corresponding verb, أوحى, however, is very frequent. The meaning of “divine inspiration, revelation” can most readily be traced back to early Arabic—where it is not infrequently found—“to hint or to give intimations or indications” [وحي العيون كلامها] [‘the *waḥy* of the eyes is their speech’, Watt, *Muhammad's Mecca*, p. 57]; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam* vol. 3, p. 520, l 7, which also explains sūra 11:39 = 23:27; *Hamāsa*, p. 606 bottom), “to encourage someone” (إلى أوحى) [Pers. [*Divans of the six ancient Arabic poets*, ed. by W. Ahlwardt, p. 211]; 'Alqama, no. 13, l 26; Muslim b. al-Walīd, *Diwan*, ed. by Michael Jan de Geoeje, no. 15, 2; with Acc. Pers. “encourage to fight”; Yāqūt, vol. 4, p. 102, l 14). From this basic meaning even in the pre-Islamic era وحي was applied to the mysterious and puzzling (al-Maydānī, ed. Freytag, *Arabum proverbialia*, cap. 26, no. 90) traces of the inscriptions [*Divans of the six ancient Arabic poets*, ed. by W. Ahlwardt]; ('Antara, no. 27, l 2; *Mu'allaqat Labīd* [Ibn Rabī'a], p. 2; Zuhayr [Ibn Abī Sulmā], 15, l 5; 17, l 3, appendix, p. 4, 1); cf.

inspiration of the Prophet, as well as any divine commandment that he received, even if these words were never claimed to be from the Koran.<sup>5</sup> Most of the categories of revelation that Muslims enumerate do not refer at all to a Koranic revelation.<sup>6</sup> There are conflicting old traditions regarding the classification of the revelations. Only later were they combined in an artificial system according to dogmatic considerations. When Muḥammad was asked how he had received the revelations he allegedly replied to 'Ā'isha that they were accompanied at times by a noise, like that of a bell, which particularly grabbed him; at other times, he conversed with the angel as though with a human being so that he easily understood the words.<sup>7</sup> Later writers, who refer to still other traditions, differentiate between even more categories.

[i/22] In al-Suyūṭī's *al-Itqān*, p. 103, the following types of revelation are enumerated: (1) Revelations with bells ringing; (2) Inspiration of the divine spirit in Muḥammad's heart; (3) Gabriel appearing in human form; (4) Revelations directly from God, either when wide awake, like during the Ascension to Heaven (*mi'rāj*), or in a dream. One writer (Imām Ṣādiq) concurs with this enumeration, and Sprenger (*Life of Mohammad*, p. 154) follows him in this regard.

Yet in al-Qaṣṭallānī's *al-Mawāhib al-laduniyya*<sup>8</sup> these categories (مرتبة) are listed as follows: (1) In dreams; (2) Gabriel's inspiration in the Prophet's heart; (3) Gabriel's appearing to him in human form, mostly resembling a man by the name of Daḥya (or Diḥya)<sup>9</sup> b. Khalifa al-Kalbī; (4) those

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below, pp. 37–38; Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, p. 20; Siegm. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter*, p. 245. This is the origin of the later use as the technical term for *scriptio*, al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 3, p. 2524, l 8, see below, Michael J. de Goeje in the glossary, *Lisān al-'Arab*, vol. 20, p. 257, l 20 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 102. Also the inspirations of Musaylima and Ṭulayḥa are considered *waḥy*, al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 1917 sq.; al-Bayhaqī, ed. Fr. Schwally, p. 33.

<sup>6</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 104.

<sup>7</sup> Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwatta'*, vol. 1, p. 70; al-Bukhārī at the beginning; *Kitāb Bad' al-khalq* § 5; Muslim, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 2, p. 430 = al-Qaṣṭallānī, *Irshād al-sārī*; vol. 9, p. 182 باب طيب عرقه صلعم; al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan*, p. 106 = vol. 1, p. 147 sq., *Kitāb al-Iftitāḥ* § 37; Ibn Sa'd, vol. 1, part 1: *Biographie Muhammads*, p. 131 sq.; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt*, vol. 1, p. 514 (522 باب المبعث الوحي وبدء الوحي); al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 2, p. 204 (مناقب, *bāb*, 5). Cf. G. Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 44; Wm. Muir, *The Life of Mahomet*, vol. 2, p. 88; A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 1, p. 272, and generally, pp. 269–275.

<sup>8</sup> *Maqṣad*, 1.

<sup>9</sup> Vowelled Diḥya or Daḥya. Cf. al-Dhahabī (Cod. Lugd., 325). Ibn Durayd, *K. al-Ishtiqāq*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, p. 316, and al-Nawawī, *Tahdhib al-asmā'*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, p. 239; Wilh. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichn.*, no. 10169 (Codex Sprenger, 282). Also good manuscripts and Indian printed books frequently have both vocalizations (e.g., al-Tirmidhī, *al-Sham'īl*, *bāb* 1).

accompanied by a ringing of bells, or an indistinct sound, etc.; (5) Gabriel in his true appearance, which he revealed only twice; (6) revelation in heaven, such as, for example, the commandment of the five daily prayers; (7) God in person, but veiled (من وراء حجاب); (8) God revealing directly, without veiling. Other writers are supposed to have added two additional categories: First, Gabriel in the shape of another human being and, secondly,<sup>10</sup> God in person, appearing in a dream.

It is quite obvious that many of these categories originate from the inaccurate interpretation of either the traditions or Koranic passages. This becomes quite evident from the early controversy among Muslims as to whether Muḥammad did or did not see God and receive revelations from Him.<sup>11</sup> ʿĀ'isha, showing extreme indignation, allegedly declared those who maintained this point of view to be godless.<sup>12</sup> This latter opinion prevailed, even though it was against Muḥammad's view and originated only from the inaccurate interpretation of some passages in sūra 81, and particularly in sūra 53. Other writers tried to soften the rigidity of that view, and concluded from sūra 53:11 that the Prophet had seen God with his heart (بِقَلْبِهِ).<sup>13</sup>

By the same token the other category should also be rejected, in which Gabriel appears before Muḥammad in the shape of Daḥya.<sup>14</sup> Although some writers say this has happened frequently, or most of the time<sup>15</sup> (في أعم الأحوال) this entire view did not develop until after the events of the year 5/626, when the army mistook Daḥya (Ibn Khalīfa), who was running ahead, for

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<sup>10</sup> Also as a woman (بصورة عائشة) al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 1262, 16 sq., al-Tirmidhī, *Manāqib*), and even as a biting camel stallion, Ibn Hishām, p. 191, l 1, cf. p. 258, l 8.

<sup>11</sup> Regarding related dogmatic matters cf. al-Qaṣṭallānī, *al-Mawāhib al-laduniyya*; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Miscāt-ul-maṣābiḥ*; or, *A collection of the most authentic*, p. 493 (باب رؤية 501) (الله تعالى). Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, pp. 69–70.

<sup>12</sup> al-Bukhārī and al-Tirmidhī in *كتاب التفسير* on sūra 53; al-Bukhārī in *كتاب التوحيد* (§ 35, and 52); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, pp. 127 sqq. = al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 2, pp. 96 sqq.; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī, *Tafsīr* on sūra 6:103; cf. A. Sprenger, *Life*, 122, note 5: "... Thou hast said a blasphemy, at which my hair stands. ..."

<sup>13</sup> al-Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *al-Mishcāt*, 493 (501); *al-Mawāhib al-laduniyya*; al-Bayḍāwī on sūra 53:11.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. thereon al-Wāqīdī, p. 72 (by Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 211); Ibn Sa'd, *Biographien der Muhāgīrūn*, p. 184 sq.; al-Bukhārī in *كتاب المناقب*, s.v. *علامات النبوة في الإسلام*, at the end (ii, 182), *كتاب فضائل القرآن*, § 1; Muslim in al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 9, p. 333; al-Ṭabarī, Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī, and al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 6:8 sq.; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī [*EF*; *EQ*], *al-Iṣṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 1, no. 2378; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba fī maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 2, p. 130. Several of them mention as an honour to Gabriel that Daḥya was very beautiful (cf. sūra 19:17, and above, p. 6 n. 16).

<sup>15</sup> al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 6:9.

Gabriel.<sup>16</sup> Additionally, the sixth category developed from the story of the Ascension to Heaven, while the fifth category stems from a different explanation of sūras 81 and 53.

*Psychological Stages of Excitement.  
The Alleged Mentor of the Prophet. Daḥya*

[i/24] In contrast, much material regarding the fourth category has survived. It is related that when Muḥammad received a revelation he had a serious attack, foaming at the mouth, his head drooping and his face turning pale or glowing red; he screamed like a young camel; “perspiration broke out,” even though it was wintry.<sup>17</sup> This attack, to which we could add still other indications, al-Bukhārī<sup>18</sup> and al-Wāqidi called a paroxysm of a fever (بُرْحَاء); but Weil (*Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 42 sqq.) was the first to show that Muḥammad suffered from a kind of epilepsy, which already the Byzantines had suspected,<sup>19</sup> although more recent scholars deny this.<sup>20</sup> But since lack of

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 685; G. Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 251, footnote; and cf. above, footnote 14.

<sup>17</sup> *al-Muwaṭṭāʾ*, 70; Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, p. 736; al-Wāqidi, *History*, p. 322; Ibn Saʿd, vol. 1, part 1, *Biographie Mohammeds bis zur Flucht*, p. 131 sq.; al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, beginning, باب كيف كان بدء الوحي *passim*, *kitāb al-tafsīr* on sūra 74; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, p. 672 sq., vol. 2, pp. 116, 631 (= al-Qaṣṭallānī, *Irshād al-sārī*, vol. 5, p. 185, *K. al-Ḥajj*, vol. 7, p. 211, vol. 10, p. 229); al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan*, 106 = I, 147 sq.; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt*, p. 211, 514 = 219, *bāb جامع الدعاء*, *faṣl* 2, end, 522; *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-maʿānī*, capt. 4, [W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 910 (= Wetzstein, no. 103), ما قال فأني ما قال p. 94, etc.]. Cf. G. Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 48, foot-note, and G. Weil, “Sur un fait relatif à Mahomet,” pp. 108–112; Sprenger, *Life of Mohammed*, p. 112, Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, vol. 1, p. 208 sq., 269–286, considers Muḥammad a hysteric.

<sup>18</sup> In Ḥadīth al-ifk (K. al-Shahādāt, § 15, K. al-Maghāzī, § 36).

<sup>19</sup> Πάδος τῆς ἐπιληψείας: Theophanes, the Confessor, [title not supplied] vol. 3, p. 512 (*Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*, no. 28); Leo Grammaticus, [title not supplied] p. 153 (*Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*, no. 31); Constantinos VII, Porphyrogenitus, Emperor of the East, [title not supplied], vol. 3, p. 91 (*Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*, no. 5); Georgius Monachus Hamartolus, *Chronicon breve, quod ex variis chronographis ...*, ed. Eduard von Muralt (1863), p. 592; ἐπιληψίας νόσημα: Ioannis Zonaras, [title not supplied] vol. 3, p. 214 (*Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*, no. 30); ἐπιληψίς: Michael Glycas, *Βίβλος χρονική. Annales, a mundi exordio usque ad obitum* (Paris, 1660), p. 514 (*Corpus scriptorum byzantinae historiae*, no. 16); epileptica: Henricus Canisius, *Thesaurus monumentorum ecclesiasticorum et historicorum*, ed. by J. Basnage (Amsterdam, 1725), vol. 4, p. 440. Cf. also *Verlegung des Alcoran Bruder Richardi, Prediger Ordens*, cap. 11; Johann H. Hottinger, *Promptuarium sive Bibliotheca orientalis exhibens catalogum* (German by Dr. M. Luther, Heidelberg, 1658), p. 14 sqq.; Marracci on sūra 74:1, etc. This opinion, which was advanced against the dignity of Muḥammad, seems to have been widespread among Oriental Christians.

<sup>20</sup> S. Ockley, *History of the Saracens*, vol. 1, pp. 300–301: “... As for the Byzantines, their

memory is but one of the symptoms of epilepsy proper, it must rather be considered a matter of psychological fits of excitement (Rob. Sommer). Muḥammad is supposed to have suffered from it since his early youth.<sup>21</sup> Arabs as well as other ancient peoples considered such persons to be bewitched (مجنون).<sup>22</sup> Muḥammad, who at first shared this belief, later seems to have considered these attacks a manifestation of the One and True God. He is likely to have been repeatedly afflicted by such attacks ever since he appeared as a prophet, particularly during the initial phase when his mind was highly incited; but they happened occasionally also after the flight.<sup>23</sup> Thus, when he suddenly fainted while enwrapped in deep thought, he believed that he had been guided by a divine power; but, as we observed above, he did not realize it was a revelation until the Angel had departed,<sup>24</sup> i.e., when, after great excitement, he regained full consciousness. According to Muslim accounts, he encountered these attacks, which were particularly aided by his frequent mental excitement, during the revelation of Koranic passages<sup>25</sup> as well as during divine commandments about other matters.<sup>26</sup>

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authority in this matter is of no great weight at all, especially considering they always made it their business to represent Mahomet as full of all manner of imperfections, both of body and mind as possible. As to being wrapped up in blankets, there might be many occasions of that besides the falling-sickness, and his being troubled with disease having no foundation in any Arab historian, is to be rejected among the rest of those idle stories which have been told of Mahomet by the Christians." George Sale on sūra 73; Jean Gagnier, *La Vie de Mahomet* (1732), p. 91; Caussin de Perceval, "Le combat de Bedr; épisode de la vie de Mahomet," *Journal asiatique*, 3e série, t. 7 (1839), pp. 97–145. Incidentally, the matter is by far less important than generally claimed.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. the passages on sūra 94, referred to below. Such an attack seems to be referred to in the affair as told by Ibn Hishām, p. 117, l 13–17; (cf. its foot-note); al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Ṣalāt*, §8; Ibn Saʿd, ed. Sachau (*al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*), vol. 1, part 1: *Biographie Muhammads bis zur Flucht*, p. 93; al-Azraqī, p. 105 or 107 bottom; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, p. 217 = al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 2, p. 407 sq. (*K. al-Ḥayḍ*). Muslims, however, interpret the matter differently. But this tradition is not reliable. There is some indication that the Prophet was afflicted by these attacks only after his religious calling. Cf. also M.J. de Goeje, "Die Berufung Muhammeds" in *Orientalische Studien ... Nöldeke gewidmet* (1906), vol. 1, p. 5.

<sup>22</sup> Ancient views of epilepsy as holy illness in *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrates*, ed. Émile Littré, vol. 6, p. 5.

<sup>23</sup> This includes his fainting in the Battle of Badr: Ibn Hishām, p. 444; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 1321; al-Wāqidi, p. 65; *al-Aghānī*, vol. 4, p. 27; cf. Gustav Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 157.

<sup>24</sup> فَأَعْيَ مَا قَالَ وَنَقَضَ عَنِّي وَقَدْ وَعَيْتَ مَا قَالَ. The sources, p. 16 n. 17, above.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. e.g. 'Umar's tradition: Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and al-Tirmidhī (*tafsīr*) on sūra 23 (beginning); al-Zamakhsharī at the end of sūra 23.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. e.g. Ya'la's [GAS, vol. 2, p. 414]; tradition in al-Bukhārī's كتاب المغازي باب غزوة الطائف (vol. 3, p. 45), كتاب فضائل القرآن, §2 end (vol. 3, p. 145) = باب العمرة, §10 (vol. 1, p. 202); al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt-ul-muṣābiḥ*; or, *A collection of the most authentic traditions*, p. 522 (530);

[i/26] Only such morbid physical and mental conditions can explain the visions and dreams which raised Muḥammad above human existence. The best known incident of this type is the Night Journey (الإسراء) or Ascension to Heaven (المعراج) which, as will be demonstrated below, was a vision. That the reports on his mental behaviour are generally correct can best be seen from the fantastic, wild passages of the Koran, which Muḥammad skillfully proclaimed during the first years of his prophethood.

In this context we must remember that a great many of these revelations seem to have occurred at night,<sup>27</sup> a time when the mind is far more receptive to fantasies and moods than during daytime. We know for certain that in the early period Muḥammad quite often stayed awake for part of the night in nocturnal devotions (تَهَجُّد, sūra 17:81), and that he fasted a great deal. Such exercises, however, considerably sharpen the senses (*Matthew* 4:2; *Apoc. Esdra*, the beginning), as has been recognized by more recent physiology (Johannes Müller, [1801–1858]).

Even a casual observer will readily agree that the whole of the Koran could not have come about in the highest degree of ecstasy. Its spirit ranges widely from ecstasy to simple, serious reflection. In any case, Muḥammad, in his state of excitement, cannot be imagined to have grasped entire parts of the Koran but rather mere words and ideas. For historical research, therefore, an independent passage of the Koran taken by itself is no revelation; rather it is the literary form in which the Prophet expressed the message as he had conceived it. Naturally, the strength of prophetic frenzy exerted a decisive influence on his literary style. Since this enormous excitement diminished as time went on, the sūras became more temperate, initially still driven by some poetical force but soon afterwards turning merely into the words of a teacher and lawgiver. If Muḥammad did retain the form of God's direct speech, as he always maintained, this claim is not just an idle description but rather a genuine expression of his own conviction. The most common species of revelation in the Koran is that in which "the unseen Angel inspired his heart," although Muslims prefer to apply this classification to other revelations more than to the Koran.

[i/27] Gustav Weil<sup>28</sup> now surmises that Muḥammad received some of the revelations straight from a human being who was playing a game with him,

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also *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*, cap. 4 [Wilh. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*, no. 910 (= cod. Wetzstein, no. 103)].

<sup>27</sup> This certainly applies, e.g., to sūra 73:1sq., and likely to sūra 74:1sq., etc.; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, claims that most of the Koran was revealed during daytime.

<sup>28</sup> *Das Leben Mohammeds*, foot-note to p. 598, and *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran*, p. 57sq., and 2nd ed., p. 66sq.

arguing that the verses in which Muḥammad is addressed can hardly be interpreted in any other way, particularly in the early period. In addition, Weil thinks that Gabriel is said to have resembled Daḥya (Ibn Khalifa al-Kalbī). This view cannot be accepted. The fact that Muḥammad is addressed by God in no way clashes with his overall manner of prophetic diction, least of all in the earliest period, when he likely believed that he saw angels frequently. In the later sūras he retained this and other modes of communication, if only out of habit. But most of the passages quoted by Weil in support of his view refer to rather late sūras. Thus, until shortly before the *hijra*, Muḥammad would not even have been aware of the fraud! How can we believe that a reformer—which the true author of those verses must certainly be considered—instead of appearing himself, would have chosen someone else, easily trickable, to present his teachings, employing a ruse that deprives the truth of all its value. If Weil thinks that those verses cannot be reconciled with the sincerity that permeated Muḥammad at the beginning, we are faced with the following dilemma: either the unknown author produced only those verses, which in any case are unimportant, or he also produced other verses which, though they are his, had to appear as though they came from Muḥammad himself. In either case there is the same conflict. Finally, the reference to Daḥya is totally out of place, as this man, who played no important role at all, was honoured only accidentally as an imposter of Gabriel.<sup>29</sup> Even after the *hijra* he remained a disbeliever for some time, wandering about as a trader,<sup>30</sup> and could not possibly have had any close relation with Muḥammad.

Sprenger, too (*Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 2, 2nd. ed., pp. 348–390), takes great pains<sup>31</sup> to show that “there was certainly one other person busy behind the scene” (p. 366) or “plotting” with him (p. 362), and is most inclined to consider him to be identical with Baḥīrā, the Prophet’s mentor, author of the *ṣuḥuf*. But Sprenger’s arguments are not convincing.<sup>32</sup>

In any case, it is unlikely that a superior and self-confident mind like that of Muḥammad could have become dependent on a contemporary to such an extent. Least of all could we imagine a conspiracy of fraud between

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<sup>29</sup> See above, p. 19 sq.

<sup>30</sup> See below, on sūra 62.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. A. Sprenger, *Mohammed und der Koran*, p. 58, and earlier his “Mohammad’s Zusammenkunft mit dem Einsiedler Bahyrā,” and against Th. Nöldeke, “Hatte Muhammad christliche Lehrer,” p. 699 sqq.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. also Hartwig Hirschfeld, *New researches into the composition and exegesis of the Qoran*, p. 22.

the two. Despite all his faults, Muḥammad's life and work unconditionally presuppose the sincerity of his commission (see above p. 4).

*The Length of the Revelations,  
Their Names, Style, Refrain and Wordplay.  
The Construction of the Verses*

[i/29] The length of the individual revelations varies considerably. Tradition disagrees on this point as well as on many others. Some claim that the Koran was revealed in single letters and verses (آيةً وآيةً وحرَفًا وحرَفًا), with the exception of sūras 9 and 10, both of which he received complete, one at a time.<sup>33</sup> According to others, the revelations were received in one or two verses at a time.<sup>34</sup> In contrast, some claim they came down in units of one to five or more,<sup>35</sup> while others say five to approximately ten,<sup>36</sup> or, according to one final opinion, always in units of five.<sup>37</sup> In addition, it is said of some sūras that they descended from heaven all at once, e.g., sūra 6<sup>38</sup> and others.<sup>39</sup> In this respect most ambiguous is al-Kalbī:<sup>40</sup>

ثم [أي بعد أن نزل جبريل بالقرآن إلى السماء الدنيا] نزل به بعد ذلك يومًا بيوم آيةً واثنيتين وثلاثًا  
وسورةً

By way of concluding this record of contradiction—which could easily be continued, and only shows how little credence is to be given to tradition—let me add Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī's words on sūra 6:

قال شهر بن حوشب نزلت الأنعام جملةً واحدةً وهي مكية غير آيتين.

Thus, all the verses were revealed at the same time, apart from two that came down elsewhere!

If we read the Koran without prejudice we recognize that multiple verses always belong together, that often the number of verses undoubtedly revealed at the same time is rather large, and even that many sūras—not only

<sup>33</sup> al-Zamakhsharī and al-Bukhārī on sūra 9, at the end.

<sup>34</sup> Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī on sūra 2:181.

<sup>35</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 98.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 99.

<sup>38</sup> Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī and al-Bayḍawī on sūra 6 at the end; Cod. Lugd., no. 674 (a Masoretic book from the end of the fifth century); al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rikh al-khamis*, p. 12; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 19. But in *al-Itqān*, p. 84 sq., this tradition is classed weak (ضعيف).

<sup>39</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 84 sq.

<sup>40</sup> In W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 732 (= Cod. Sprenger, 404), an anonymous fragmentary commentary on the Koran.



the very brief ones, which probably no one would want to divide, but also rather lengthy ones such as *sūra* 12—must have been created all at once.

Some *sūras* are well arranged, having not only a proper beginning but also an appropriate ending. Generally, however, the diction of the Koran is rather inconsistent, so that the context is not always clear; there is the danger that related parts can easily become separated. Of course, we cannot deny that some revelations were very brief. Independent investigation must try to discern the original form through the most minute consideration of the context. The false view of Muslims regarding the original brevity can be traced back to a variety of causes. It was known that certain laws, particularly those enacted in Medina, had been very brief, and hence it was deduced that this principle applied to others as well. Frequently there were differing traditions regarding the occasion of closely related verses, leading to the conclusion that they must originally have been separate; we also hear of longer passages named after single verses (e.g. the *Fātiḥa*), which produced the erroneous interpretation that it was a reference to those individual verses. Finally, this view may have arisen out of the idea that Muḥammad received all of the verses of the Koran during his epileptic attacks, which were not considered to have had a long duration.<sup>41</sup>

Incidentally, Muḥammad often put together, or joined, Koranic passages that originated from different periods. In some instances this is very obvious while in others we may suspect it; in still other instances these connections may remain hidden from us. After all, who would dare to separate verses that differ little in time and language when their author had combined them?

Muḥammad called a single, self-contained promulgation *sūra* or *qurʿān*. The former expression is met with nine times in Meccan and Medinan passages: 2:21; 9:65, 87, 125 & 128; 10:39; 11:16; 24:1; and 47:22. Muslims made many futile attempts at explanation,<sup>42</sup> but its origin has still not been sufficiently

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<sup>41</sup> Cf. Sprenger, *The Life of Mohammad*, p. 152, n. 4: "According to Abū Hāmid it is inconsistent with the office of a prophet that he should be subject to fits of madness (*jonūn*), or to swoons (*aghmā*) of long duration. Balqyny, in his glosses to the *Rawdhah*, differs from him. Sobky thinks that the swoons of the prophets differ as much from those of other persons as their sleep." Soyúty, *Anmúzaj allabyb fy Khaṣáyiḡ alhabyb*.

<sup>42</sup> It is derived either from the root سور and interpreted as grandeur, rank رتبة (a meaning which, by the way, is ascertained by the word سُورَة; cf. the more frequent سُورَة), where always one part is taken to be more elevated than the other; or, it is considered to be derived from سَأْر by taking *hamza* to be weak while others are said really to pronounce *suʿra*. Then it is said to mean *منه القطعة والشيء البقية من الشيء*, al-Ṭabarī in the introduction to the *Tafsīr*, Cairo ed., vol. 1, p. 34 sq. Cf. Abū l-Layṡh al-Samarqandi on *sūra* 24:1; al-Zamakhsharī and al-Bayḡāwī on *sūra* 2:21; Ibn ʿAṡiyya, *al-Jāmiʿ al-muḥarrar al-ṣāḡiḡ*, al-Qurṡubī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-muḥarrar*; 25 recto; *Ṣiḡāḡ* and *Qāmūs*, s.v.; *al-Itqān*, p. 121. However, it may well be pointed out that words of this root do not indicate "part" in any Semitic language at all but only the "leftover"

determined. It was considered to be a borrowing from Hebrew שורה<sup>43</sup> “row” (of people [e.g., Mishna Sanhedrin 4:4] and of objects), on the basis of which *sūra* could easily be interpreted as a “line from the heavenly book”; the meaning “line in books and letters” can be documented only in recent New Hebrew. It can hardly remind one of the expression שורת הדין “guide line,”<sup>44</sup> or even consider *sūra* a corruption<sup>45</sup> of Hebrew *sidrāh*. But the meaning of “section,” as a synonym of סֵדֶר,<sup>46</sup> is not a bad conjecture.

[i/31] قرآن or, with a weak *hamza*, قُرْآن,<sup>47</sup> indicates not only a single section of the revelation<sup>48</sup> but also, like the Jewish *mikrā*, several or all of them together.<sup>49</sup> This meaning later became so generally accepted that it was applied to the recension commissioned by Muḥammad’s successors.<sup>50</sup> In form it is identical to a common infinitive of قرأ<sup>51</sup> according to the not infrequent pattern of *fu’lān*. This, however, does not answer either the question of the sense of its original meaning—since the usage of قرأ is somewhat obscure—or the question of the real origin of the word, since yet another possibility should be considered.

<sup>43</sup> The etymology is obscure. It has nothing to do with שור “wall.” Cf. Siegmund Fränkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, p. 237 sq.

<sup>44</sup> Paul de Lagarde, “Sūra”, p. 296.

<sup>45</sup> H. Hirschfeld, *New researches into the composition and exegesis of the Qoran*, p. 2, n. 6.

<sup>46</sup> Already found in G. Sale, *The Koran, commonly called the Alkoran of Mohammed*. Preliminary discourse, section iii, p. 44, bottom.

<sup>47</sup> This is likely to have been Muḥammad’s own pronunciation since there was a preference for a soft *hamza* throughout the Ḥijāz (see below). In Ḥassān b. Thābit it reads (Ibn Hishām, p. 526): كَفَرْتُمْ بِالْقُرْآنِ وَكَذَّبْتُمْ بِمُحَمَّدٍ (u u –) and (Ibn Hishām, p. 713, l 1 = *Dīwān*, p. 45, l 9) كَفَرْتُمْ بِالْقُرْآنِ وَقَدْ أُتَيْتُمْ. This is the way Ibn Kathīr read the Koran, and this is why you find in old Kufic manuscripts قرن (i.e. *Qurān*, not *Qur’ān*). By the way, Ka’b b. Zuhayr [*EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 229–235] has القُرْآن: Ibn Hishām, p. 891, l 13. Cf. also Karl Vollers, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*, p. 91, and generally, pp. 83–97.

<sup>48</sup> E.g., sūras 72:1, and 10:62.

<sup>49</sup> E.g., sūras 15:87, 17:84, and 25:34, equivalent to the “heavenly book.”

<sup>50</sup> It may be mentioned in passing that some Muslims derive قرآن not from “to read”, rather it is likely to be influenced by *sūra* 75:17, إِنَّ عَلَيْنَا جَمْعَهُ وَقُرْآنَهُ, with the meaning, “unite, collect” (cf. قرن) so that it is taken to indicate what binds the individual سَوْر. This was the opinion of (Abū l-Khaṭṭāb) QATĀDAH [*EP*; *EQ*; G. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 438–449; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 31–32] and ABŪ ‘UBAYDAH al-Naḥwī Ma’mar b. Muthannā [*Sezgin, GAS*, vol. 3, pp. 363–364, vol. 7, 343, vol. 8, 67–71, and vol. 9, 65–66] (al-Jawharī, *Ṣiḥāh*, s.v.) Cf. al-Ṭabarī in the introduction to the *Tafsīr*, Cairo edition, vol. 1, p. 31 sq.; *Lisān al-‘Arab*, vol. 1, p. 124; *al-Itqān*, p. 118 sq. Cf. also Ibn Qutayba, *Liber poësis et poëtarum*, ed. J.M. de Goeje, p. 26, l 4 and 5.

<sup>51</sup> *Sūra* 17:80, and 75:17 sq. Such a poet in Ibn Qutayba, “*Handbuch der Geschichte*,” edited by F. Wüstenfeld, p. 99; (according to Ibn ‘Abd al-Rabbih, *al-Iqd al-farid*, cap. نسب عثمان and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi l-tārīkh*, vol. 3, p. 151, it is Ḥassān b. Thābit) يَقْطَعُ اللَّيْلَ تَسْبِيحًا وَقِرَاءًا (by glorification and recitation of the Koran), al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 2196, l 17 (vol. 1, p. 3063 and in the *dīwān* the verse is missing); additional examples in *Ṣaḥīḥ* and *Qāmūs*, Ibn ‘Atīyya, al-Qurtubī, loc. cit., *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma’ānī*, vol. 3.

In the Koran *قرأ* means “to lecture,” “to recite” (sūras 16:100, 17:95, 69:19, 73:20, and 87:6) from a text or by heart,<sup>52</sup> and in other cases also “to dictate” to a writer.<sup>53</sup> On several occasions it is said in the traditions that Muḥammad had said something and *تمّ قرأ*, where it can mean nothing other than reciting Koranic passage by heart. The usage in Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, p. 80 (= al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 1, p. 449) *فقرأها رسول الله صلعم ثلاث مرّات*, where it refers to an ordinary saying, is seldom found; the application of the expression for memorized recitation of Koranic passages to *ḥadīth* can easily be explained. Since a cultural term like “to read” cannot be Protosemitic, we may assume that it came to Arabia from the outside, most likely from the north, where the original meaning of “to call” is still quite common in Hebrew and Aramaic. This meaning is unknown in Arabic. Although it survives unchanged in the familiar phrases *قرأ فلان السلام*<sup>54</sup> and *قرأ فلاناً السلام*<sup>55</sup> the close relation that here exists of *قرأ* to the Aramaic greeting *שלום* (Hebrew *שלום*)<sup>56</sup> raises doubts that the entire phrase is after all not a borrowing, despite the fact that it cannot be documented in early Aramaic. If sūra 96:1 really were to be translated as “preach” then this case ought to be viewed in a similar way.<sup>57</sup> The fact that Syriac, in addition to the verb *קרא*, has the noun *ḵeryānā* with the double meaning of *ἀνάγνωσις* and *ἀνάγνωσµα* tends to support the conjecture—in relation to what has just been argued—that the term *qurʿān* is not just an exclusively Arabic development from an infinitive of the same meaning but is, rather, a borrowing from the Syriac word which simultaneously assimilated to the pattern *fuʿlān*.

*فُرْقَان* in fact does not mean a book; it is rather a neutral expression for revelation and is used for Muḥammad's inspirations (sūras 3:2, 25:1, 2:181) as well as for those of other prophets like Aaron and Moses (sūras 2:50 and 21:49.)<sup>58</sup>

<sup>52</sup> A. Sprenger, “Über das Traditionswesen bei den Arabern,” p. 4; *al-Itqān*, p. 254sq.; Sprenger, *Life of Mohammed*, p. 96, n. 2; Sprenger, *Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, vol. 1, pp. 298–463, and vol. 3, p. xxii.

<sup>53</sup> E.g., Ibn Saʿd, [*al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*], vol. 3, part 2, p. 59, l 15, p. 60, l 20 (قرأ على فلان).

<sup>54</sup> al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-īmān*, § 19; al-Maqdisī, *Badʿ al-khalq*, § 5, i; *al-Aghānī*, vol. 1, p. 15, l 18; Ḥātim al-Tāʾī, ed. Schultheß, p. 83, l 15; *Ḥamāsa*, p. 604, verse 2.

<sup>55</sup> *al-Muwaṭṭaʿ* p. 175, l 3 from bottom; al-Wāqidī, p. 189, l 2 from bottom; al-Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr* on sūra 3:163, and often. The Turkish *Kāmūs* interprets the idiom as *فلان كسسه لسانا تحيت و سلام* (فلان كسسه لسانا تحيت و سلام) “he delivered someone verbal regards.”

<sup>56</sup> Goldziher, “Der Diwan des Garwal b. Aus,” p. 22 sqq., has shown that the *salām* greeting was known long before Islam. But it cannot be Protosemitic. The foreign vocabulary in the Koran is also partly old borrowing. Muḥammad himself is unlikely to have added much.

<sup>57</sup> More about this see below, s.v. Cf. also Snouck Hurgronje, “Une nouvelle biographie de Muhammed”; also his *Mekka*, vol. 2, p. 225, foot-note.

<sup>58</sup> This word, like the Ethiopic *ferqān*, is derived from the Aramaic *ܦܪܩܢܐ* cf. A. Geiger,

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Because the style of the Koran differs considerably according to the date of composition it will be better for us to discuss the issue later when dealing with the different periods. Whereas some of its older parts are wild and excited, others are serene; we find still other parts in which the language is quite ordinary, almost prosaic. Their common characteristics—with few exceptions—consist only in God's speaking directly and in certain rhetorical touches prevailing throughout. There is one aspect that we must keep in mind, namely that the Koran is more rhetoric than poetry. Even though little importance can be attached to Muslim stories purporting to show that their Prophet was unfamiliar with pre-Islamic poetry<sup>59</sup>—since they are but an outgrowth of the statement in *sūra* 69:41, *ما هو بقول شاعر*—its entire intellectual purpose is far more concerned with didacticism and rhetoric than with pure poetry. This would explain that at a time when the greatest of the Arab poets—Shanfarā,<sup>60</sup> al-Nābigha al-Dhubaynī,<sup>61</sup> Maymūn b. Qays, called AL-A'SHĀ,<sup>62</sup> etc.—were at their prime, or had died only shortly before, Muḥammad preferred a poet like Ḥassān b. Thābit, d. 40/659<sup>63</sup> over all the others, and admired the poetry of Umayya b. Abī l-Ṣalt,<sup>64</sup> even though bor-

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loc. cit., p. 55 sqq.; Siegmund Fraenkel in his doctoral thesis, *De vocabulis in antiquis Arabum*, p. 23; and Fr. Schwally, "Lexikalische Studien," p. 134 sqq. The same word appears in the Hebrew Targum as *ישועה*, *ישוע*, *פדיים חשועה*, and in New Testament Greek as *λύτρον*, *λύτρωσις*, *ἀπολύτρωσις* (e.g. *Luke* 21:28; *Romans* 3:24; *Ephesians* 1:7, and 14; 1; *Colossians* 1:14; *Hebrews* 9:15), *σωτηρία* (e.g. *Luke* 1:69; *Apocrypha* 7:10; 12:10). In the latter meaning Muḥammad uses the word twice in *sūra* 8 (verses 29 and 42). The meaning "revelation" does not exist in Aramaic. It is thus possible that it came into use in the Arabic-speaking world only. If one does not merely want to suppose a misunderstanding on the part of Muḥammad, it might be worth considering whether this change of meaning did not occur in a community where its entire religious thinking was dominated by the hope for liberation and redemption, i.e., primarily and most likely among Christians, or otherwise in Messianic oriented Jewish circles.—'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (Ibn Hishām, p. 518, l 7):

خفاء بفرقان من الله منزل  
مبينه آياته لذوي العقل

Regarding the derivation of this word, too, there is much inaccuracy to be found among Muslims. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 32 sq.; al-Bukhārī on *sūra* 24:1; the encyclopaedias, etc.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 882; al-Aghānī, vol. 20, p. 2; Ibn Sa'd, (*al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*): *Biographien der Muhāgrin und Ansār, die nicht bei Bedr mitgefochten*, p. ١٤١, l 25 sq.

<sup>60</sup> *EQ; EP; Sezgin, GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 133–137.

<sup>61</sup> *EP; Sezgin, GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 110–113.

<sup>62</sup> *EQ; EP; Sezgin, GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 229–235.

<sup>63</sup> *EP; EQ; Juynboll, Encyclopaedia; Sezgin, GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 289–292.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 2, p. 399 sq. (= al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 9, p. 100 sq. (كتاب الشعر)); al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt-ul-maṣābīḥ*, p. 401 (باب البيان والشعر, 409); al-Tirmidhī, *Shamā'il, bāb, 37; al-Aghānī*, vol. 3, p. 190 sq.; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Adab*, § 90.

rowed ideas<sup>65</sup> and the rhetorical pomp<sup>66</sup> replaced true poetry in his work. Only once in his life does Muḥammad seem to have composed a most simple distich,<sup>67</sup> and only rarely did he resort to the poetry of others.<sup>68</sup>

Still, Muḥammad's adversaries considered him a "poet." This shows that the form in which he made his promulgations, the so-called *saj'* (سجع), was still considered poetical, although for a long time poets had been using a diction defined by strict rhyme and metre.<sup>69</sup> *Saj'* is produced when speech is made up of short parts, in which two or more lines always rhyme with one another, although in such a way that the final syllable of the individual parts is pronounced not according to the minute rules for the end of a verse but according to normal pause (*waqf*); the parts also have a much more liberal rhyme (*qāfiya*).<sup>70</sup> This style of diction, which dominated the

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<sup>65</sup> Cf. his verse regarding those who carry the Throne of God: *رجلٌ وثورٌ تحت رجلٍ يمينه \* والنسرُ: [رجلٍ للآخرى وليتُ يرصد]* (Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, vol. 1, p. 261; *al-Aghānī*, vol. 3, p. 190, l 19; al-Damīrī, *K. Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, vol. 2, p. 154 (s.v. غراب): مرصد. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-Iqd*, vol. 3, p. 96, and al-Qazwīnī, *Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 1, p. 56 ملبد; al-Qazwīnī [*ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt*] is the only one to read *رجله* —, which we must undoubtedly take as an allusion to Ezekiel 1:10, but particularly to Apocr. 4:7.

<sup>66</sup> Cf., e.g., the elegies in Ibn Hishām, p. 531 sqq. and the other fragments of his poetry in *al-Aghānī*, vol. 3, pp. 186–192, vol. 16, p. 71 sq.; ʿAbd al-Qādir (ibn Ṭāhir) al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, vol. 1, p. 118 sqq.; *Jamharat ashʿar al-Arab*, p. 106 sq.; Ibn Qutayba, *Liber poësis*, pp. 279–282; al-Masʿūdī, *Prairies d'or*, vol. 1, pp. 136–142. The other references can now be found in the above-mentioned article by Fr. Schultheß, p. 14 n. 19, who also discussed the content of the fragments, particularly the theological and historical connections. What attracted the Prophet to the man was his almost Islamic philosophy.

<sup>67</sup> The frequently quoted *rajaz* (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Maghāzī* § 55; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1662, and on the *tafsīr* on sūra 9:15, Cairo edition, vol. 10, p. 64; al-Wāqidī, p. 273, l 19; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt*, p. 417, *bāb al-mufākhara, faṣḥ*, 1; al-Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrikh*, vol. 2, p. 103, section on the battle of Ḥunayn, etc.): \* أنا النبي لا كذب \* أنا ابن عبد المطلب \*.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī, *Shamāʾil*, in the passages of the previous footnote 69.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, vol. 1, pp. 57–83.

<sup>70</sup> The main purpose of pause and rhymed prose is the dropping of the final short vowels as well as *tanwīn* and the pronunciation of *ʾā* as *ā*. The artificial pronunciation with half vowels, which are called *rawm* (not *Rām* as Sylvestre de Sacy vocalizes since it is the simple infinitive (فعل)); cf. the *Ṣiḥāh* and the orthography of good manuscripts like W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, 657 (= cod. Petermann i, p. 159; Ms. Leiden, cod. Golius, 46) and *al-ishmām* have of course been discussed by Sibawayh (*al-Kitāb*, vol. 2, p. 282) [*GAS*, vol. 9, 51–63] but it is doubtful whether they emanate from real life or merely from the schools. Regarding Masoretic works like the *Jazarīyya* with its commentaries (e.g. cod. Vindob. A.F. 377c. = Flügel, 1636, A.F., 309 b. = Flügel, 1630); Ibn al-Jazarī's great work, W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss* (= cod. Petermann i, no. 159); W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, 591 (= cod. Sprenger, 382); Gotha, cod. Möller, 65; *Itqān*, p. 210, etc. The laws of pause are explained more precisely in Sibawayh, ed. Bülāq, vol. 2, pp. 277–291; al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, ed. Broch<sup>2</sup>, p. 160 sqq.; Ibn Mālik, *Alfiyya*, cap. 69; cod. Gotha, fol. 25 r.; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 209 sqq. Cf. also the notes in Ewald's *Grammatica*

special form adopted by the old soothsayers (*kuhhān*), Muḥammad also made use of, although with several changes. He disregarded the rule of making the individual parts of roughly equal length, gradually lengthened the verses in the later sūras, and ended up making such a free use of rhyme that the Muslims came to differentiate, not unjustly, between the Koranic rhyme (فاصلة الآي) and rhymed prose (قرينة السجع).<sup>71</sup> Since this rhyme, when viewed closely, but cautiously, is of prime importance for the improvement of certain passages, for the proper arrangement of the verses, the recognition of the connection of longer passages, and the rearrangement of misplaced verses, it is warranted here to delve into it in greater detail. In the case of rhymed prose Muḥammad takes all available poetic licences, even going beyond in some instances. At times he totally silences ʾ –, that ought to be pronounced at the end of a verse,<sup>72</sup> omits the final – or ى – of verbs ending in و or ى,<sup>73</sup> lengthens the – of *naṣb* in nouns and verbs to ā as in rhymed verse,<sup>74</sup> and completely omits the ى – of the first person<sup>75</sup> or changes it to ِيه – which is also frequently found in rhymed verse.<sup>76</sup> But Muḥammad goes one step further and makes similar consonants, particularly ن and م,

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*critica linguae arabicae*, vol. 1, p. 373 sq., vol. 2, 335 sqq.; Wm. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic language*, 3rd ed., vol. 2, pp. 368–373.

<sup>71</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima*, cap. 6, § 45; *al-Itqān*, p. 693 sqq. It is generally forbidden to call the rhyme of the Koran قافية because it is no شعر (loc. cit., p. 695); on the other hand, it is debatable whether because of its form سجع can be applied to a greater degree.

<sup>72</sup> Sūra 58:2 (end of the verse?); 90:6; 74:33, etc. At times (Wm. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic language*, 3rd ed., p. 369 B) this occurs also in a verse, e.g. in Labīd.

فلا تخمنا وجهًا ولا تحلقا شعْرَ

(*Dīwān*, ed. by Brockelmann, no. xxi, 4) for شعْرًا.

<sup>73</sup> Sūra 55 verses 26, 44 and 54; 75:27, etc. Incidentally, this is also not rare in ordinary pause, and generally common in some dialects. Audacious is the dropping of ى – in sūra 75:26, but not unprecedented. Cf. on this Sibawayh, *al-Kitāb*, vol. 2, p. 289 sq.; al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, p. 161 sq.

<sup>74</sup> Sūra 33 verses 4, 10, 49, 66; 84:14; 74:15. Al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 33:10 puts it this way: here, an ʾ in *fāṣila* is added as in other cases in *qāfiya*.

<sup>75</sup> Sūra 13:32, etc. The *Mufaṣṣal* (p. 163) permits this also in regular pause; occasionally it is found in poetry, e.g. Abū Tammām, *Hamāsa*, p. 362, وزعمي for وعمي; in Labīd:

ويأذن الله ربيّتي وعجلي

(for وعجلي, Labīd, vol. 2, no. xxxix, 1); in al-A'shā:

ومن شأنك كاسف وجهه \* إذا ما انتسبث له أنكرن

(in the *Mufaṣṣal* cited for أنكرني). Cf. R. Geyer's review of Karl Vollers, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*.

<sup>76</sup> Sūra 69:19 sq., 25 sq., 28 sq. So also هينه = هي, sūra 101:7. This, too, is possible in rhymed prose or poetry.

somewhat less frequently ʔ and ʕ, rhyme indiscriminately, extending this rhyme in later sūras even to quite different consonants, with the result that the rhyme is reduced to mere assonance.<sup>77</sup> Conversely, the change of vowels, unless permitted in verse—for example, from *ū* to *ī*, and the change of the short vowels<sup>78</sup> before a consonant—is extremely rare. As far as the arrangement of the verses is concerned, occasionally an unrhymed verse is found between<sup>79</sup> or after<sup>80</sup> rhymed ones. Freely rhymed sūras, however, show that in longer passages the rhyme is observed more consistently.<sup>81</sup>

In better prose,<sup>82</sup> in contrast to proper poetry, the Arabs used to change the rhyme after some of the short parts of speech. This also happens quite frequently in the Koran, particularly in the earliest sūras.<sup>83</sup> In most of them, however, the rhyme continues throughout most or all of the verses, particularly in the case of the longer ones. The majority of the Koranic rhymes end with *ūn*, *īn*, *im*, *ād*, *ār*, etc., mainly in a closed syllable with long vowel. Sustained rhyme with *ā* (اَ and عَ—respectively) is found far less frequently and is primarily limited to the Meccan sūras (17; 18; 19; 20; 25; 53; 71:5sq; 72; 73; 76; 78; 79; 80; 87; 91; 92; 93; and 99); among the Medinan sūras it is limited to sūras 33; 48; and 65. In nearly an equal number (16) of sūras—namely with the exception of 47, all Meccan sūras (37:4–11; 54; 74 *passim*; 75:7–13; 81:1–18; 82:1–5; 84 *passim*; 86; 90:1–5; 93:9–11; 94; 96:1–5; 108; 111; 112; and 113)—the rhyme consists of a closed syllable with short vowel, e.g., *ib*, *kum*, *hum*, *ar*, *ir*, *ur*, etc. Less frequent is the rhyme with *ā* (آ, اُ) 69:1–24; 75:1sq; and 14sq; 79:6–14; 80:1sq; and 38sq; 88:1–5 and 8–16; 101; and 104 (all early Meccan sūras) and 98 (Medinan). At the end of a verse, there is sporadically a closing syllable with a double consonant (97; 103, Meccan), and a closed syllable with a diphthong (106, Meccan), which might also be assigned to the preceding category. This case is worth a special investigation.

<sup>77</sup> Isolated instances already in the earlier sūras like 106:1, 2, 3 (which actually closes with ت). At least in *rajaz* you find isolated instances of rhyme without completely identical consonants (see *talqib al-qawāfi* in Wright's *Opuscula arabica*, *Talqib al-qawāfi*, p. 57). It is also not rare to find in the well-composed *qaṣida* now and then there is an *ī* instead of *ū*, which usually predominates in rhymed syllables, or *ū* for *ī*.

<sup>78</sup> Cf., for example, sūra 54; *Talqib al-qawāfi*, p. 55sq.

<sup>79</sup> So sūra 70:10 (where the previous rhyme is repeated); sūra 82:6 (where the later rhyme appeared once before); sūra 80:32.

<sup>80</sup> So in sūras 53, 82, 93, and 96.

<sup>81</sup> For example, in sūra 18 the rhyme is *ā* (اَ), but from verses 66 to 82 ى (except in verses 78 and 80) with a preceding unvowelled consonant.

<sup>82</sup> Similarly in the short *rajaz* which was not quite recognized as شعر.

<sup>83</sup> Occasionally a previous rhyme reappears later; e.g., in sūra 80 the rhyme ى. Cf. now Karl Vollers (above, pp. 26f.), pp. 55–80.

Yet even these brief statistics, which do not take into account all the sporadic rhymes within sūras, demonstrate well the gradually increasing monotony of the style of the sūras. From among the enumerated types of rhyme in Medina only no. 2 can be supported by documentary evidence, and this three times only, while nos. 3 and 4 once each, and nos. 5 and 6 not at all. In the late Meccan and Medinan sūras only two rhymes prevail, which can easily be formed by grammatical endings and frequently used words,<sup>84</sup> namely the one ending with *ūn*, *īn*, *ūm*, *īm*, and the other ending in *ā* with following consonants. It is rare to find a sūra with uniform rhyme interrupted by verses with another rhyme.<sup>85</sup> The casual application of rhyme becomes more apparent the less fitting it is for the prosaic tenor of the later passages. Particularly in ordinances and similar passages we must consider the rhyme a bothersome fetter that does not even adorn the speech.

[i/39]

[i/40] It might be mentioned in passing that the influence of the rhyme on the diction of the Koran is by no means without importance. In order to maintain the rhyme, the form,<sup>86</sup> and even the sense, of words are occasionally changed. For example, when in sūra 55 “two gardens” are mentioned (verse 46), “therein two fountains of running water” (verse 50), “therein of every fruit two” (verse 52), “and besides shall be two gardens” (verse 62), it is obvious that the duals are used to support the rhyme. The same applies to sūra 69:17, whose “eight (angels) shall carry above them the Throne of thy Lord” would be puzzling if ثمانية did not fit the rhyme. Finally, there is the peculiar influence of every poetical form (metre, rhyme, stanza, etc.) upon the order of the construction<sup>87</sup> and the flow of ideas.<sup>88</sup> Of no small

<sup>84</sup> Like كَرِيم, رَحِيم, etc.; عَذَاب, نَار, سُلْطَان, أَلْبَاب, etc.

<sup>85</sup> As is the case in sūra 55:16 sq., and 55:43.

<sup>86</sup> In sūra 37:130 there is الياسين instead of الياس; sūra 95:2 سينين instead of سيناء (or as others read سِينَاء to avoid the un-Arabic form فغلاء). These forms caused Muslims a great deal of headache.

<sup>87</sup> For example, in sūra 2:81 (فَفَرِيقًا كَذَّبْتُمْ وَفَرِيقًا تَتَّقُونَ) we find that the last word takes the place of فقتلتم, which is required for the parallelism of the rhyme. For the same reason a *verbum finitum* is frequently paraphrased by كان with participle or من with the genitive. Also some Muslims recognized this influence, and Shams al-Dīn b. al-Ṣā'igh in his book إحصاء الرأى في أحكام الرأى made minute observations (listed in *al-Itqān*, p. 699 sqq.) although at times going too far.

<sup>88</sup> Apart from the Koran, Muḥammad rarely seems to have made use of سميع but this applies in particular to prayers as in the frequently quoted

اللهم منزل الكتاب \* سريع الحساب \* اهزم الأحزاب

al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Jihād*, § 96; al-Tirmidhī, *ibid.*, § 28. Other prayers of this kind see *al-Muwattā'*, 164; Ibn Hishām, p. 756 sq.; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt, K. al-Masājid, faṣl* 3, §§ 7, and 8, *K. al-Witr, faṣl* 2, § 8; Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabūr*), I, IV [sic], p. 14 sqq., etc. In his sermons he is



importance is the impact that rhyme had on the composition of the Koran. This will become apparent when we later analyse the sūras. At the present moment we seek only to highlight the main points of view. Uniformity of rhyme can never serve as proof of the unity of a sūra; rather, it should be considered only as a product of internal circumstances. One must always anticipate the possibility that disparate passages of identical rhyme were later inserted by either Muḥammad himself or in a later recension. At times the Prophet might have purposely composed an addition to an already existing revelation in the rhyme of the original.

Muslims hold very different views regarding the rhyme of the Koran (*al-Itqān*, p. 697sq.): Some will admit that rhyme is needed throughout the Koran. There are others, however, who deny this outright because they consider such inaccuracies of its components, even of the common *sajʿ*—not to mention the Divine Book—to be unseemly. A third faction attempts to compromise by suggesting that in the Koran, as in the rhetorical prose of the Arabs, rhymed and blank verse alternate. Some people therefore introduce a pause after every verse, claiming that the Prophet also followed this custom.<sup>89</sup> When determining the pauses, however, most people pay attention only to the syntactic construction and, wherever the rhetorical formation does not coincide with the former, they accordingly pronounce the final words of the verses as though in the middle of speech (في الوصل) so that the rhyme is hidden.

There are three sūras with a refrain: sūra 54 (verses 15, 17, 22, 32, 40, 51—verses 16, 18, 21, 30, 37, 39); sūra 55, where it is repeated *ad nauseam*, namely starting with verse 12, thirty-one times the words (فبأي آلاء يكما) and sūra 57, verses 21, 29—verses 11, 17—verses 15, 26, 27. But, like a refrain, single verses are repeated several times in some sūras, particularly in the histories of the prophets, which in certain parts are quite similar one to another.<sup>90</sup>

said to have totally avoided this form of speech, al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt*, 28 (36 *K. al-ʿIlm*, 3, § 4). al-Bukhārī, *K. al-ʿAdab*, § 6 (كراهة لكمة قبل 6). وقال وكثرة السؤال واضاعة المال (cf. al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 9, p. 6sq.), in a slightly different arrangement, al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Riqāq*, § 22. Cf. also Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, vol. 1, p. 68.

<sup>89</sup> al-Tirmidhī, *al-Shamāʿil*, § 44, باب صفة القراءة; al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, فضائل القرآن § 17; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt*, فضائل القرآن, *faṣl* 2, § 8; [ABŪ AL-QĀSIM] ʿUmar b. Muḥammad [IBN ʿABD AL-KĀFĪ]; Leiden Ms. Warner, no. 653, on sūra 79. There is no doubt that this was Muḥammad's pronunciation, but such a tradition is without much credibility since it is known that later interpreters attempted to present their opinions as coming from Muḥammad al-Tirmidhī, too, does not trust this tradition (هذا حديث غريب).

<sup>90</sup> For example, in sūra 19 (verses 15, 34–75, 98), sūra 37 (verses 110, 121), sūra 26 (verses 7

Wordplay, which was far less common (though not entirely absent<sup>91</sup>) among ancient Arabic poets than among later ones, who made it their primary poetic goal, is also found occasionally in the Koran.<sup>92</sup> This did not elude Muslims.<sup>93</sup> Such a play on words indeed divides a verse into several small parts, e.g., sūra 10:63; قرآن—شأن; and sūra 71:5; فَرَارًا—نَهَارًا, etc.<sup>94</sup>

[i/43]

Some years ago, David H. Müller,<sup>95</sup> in his monograph on the prophets in their original form, attempted to identify the structure of the Koranic verses, based on the sūras 7, 11, 15, 19, 26, 28, 36, 44, 51, 54, 56, 69, 75, 80, 82, 90, and 92. Most suitable for his hypothesis are sūras 56 and 26. In order to judge for ourselves it is sufficient to look at the construction of these two

sq., 67sq., 103sq., 121sq., 139sq., 158sq., 174sq., 190sq.), sūra 7 (verses 64, 76sq., etc.); and sūra 56 (verses 73, and 96).

<sup>91</sup> Cf. al-Shanfarā's *Lāmīyya*, verse 4: رَاهِيًا أَوْ رَاهِيًا; in Labid (Ibn Hishām, p. 941, l 10): والحارب والجارب الحريب, and l 13, يَغْطُوا يَغْطُوا, ( = *Dīwān*, ed. al-Khālidi [GAS, v. 1], pp. 17 and 19); in al-Khansā' [GAS, v. 2, p. 311] (*Dīwān*, Beirut, 1888), p. 24, l 4; similarly p. 32, l 8, and p. 37, l 15: opposite of عُسْر and بُسْر; in Bashāma [Ibn al-Ghadīr (Sezgin, GAS, v. 2, p. 118)], the uncle of Zuhayr [Ibn Abī Sulmā, *EP*; Sezgin, GAS, vol. 2, pp. 118–120]: أَحْرَبِي الحَيَاةَ الدُّنْيَا وَخِزْيُ: المَرَات (in al-Buḥturī's [*EP*; *EQ*; Sezgin, GAS, vol. 2, pp. 560–564] *Hamāsa*, cap. 9, and—without identifying the poet—*al-Itqān*, p. 302, against *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Thorbecke, p. 11, l 2, خِزْيُ: الحَيَاةَ وَحَرْبَ الصِّدِّيقِ; Imru' al-Qays, *The divans of the six ancient Arabic poets*, ed. Ahlwardt, no. 52, verse 58 (p. 154); Ibn Hishām, p. 519, l 2, مَطَاعِينَ—مَطَاعِيم; very much of the wordplay in ancient proverbs, etc. Some of the ones quoted here occur also in the Koran and seem to have been in common use. See sūra 21:90 (رَعْبًا وَرَهْبًا); sūra 21:181 (بُسْرٌ and عُسْر); cf. sūras 65:7 and 92:7 and 10).

<sup>92</sup> Apart from the passages mentioned cf. هُمَزَةٌ لُمَزَةٌ (sūra 104:1, cf. Abū Zayd, *al-Nawādir*, p. 76, l 14); وَأَسْلَمْتُ مَعَ سَلِيمَانَ (sūra 27:45); يَا أَسْفَى عَلَى يَوْسُفَ (sūras 12:84; 12:19; 30:42; 24:37; 56:88; 55:54.) Here belongs also the compilation of similarly sounding names, which have been changed only for this particular purpose, for example, ماروت and هاروت (sūra 2:96); مَأْجُوحٌ and يَأْجُوحٌ (sūras 18:93, and 21:96; cf. Imru' al-Qays in *The divans of the six ancient Arabic poets*, ed. by Ahlwardt, p. 204, no. 25, l 4); طَالُوتٌ and جَالُوتٌ (sūra 2:250sq).

<sup>93</sup> R.E. Brünnow, "Das *Kitābu-l-Itbā'i wa-l-Muzāwaḡati* des Abū-l-Husain Ahmed ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004) [al-Qazwīnī]"; al-Suyūfī, *Muzhīr fī 'ulūm al-lughā wa-anwāh'ihā* (Bulaq, 282/1865), vol. 1, pp. 199–201, cap. معرفة الأتباع; Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad AL-THA'ĀLIBĪ, *Fiqh al-lughā wa-sirr al-'Arabīyya* (Cairo, 1317/1899) p. 303, في الاتباع; and p. 314sq., في التجنيس. The latter one correctly says that the figure of speech was rarely used in pre-Islamic poetry, but became extraordinarily frequent later on. The matter is worth a monographic investigation. Max. T. Grünert in "Die Alliteration" supplies a mass of 224 examples, but they are almost exclusively from literary works not from primary sources.

<sup>94</sup> Still more artificial we find this reflected in poetry, e.g., al-Sukkarī, *Lieder der Hud-hailiten*, p. 15, verse 2sq.

<sup>95</sup> Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form; die Grundgesetze der ursemitischen Poesie, erschlossen in Bible, Keilinschriften und Koran und in ihren Wirkungen erkannt in den Chören der griechischen Tragödien, [The prophets in their original form; the basic laws governing Proto-Semitic poetry, from the Bible, cuneiform and Koran and in their effects as reflected in the choir of the Greek tragedy], vol. 1, pp. 20–60, 211sq.

sūras. After a brief introduction (verses 1–9), sūra 56 describes the three categories into which mankind shall be divided at the Final Judgement: The *sābiqūn* (fourteen verses, vv. 10 to 23), the “Companions of the Right” (sixteen verses, vv. 24 to 39), and the “Companions of the Left” (seventeen verses, vv. 40 to 56). The introduction, verse 57, leads to three questions addressed to mankind regarding their attitude toward “the seed you spill” (five verses, 58 to 62), “the toil you till” (four verses, 63 to 66), “the water you drink” (verses 67 to 69), and “the fire you kindle” (verses 70 to 72). The first and second verses both have the same beginning (أفرايتم and أأتم respectively). In sūra 26, the introduction (vv. 1 to 6) and all of the seven following sections regarding the past prophets—vv. 9 to 66 (fifty-eight verses), vv. 69 to 102 (thirty-four verses), vv. 105 to 120 (sixteen verses), vv. 123 to 138 (sixteen verses), vv. 141 to 157 (seventeen verses), vv. 160 to 173 (fourteen verses), and vv. 176 to 189 (fourteen verses)—conclude with this two-verse long refrain, [“Surely in that is a sign, yet most of them are not believers. Surely thy Lord, He is the All-mighty, the All-compassionate:”] In addition, starting with verse 105, with the exception of the names, each of the first verses of the last five sections have the same phrase, [“... cried lies to the Envoy.”] It cannot be denied that both sūras represent an artistic, literary work, with proper disposition, with skilful application of rhetorical forms of style, and with purposeful proportions of the individual length of the sections. On the other hand, there is so much irregularity in the composition, so much licence and arbitrariness, that it cannot be called a strophic structure in the full meaning of the word.

*Written Notes of Koranic Passages.  
Additions and Changes Arising from Muḥammad*

The revelations allegedly have been recorded as follows:<sup>96</sup>

[i/44]

إذا نزل عليه الشئء [كان] يدعو بعض من يكتب عنده فيقول ضعوا هذه الآية في السورة التي يذكر فيها كذا وكذا

or وضعوها في موضع كذا وكذا. Yet at the same time it is claimed that the division of the sūras was introduced only after the revelation of the words بسم الله الرحمن

<sup>96</sup> al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, p. 502 (vol. 2, p. 134, *tafsīr*); Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī on sūra 9; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt*, p. 186 (194 *faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, end); al-Qurṭubī, *Jāmi' al-aḥkām* (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 810, vol. 1, 23<sup>r</sup>); *al-Mabānī li-naẓm ...*, part 3; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt*, p. 141; in the text there are several unimportant variants.

الرحيم,<sup>97</sup> which, of course, are considered by some to be the earliest of the revelations.<sup>98</sup> But I cannot remember having read in any reputable ancient writer the statement that every individual part of the Koran was put between two boards or covers (لَوْحَانِ, دَفْتَانِ) as soon as it was written down and frequently taken out to be copied.<sup>99</sup> Below, we shall demonstrate the probability that this must be considered a Shi'ite fabrication. Also the tradition that Muḥammad assigned a definite place<sup>100</sup> to every single verse immediately after its promulgation cannot be historical, even if he occasionally made additions to certain sūras. This tradition evolved first from the superstition that the existing order of both the verses and the sūras was certainly of divine origin and must have been copied exactly by Muḥammad himself, and secondly from the erroneous opinion that the individual revelations were quite short and put together only at a later time. G. Weil has already pointed out the absurdity of this entire matter.<sup>101</sup> It is doubtful that Muḥammad put down in writing all the revelations of the divine book from the start.<sup>102</sup> During the first years of his divine commission, when he hardly had any followers, he might have forgotten some of the revelations before outsiders learned of them. Some other revelations might have been retained only in the memory of Companions, as attested by several traditions that say that he recited Koranic passages to his followers until they knew them by heart. Still, it is likely that already many years before the flight he dictated entire verses to a scribe,<sup>103</sup> not merely single verses, as Muslims claim. After all, when 'Umar embraced Islam, passages of the Koran had already been recorded, if indeed<sup>104</sup> reports of this event can be trusted. To prove that there had been written sūras certainly in 2/623 one might refer to Ḥassān b. Thābit, who

<sup>97</sup> al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt*, p. 185 (193 *faḍā'il al-Qur'ān, faṣl* 3 § 2); al-Wāḥidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, in the introduction, p. 5; *al-Mabānī li-naẓm ...*, part 3; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 184sq. (Several traditions of Sa'īd b. Jubayr [EQ; EF; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 44sqq., Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 28, no. 2], are traced back to Ibn 'Abbās and Ibn Mas'ūd.)

<sup>98</sup> al-Wāḥidī, loc. cit. Both are wrong; see below.

<sup>99</sup> Kazem-Beg, "Observations sur le 'Chapitre inconnu du Coran', publié et traduit par M. Garcin de Tassy" in *Journal asiatique*, 4e série, t. 2 (1843), pp. 375sqq.; cf. George Sale, *The Koran; Preliminary Discourse*, section 3, pp. 44–54. Al-Bukhārī, *faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, § 16. Kazem Beg is following in his article uncritically almost exclusively contemporary Shi'ite authors.

<sup>100</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 142.

<sup>101</sup> *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 361, and foot-note on p. 569.

<sup>102</sup> Details thereon below in the chapter, "Muḥammad's uncanonical promulgations".

<sup>103</sup> Against this we have the tradition that Muḥammad gave the scribe precise calligraphic instructions (A.I. Silvestre de Sacy, "Recueil de différens traits", p. 357). This must be considered the fabrication of a scribe anxious about the external appearance of the Koran.

<sup>104</sup> See below regarding sūra 20.

says in a poem<sup>105</sup> about the Battle of Badr that the former resting place of Zaynab was like *khatt al-wahy*, on smooth parchment. It is unfortunately not quite clear what the meaning of “revealed writing” is, or, generally, “mysterious, effaced writing,”<sup>106</sup> with which pre-Islamic poets are inclined to compare the traces of deserted settlements.

When Muslims put down in writing the sūras they had memorized, they probably often put passages together that had originated in the same period and had the same rhyme. This would plausibly explain how the individual parts of the long Medinan sūras, which could not have been created at the same time, still belonged largely to the same period. [i/46]

When Muḥammad recited Koranic passages to be memorized or written down, it might have been that he only then decided on their final version. This is quite evident from the following account, which is supplied by most of the Commentators<sup>107</sup> on sūra 6:93.

When Muḥammad once dictated the beginning of sūra 23 to ‘Abd Allāh [Ibn Sa’d] b. Abī Sarḥ (died 57/676–677),<sup>108</sup> whom he frequently employed as a scribe,<sup>109</sup> he was so enraptured by the description of God’s creation that he exclaimed: *فتبارك الله أحسن الخالقين*. Then the Prophet explained that the exclamation was in total agreement with the words of the Koran and that they belong here.

‘Abd Allāh’s words evidently appeared to Muḥammad to be so fitting as to introduce them on the spot.

Muḥammad, who did not hesitate either to repeat verses or to change or to abrogate passages, and whose work concentrated to a great extent on the immediate circumstances, was not at all inclined to arrange the sūras according to chronology or subject. But this is no reason that we should [i/47]

<sup>105</sup> *Dīwān*, ed. Tunis, p. 10, l 12; Ibn Hishām, p. 454.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. the passages in Th. Nöldeke regarding Labīd’s *Mu’allaqa*, “Fünf Mo’allaqāt”, p. 65; Ibn Hishām, p. 702, l 11; Yāqūt, *Geographisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 4, p. 422, l 18; *Lisān al-‘Arab*, vol. 2, p. 19, verse 1; vol. 5, p. 229, verse 1; vol. 9, p. 46, verse 1; above, p. 18.

<sup>107</sup> E.g., al-Zamakhsharī, al-Bukhārī, al-Baghāwī; al-Zamakhsharī also on sūra 23:14.

<sup>108</sup> *EF*.

<sup>109</sup> This man is to be added to ‘Uthmān, Mu’āwiya, Ubayy b. Ka’b, and Zayd b. Thābit, known as *كتاب الوحي* (Sprenger, *Leben und die Lehre*,<sup>2</sup> vol. 3, p. xxxi). Some others mentioned as Muḥammad’s scribes will have looked after Muḥammad’s correspondence (see al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, 1782; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 1, s.v. *أبي*; al-Nawawī, [*Tahdhib al-asmā’*] *Biographical dictionary*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, p. 37; A.I. Silvestre de Sacy, “Mémoire sur l’origine et les anciens monuments de la littérature parmi les Arabes,” p. 332, foot-note; A.I. Silvestre de Sacy, “Recueil de différens traités relatifs à l’orthographe et à la lecture de l’Alcoran,” p. 357; G. Weil, *Das Leben*, p. 552, foot-note). Cf. the letters in Ibn Sa’d, and above, p. 11 sq.; *EF*; Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, p. 24, n. 11.

seriously reproach him as Gustav Weil<sup>110</sup> did. Could the Prophet really have foreseen—as Weil thinks—that a dispute would arise after his death over the very letter of the revelation, especially given that he was an unlettered man with no idea of the veneration of letters? His spirit, which naturally was aiming at the most immediate goal, could by no means anticipate the strange development that Islam was to follow after his death. Leaving worry about the future to his God, he likely never pondered over the fate of the Koran, or least of all the choice of a successor. The complete collection of the entire Koran was beyond the feasibility of even its author. Not only according to Muslim tradition,<sup>111</sup> but even the evidence of the Koran<sup>112</sup> shows that he himself had already forgotten some passages and had deliberately changed others. The following example makes it unequivocally clear that Muḥammad occasionally made expedient additions to the established text.

[i/48] When those who did not participate in military campaigns were severely reproached in the Koran, two blind men came and anxiously asked whether the reproach also applied to them; the Prophet ordered Zayd b. Thābit [ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk]<sup>113</sup> to add a few words excepting handicapped persons.<sup>114</sup> We shall see below in more detailed discussion that entire passages were clearly interchanged after short or long intervals. But some parts Muḥammad recited in different versions to different people, partly because he wanted to improve them or—as seems to apply in most cases—because his memory failed to retain them unchanged. Regarding this subject there are several traditions, the best of which can be traced back to ‘Umar (Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb) and Hishām b. al-Ḥakīm [Ibn Ḥizām<sup>115</sup>], who were quarreling over their

<sup>110</sup> *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, p. 42 sq., 2nd ed. p. 53. In the final analysis all the founders of the great religions might be reproached with just as much or rather, with just as little justification.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. ‘Ā’isha’s tradition frequently found in al-Bukhārī (e.g., *K. al-Shahādāt* § 11) and Muslim, vol. 1, p. 443 sq. (= al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 4, p. 72 sqq., *Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān*, *bāb* 2): *سمع النبي: أذكرني آية أسقطت من سورة كذا أو merely أذكرني آية أسقطت من سورة كذا وكذا آية أسقطت من سورة كذا* or merely *أذكرني آية أسقطت من سورة كذا*. In this case the verses had already been communicated to others.

<sup>112</sup> Sūra 2:100 (where admittedly others read *نساءها* = *نؤخرها*) and sūra 87:6 sq.

<sup>113</sup> *EF*; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 232 sqq.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 401–402.

<sup>114</sup> The story is supported by the evidence of several persons, among them also Zayd himself. See al-Bukhārī in *الجهاد* كتاب § 31; *Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān* § 7; al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Jihād*, § 22; al-Nasā’ī, *ibid.* § 3; Muslim, vol. 2, p. 231 (al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 8, p. 114 sq., *jihād*); Ibn Sa’d (*al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*): *Biographien der Muhāgīrūn*, p. 154 sq.; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 6, p. 134; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī, al-Wāḥidī, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Bayḍawī on sūra 4:97. Cf. Silvestre de Sacy, “Mémoire sur l’origine et les anciens monuments de la littérature parmi les Arabes,” p. 424.

<sup>115</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 343, col. 1.

respective readings of sūra 25. When they consulted the Prophet he decided that they were both correct about the revelations, since the Koran was revealed على سبعة أحرف, all of which were correct.<sup>116</sup> It is reported also by Ubayy b. Ka'b that he once heard a man recite the Koran in a mosque in a reading unknown to him. He ignored it but soon thereafter another person did it again. He thereupon went to the Prophet, and he approved of the reading. When Ubayy b. Ka'b was frightened by this, fearing that he be considered a liar, the Prophet calmed him with an answer similar to the one which he had given to 'Umar and Hishām [Ibn al-Ḥakīm b. al-Ḥizām].<sup>117</sup>

In the same vein we must consider the undeniable differences among the variant readings of the Companions of the Prophet, which are reflected in the following passage (further details below in Otto Pretzl's section "The history of the text of the Koran"):<sup>118</sup>

... عن زيد بن وهب قال أتيت ابن مسعود أستقرئه آية من كتاب الله فأقرأنيها كذا وكذا فقلت إن عمر أقرأني كذا وكذا خلاف ما قرأها عبد الله<sup>119</sup> قال فبكي حتى رأيت دموعه خلال الحصاة ثم قال اقرأها كما أقرأك عمر فوالله لهي أئين من طريق السيلحين<sup>120</sup>

All such variations, which we can easily explain, caused great troubles for Muslims. Particularly the explanation of the words, فإن هذا القرآن أنزل على سبعة or, as one variant<sup>121</sup> has it, خمسة أحرف, meant a lot of hard work for Muslims. Several traditions are subservient to writers' ends;<sup>122</sup> and already

<sup>116</sup> *al-Muwattaʿa*, p. 70; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Badʿ al-khalq, bāb 5, § 10*; *K. Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān § 4; khuṣūmāt § 3* (al-Qaṣṭallānī, loc. cit, vol. 4, p. 237, lists parallel cases; Muslim, vol. 1, p. 457 (al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 4, p. 97 sqq., *faḍāʾil*); al-Tirmidhī, *al-Qirāʾāt, bāb 2, § 1*; al-Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan*, p. 107 sq. (I, 149, *K. al-Iftitāh, § 37* جامع ما في القرآن); al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt, faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān, bāb 3, faṣl 2*; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, introduction, vol. 1, pp. 9–24). Frequently repeated by later writers like Ibn ʿAtīyya, al-Qurṭubī, vol. 1, p. 18<sup>v</sup>, Ibn Ḥajar, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 1, s.v. هشام; Silvestre de Sacy, *Mémoires*, 50, p. 425; Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, pp. 25–27; etc.

<sup>117</sup> Muslim, *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān*, § 13; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt*, ibid., *bāb 3, faṣl 2*; al-Nasāʾī, *Iftitāh*, § 37; al-Qurṭubī, vol. 1, p. 18<sup>v</sup> f.; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 9 sqq.

<sup>118</sup> In Ibn Saʿd, (*al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*): *Biographien der mekkan*. Kämpfer, p. 270, l 8 sqq.

<sup>119</sup> This is Ibn Masʿūd. The authenticity is of course not established.

<sup>120</sup> According to Yāqūt, vol. 3, p. 218, etc., this al-Saylahīn is located in Iraq not far from Ḥira, and is possibly identical with the Hebrew להיט (A. Neubauer, *La géographie du Talmud*, p. 262). The proverb "more famous and direct than the road to al-Saylahīn" I have found nowhere else.

<sup>121</sup> *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-maʿānī*, vol. 4; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 12, l 2: 6 or 7 [sic].

<sup>122</sup> E.g. Gabriel told the Prophet that the Koran ought to be read على حرف واحد; but he objected because the Muslims were too weak; God then agreed to two sets of readings, then upon a renewed request, to five, and finally to seven حرف (Muslim, al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 4, p. 102 sqq.; al-Azraqī, p. 436; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt*, p. 184 (192); al-Qurṭubī, i, p. 16<sup>v</sup>).

Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad IBN ḤIBBĀN al-Bustī (d. 354/965)<sup>123</sup> was able to collect thirty-five to forty different types of explanation, most of which—or at least the most important of which—we find in a variety of books.<sup>124</sup> (‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ismā‘īl) ABŪ SHĀMAH (d. 665/1266)<sup>125</sup> composed a book on this particular subject.<sup>126</sup> But since all of them are largely worthless, even ridiculous, and contrary to the text of the traditions, we shall limit ourselves to a few examples.

*The Seven aḥruf (Sets of Readings). Abrogation of Revelations*

[i/50] The seven *aḥruf* are supposed to indicate the seven subjects of the Koran, namely stories, commandments, interdiction, etc., or seven different senses (one outward and six inward ones), or the sets of readings of the seven subsequent readers (see below; this point of view is considered a sign of ignominious ignorance in *al-Itqān*, p. 115), or the seven languages, from which words are allegedly borrowed for the Koran,<sup>127</sup> etc. Some Shi‘ites take the easy way out and reject this entire tradition. Even some Muslims<sup>128</sup> have recognized that the number seven is of little consequence and that, instead, it serves here, as elsewhere, to represent an unknown quantity, regardless of whether Muḥammad himself may have fixed it or it was inserted later. حرف is letter, reading. The words thus express no more than the permission to read the Koran in different sets. This difference—also admitted by some Muslims, thinking that it might have been permissible to exchange single words with others of identical meaning<sup>129</sup>—might have been rather extensive, comprising the omission and addition of entire verses.

[i/51] The frequently mentioned explanation that the seven أحرف indicate seven Arabic dialects must be dismissed. Muḥammad certainly left it to

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Similar traditions abound.; cf. al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā‘ī, and al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt*, loc. cit. (p. 33 n. 116); *Mabānī* ix; Ibn ‘Atīyya; al-Qurṭubī, p. 16 sqq.; *al-Itqān*, p. 105 sqq, etc.

<sup>123</sup> *EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 189–191.

<sup>124</sup> Ibn ‘Atīyya; *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*, ix; al-Qurṭubī, loc. cit.; Cod. Lugd. 653 Warn; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān IBN AL-JAWZĪ (cod. Gotha 1671 = Pertsch, *Arabische Handschriften*, no. 544); *al-Itqān*, loc. cit.; the Shi‘ite *Tafsīr al-Qur‘ān* of Muḥammad b. Murtaḍā, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, no. 899 (= cod. I Petermann, no. 553).

<sup>125</sup> *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. the great work of Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr fi l-qirā‘āt al-‘ashar*, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, no. 657 (= cod. Petermann i, no. 159), folio 9<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>127</sup> Arabic, Greek, a Coptic dialect (الطحاوية), Persian, Syriac, Nabataean, Ethiopic!

<sup>128</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī’s great work, folio 11<sup>r</sup>; *Itqān*, p. 107.

<sup>129</sup> As, for example, هَلْ، أُسْرِعْ، أَذْهَبْ، أَقْبِلْ، نَعَالٌ، هَلْ، نَجَلٌ. Al-Qurṭubī, vol. 1, *Jāmi‘ aḥkām al-Qur‘ān*, folio 16<sup>v</sup>; *al-Itqān*, p. 108 sqq., etc.



each person to pronounce the Koran according to his native dialect,<sup>130</sup> but this type of difference was in no way so great that his Companions might have started to quarrel. Even in Ibn 'Atīyya's introduction to his *al-Jāmi' al-muḥarrar al-ṣaḥīḥ al-wajīz fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, and al-Suyūṭī's *al-Itqān*, p. 111, we find the appropriate remark that this does not fit with the story of 'Umar and Hishām, as both were Qurayshites.

Incidentally, in the historical account itself I found لغات instead of أحرف only in Kazem-Beg, loc. cit. The list of the seven dialects is completely arbitrary, with the most unfortunate result that a dialect was assigned to every tribe dwelling in the sacred territory of Mecca or its immediate vicinity (Quraysh, Kināna, Khuzā'a, Thaqīf, etc.), or even to tribes to whom this did not apply at all.<sup>131</sup>

These sets of readings are frequently mentioned in connection with the tradition that Gabriel habitually recited the Koran to the Prophet once a year—or every Ramaḍān—(i.e. if the tradition makes any sense at all, those parts of the Koran that had been revealed to this date); if he then had omitted or added anything, the Companions would have memorized this,<sup>132</sup> thus accounting for the variants.

[i/52]

<sup>130</sup> Ibn Mas'ūd is said to have permitted a person who could not say الأئيم (sūra 44:44) to say اليئيم, and to read الظالم or الفاجر (*al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*, vol. 9; *al-Itqān*, p. 109), but this example is likely to have been fabricated to serve some kind of theory: Either that person was able to pronounce every initial أ only as ع—then it would have been absurd to expect him every time to search for another word—or this peculiarity applied only to a few words; in this case he could have easily conformed to the prescribed pronunciation instead of having to look for an entirely different word. It must be added that the words الفاجر and الظالم interfere with the rhyme. Moreover, it is unthinkable that Ibn Mas'ūd, who is reported to have said عتي instead of حتى, should have been unable to tolerate such a minor divergence and rather have taken a completely different word. Incidentally, this change from أ to ع is dialectically documented in ancient and modern times.

<sup>131</sup> Mentioned are, e.g., Quraysh, Kināna, Asad, Hudhayl, Tamīm, Ḍabba, Qays; or Quraysh, Sa'd ibn Bakr, Kināna, Hudhayl, Thaqīf, Khuzā'a, Asad, Ḍabba, or five tribes of the back-side (العجز) of Hawāzin and from the lowest (السفلى) of the Tamīm. Most of the writers select the dialects from among the Muḍar (مضر), with preference for the Quraysh (who, however, are missing from the list mentioned last!), and Hawāzin, among whom, according to legend, Muḥammad was educated; still others enumerate Quraysh, Yaman (a collective name which comprised different tribes), Tamīm, Gurhum [also Gorhum] (an old semi-legendary people!), Hawāzin, Quḍā'a (belonging to the Yaman!), Ṭayyi' (the same). But the names mentioned by Kazem Beg, loc. cit., p. 379, among whom there is even Ḥimyar, I found nowhere else.

<sup>132</sup> al-Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, § 7, *al-ṣawm*, § 7, *al-waḥy*; Muslim (al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 9, p. 162, وجود رسول الله, p. 337, *Faḍā'il*, Fāṭima); *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*, vol. 3; al-Qurṭubī, fol. 22<sup>r</sup>, and frequently; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt*, 175 (183, *bāb al-i'tikāf*); al-Shūshāwī, cap. 1 [his *al-Fawā'id al-jamila 'alā l-āyāt al-jalila*, edited by Idrīs 'Azzūzī (1989)]; *al-Itqān*, p. 116; Silvestre de Sacy, "Recueil de différens", p. 357. Occasionally it is added that this happened to

Yet when it is claimed that Muḥammad forbade his Companions to quarrel about the advantages of variant readings<sup>133</sup> this tradition appears obviously to be the fabrication of a man who saw in this controversy a threat to the faith. It is a consistent feature of largely fictitious *ḥadīths* to put later teachings in the mouth of the Prophet.

There is a difference between what Muḥammad changed and what is abrogated (المُنسوخ, *sūra* 2:100). That one revelation can possibly abrogate another is such an unprecedented concept that it cannot have been Muḥammad's brain child; rather it would seem to be related to the Christian idea of the abolishment of the ordinances in the Gospels (e.g. Ephesians 2:15; Colossians 2:14). It is in this context that the word for the foreign concept is likely to have been borrowed, even if that particular meaning of ܢܨܝܚ is not contained in the Aramaic that we know. Hibat Allāh b. Salāma al-Baghdādī<sup>134</sup> (d. 410/1019), whose *كتاب الناسخ والمنسوخ*<sup>135</sup> attained tremendous authority and became the source and model for many later studies of this subject, classified the abrogated passages as the following:<sup>136</sup> first, passages abrogated by the sense but retained by the letter of the Koran; second, those abrogated by the letter but valid according to the sense; and third, those abrogated by the sense and the letter.

[i/53]

This classification quite obviously relates to the contemporary form of the Koran as decreed by Muḥammad at the divine behest of God. Consequently, all that has been lost without the will of the Prophet or inadvertently not included in the collection of the Koran by his successors is regarded as being abrogated. In addition to Hibat Allāh b. Salāma, Muslims consider to be abrogated many verses that are of no practical relevance because their cause has disappeared. For example, all those verses requiring Muḥammad patiently to bear insults and persecution are considered to have been abrogated after his situation drastically changed and the matter was no longer relevant. Al-Suyūṭī quite clearly saw<sup>137</sup> that the category of the abrogated

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Muḥammad twice during the last year of his life, or the final reading is the one which Gabriel used at his last encounter with the Prophet.

<sup>133</sup> al-Bukhārī, *كتاب فضائل القرآن*, § 37; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt*, *ibid.*, *bāb* 3, *faṣl* 1, § 2; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 10 bottom; Ibn al-Jazarī, folio 16<sup>v</sup>; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 195.

<sup>134</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 47, vol. 9, p. 183.

<sup>135</sup> Frequently found in our libraries (cf. Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 192); printed in the margin of al-Wāḥidī's *Asbāb al-nuzūl* (Cairo, 1316/1898). Other works on the subject are listed in Flügel's edition of Ibn al-Nadīm, [*EF*; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, p. 17 sqq.] *al-Fihrist*, p. 37.

<sup>136</sup> Cairo edition, p. 9 sqq.; cf. al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rikh al-khamīs*, vol. 1, p. 14; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 516 sqq.

<sup>137</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 516 sqq. A close investigation of the vacillations of tradition is relevant only

matter had grown to become ridiculous. When we consider only the current composition of the Koran we find in it either the abrogated and the abrogating side by side, or only the abrogated,<sup>138</sup> or only the abrogating ones. But in reality we have to differentiate between two different types of abrogated passages: first, the validity of a verse is abrogated by an explicit revelation that applies particularly to law, where it has to be adapted to the requirements of contemporary conditions and, second, by a simple prohibition issued by Muḥammad to forbid his Companions from reading and copying any particular passage. The volume of both types cannot be considered to have been large. Still, we hear of one tradition, which might contain a kernel of truth, that Muḥammad personally crossed out a passage of the Koran<sup>139</sup> that he had only recently dictated to his followers. Whoever is familiar with the strange view Muslims hold about the Koran will not be surprised that there are some who dismiss the whole doctrine of the abrogation, even though this is clearly stated in the Koran.<sup>140</sup> This view, however, is considered heresy.<sup>141</sup>

Individual revelations which are missing from the current version of the Koran but have survived in some other way and which, according to the aforementioned Muslim categories, are reckoned among the abrogated passages, shall be treated below.

[i/55]

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for the history of dogma and *fiqh*. Interesting is, for example, how in al-Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, § 18, the relevance of the *mansūkhāt* to sūra 4:9 is challenged عن سعيد بن جبیر عن ابن عباس رضي الله عنهما قال إن ناساً يزعمون أن هذه الآية تُسخت ولا والله ما نسخت وكتبها مما تهاون الناس . A detailed investigation of the matter in al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr* on sūra 2:100.

<sup>138</sup> In this case Muslims assume that the Koranic passage was abrogated by the *sunna*. But on this point Muslims are greatly divided. Cf. al-Bayḍāwī and al-Ṭabarī on sūra 2:100; cod. Petermann I, p. 555 (a book independent of Hibat Allāh b. Salāma [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 47]) on الناسخ والمنسوخ by 'Abd Allāh IBN Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037); al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 515; I. Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, pp. 29–30.

<sup>139</sup> The most simple version of this tradition is found in Hibat Allāh b. Salāma, Cairo edition, p. 12 (cf. L. Marracci, *Prodromus*, part 1, p. 42; Ibn Hishām, translation by Gustav Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 597, note), where Muḥammad replied to Ibn Mas'ūd, who was surprised about the disappearance of the writing: يا ابن مسعود تلك زُفعت البارحة (here رفع, “abrogate,” “*tollere*” is used with the identical meaning as نسخ). A somewhat different version is found in al-Qurṭubī on sūra 2:10, and wonderfully embellished in *al-Itqān*, p. 526, where two men forget a sūra at the same time.

<sup>140</sup> Sūra 2:100; cf. sūra 16:103. From the Koran this concept was then applied to *ḥadīth*.

<sup>141</sup> Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī and al-Qurṭubī on sūra 2:100; Hibat Allāh b. Salāma, Cairo edition, p. 26; al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rikh al-khamīs*, vol. 1, p. 14.

*The Originality of the Koran and Its Connection  
with the Revelations of the Prophet Maslama*

At the end of this general discussion of the Koranic revelations it would not be inexpedient to answer the question of why Muḥammad dared to challenge all opponents to bring ten sūras (sūra 10:16) to question his exclusive prophetic claim, and, when they were unable to do so, to bring even only a single one.<sup>142</sup> The fact that no one could meet this challenge, even at a time when Arabia abounded in master rhetoricians, Muslims to this very day recognize as irrefutable proof of the divine origin of the Koran, which by its nature discredits all human art. This point of view, which entails many a controversy, is expounded in several works entitled *في إعجاز القرآن*.<sup>143</sup>

But when we take a close look at Muḥammad's challenge we find that he was not asking for a poetic or rhetorical equivalent to the Koran but rather for something essentially equal to the Koran. It was in the nature of the request that his opponents could not comply. Should they defend their ancient belief in their gods in the same way as Muḥammad espoused the unity of God and the related dogmas? Should they let the gods speak for themselves? This would have been nothing but satire and absurdity. Or should they equally become enthusiastic about the unity of God and restrict their opposition to Muḥammad's prophethood? In this case they could only copy the Koran, which they intended to rival, but an image can never rival the original. Muḥammad's faith was a novelty for his people, and therefore produced an inimitably original expression. The difficulty was substantially enhanced by his clumsy style.

[i/56] In spite of everything, Muḥammad's challenge was not entirely without response. Still during his lifetime, and shortly thereafter, men appeared at various places of the Arabian Peninsula and claimed to be prophets of their people and to be receiving divine inspiration: Laqīṭ b. Mālik in Oman (al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1977, l 7 sq.), 'Abhala b. Ka'b al-Aswad in Yemen, the Asadite Ṭulayḥa, the Tamimite Musaylima, and finally the prophethess Sajāh.<sup>144</sup> They

<sup>142</sup> Cf. thereon Martin Schreiner, "Zur Geschichte der Polemik ...," pp. 663–675. [Arberry's translation: "Bring a Koran other than this, or alter it."]

<sup>143</sup> Sūra 10:39; and 2:21. "The founder of the Bābis, Mīrzā 'Alī Muhammad of Shīrāz [Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, p. 33 n. 70] claimed such a mission, in proof of which he had produced verses and a book like the Kur'ān, but surpassing it in wisdom and eloquence." (E.G. Browne, "The Babis of Persia," p. 916 sq.). Regarding imitations of the Koran in later periods see Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, p. 363 sqq.

<sup>144</sup> Cf. J. Wellhausen's reflections in his *Prolegomena zur ältesten Geschichte*, pp. 7–37.

all spread revelations, yet only Musaylima's fragmentary sayings<sup>145</sup> have survived to give us a vague idea of the man's religious ideas. As a religion aware of its strength, and wanting to appear as the best of the world, the young Islam, fighting for survival, unhesitatingly declared all these movements to be nonsense and the work of Satan. Success proved it right, yet in every other respect this verdict is unfair and false. Musaylima's and Muḥammad's doctrines are of course closely related. Both of them have in common the important, fundamental components of Islam, such as eternal life (الحيوة, al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1917, l 29), the divine name Raḥmān (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 1933, l 12; p. 1937, l 3, cf. p. 1935, l 14; and al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, p. 105, l 6), fasting (al-Ṭabarī, p. 1916, l 14; 1917, l 1), proscription of wine (1916, bottom), and the three<sup>146</sup> appointed times of prayer (al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1919, l 2 sqq.). Still, this similarity most likely does not constitute a borrowing from Islam but rather a mutual dependence on Christianity. Musaylima's teaching, however, contains peculiar elements that originate from Christianity but are foreign to the Koran, e.g., the commandment of sexual abstinence as soon as a male child has been born (al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, pp. 1916 and 1917, l 4–7), and the eschatological concept of the kingdom of heaven<sup>147</sup> (وإلى ملك) (السماء ترقون, al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1917, l 2). Rhymed prose is even less likely to have been borrowed, since it had been a favourite form of religious diction among the Arabs since long before Muḥammad. Moreover, Musaylima displays so much originality in his expressions, particularly in his similes, that his alleged imitation of the Koran (مضاهاة للقرآن, al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1738, l 17; Ibn

<sup>145</sup> al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1738, l 14 and 17 sq.; p. 1916, l 10; p. 1917, l 4; p. 1933, l 2; p. 1934, l 6; p. 1957, l 4, and 5. The reliability of the transmission generally cannot be doubted. The obscene dialogue (al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1917, l 12 to 1918, l 10) is of course a malicious fabrication. The man's real name was Maslama as e.g. al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, p. 443, l 5, in a verse, but the diminutive of his name became common among Muslims with the meaning of satirical belittlement (Ibn Khaṭīb al-Dahsha, *Tuḥfat dhawī l-'Arab*, ed. by Traugott Mann, s.v.), the same as the name of the prophet Talḥa was changed to Tulayḥa (al-Bayhaqī, ed. by Fr. Schwally, p. 33, l 5).

<sup>146</sup> According to M.Th. Houtsma ("lets over den dagelijkschen çalat" [Some remarks about the ritual prayer]) it is quite likely that Muḥammad instituted only two daily canonical prayers, to which he later added a third one, the middle (*al-wustā*) *ṣalāt*. Goldziher, "Carra de Vaux, *Le Mahométisme*", p. 385; and Goldziher, "Islam" in *Jewish encyclopedia*, vol. 6 (1904), p. 653, col. 1, expanded this thesis, saying that "after the Jewish pattern soon were added the other two in imitation of the five *gāh* (كاه) of the Parsees." Cf. also Leone Caetani, *Annali dell'islam*, vol. 1, § 219; vol. 2, tom. 1, p. 354 sqq., and p. 635 sqq.

<sup>147</sup> The expression (لله ملك السموات والارض) found nineteen times in the Koran is not, or at least not primarily, to be interpreted eschatologically, rather it is merely a statement that Allāh is the Lord of the World (also 38:9). It is obviously easy to associate this with eschatological ideas (e.g. 45:26).

Hishām, p. 946, l 14) becomes less probable. This originality also stands as a notable argument for the essential authenticity of the revelations attributed to him. If this were founded purely on the invention of Muslim theologians, one would expect to find a greater similarity with the Koran.

THE ORIGIN OF  
INDIVIDUAL PARTS OF THE KORAN

*Aids in Establishing the Chronology of the Sūras*

When studying the individual parts of the Koran we must keep in mind both the period and the occasion of a revelation. In order to give the reader an idea of the limitations of such an investigation from the outset, we must first explain the research aids available to help solve the problem as well as outline the difficulties that will be encountered.

[i/58]

Our prime source is the historical and exegetical tradition. This is most reliable when it is related to the great historical events in the history of Islam. For example, no one can doubt that sūra 8 refers to the Battle of Badr, sūra 33 to the Battle of the Trench, and sūra 48 to the Pact of al-Ḥudaybiyya. However, the number of these most reliable facts is not very large and applies only to the Medinan sūras, as Muḥammad remained much in the background at Mecca, where he did not initiate great historical events. Substantial doubt hangs over the very numerous traditions regarding the myriad minor events mentioned by historians and exegetes to throw light on single verses of the Koran. Since we shall discuss the origin of this exegetic tradition in the literary survey, let us supply here only some examples of its unreliability, namely that the origin of verses universally regarded as Meccan frequently turns out to lie in events after the emigration, and that frequently two closely related verses<sup>1</sup> are attributed to entirely different occasions, though these explanations often do not fit the context of the passage. Still, among the mass of doubtful and fraudulent information one also finds more reliable data that, supported by historical events, can be of great benefit to anyone using it with discretion. Such criticism is not easy, since the bias underlying an individual tradition does not become apparent until all potential traditions from the same source have been collected. As long as there is no systematic investigation of the exegetic traditions, we have no choice but to check the reliability of each and every tradition. From

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<sup>1</sup> See above.

these innumerable, fraudulent, often mutually contradictory explanations of Muslim tradition only a limited selection can be offered here.

[i/59] In order to obtain a representative example, we shall in most cases consider the traditions on the original locality of revelations of both complete sūras or single verses, as found from time immemorial not only in historical and exegetic works but also in Masoretic texts and in most of the manuscripts of the Koran.

*The Transmitted Lists of the Chronology of the Koran*

[i/59] A chronological list of sūras has been transmitted to us. The list, however, considers only the beginning of the sūras and not the verses that might have been added later.<sup>2</sup> As the texts of this catalogue frequently differ considerably, it might not be superfluous to compile an exact inventory of the transmissions.<sup>3</sup> In the fifth-century book (also in Miguel Casiri, *Biblioteca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis*, v. 1, p. 509, without title) of (ABŪ AL-QĀSIM) ‘Umar b. Muḥammad IBN ‘ABD AL-KAFĪ<sup>4</sup> (Leiden Ms. 674, Warner) 13 verso, sq., we find the following enumeration.

- (1) Meccan sūras: 96, 68, 73, 74, 111, 81, 87, 92, 89, 93, 94, 103, 100, 108, 102, 107, 109, 105, 113, 114, 112, 53, 80, 97, 91, 85, 95, 106, 101, 75, 104, 77, 50, 90, 86, 54, 38, 7, 72, 36, 25, 35, 19, 20, 56, 26, 27, 28, 17, 10, 11, 12, 15, 6, 37, 31, 34, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 51, 88, 18, 16, 71, 14, 21, 23, 32, 52, 67, 69, 70, 78, 79, 82, 84, 30, 29, 83.
- (2) Medinan sūras: 2, 8, 3, 33, 60, 4, 99, 57, 47, 13, 55, 76, 65, 98, 59, 110, 24, 22, 63, 58, 49, 66, 62, 64, 61, 48, 5, 9.

Missing is the first sūra, which is attributed equally to Mecca and Medina (see below). As for all the others omitted from the list, the explanation is, of course, only an error in the text.

[i/60] This version of transmission is identical to that of *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*, vol. 1, and al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 21 sq., except sūras 58 sqq., which are omitted in the former.

<sup>2</sup> This is how it reads in at least in *K. al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*, cap. 1. This is also the only sensible way to present those sūras that have been brought together from different periods in a chronological order.

<sup>3</sup> Three scholars have previously drawn attention to these lists: J. von Hammer-Purgstall (“Der Islam und Mohammed”, p. 82 sqq.), G. Weil (*Mohammed der Prophet*, p. 364 sqq.), and G. Flügel (“Über Muhammad bin Ishāk’s *Fihrist*”, p. 568).

<sup>4</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 16 n. 24.



Another version (*al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*, no. 3) differs only in so far as it is left undecided whether sūra 98 is of Meccan or Medinan provenance. This version can be traced back to Ibn ‘Abbās through ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ [Aslam al-Qurashī, d. 114/732.]<sup>5</sup>

Another version found in al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkh al-khamīs* (Cairo edition, p. 10), inadvertently omits sūras 68 and 73, and places sūras 50 and 90 before 95, 61 before 62, and 9 before 5.

The version in al-Suyūṭī’s *al-Itqān*, p. 20, which al-Ḥusayn b. Wāqid<sup>6</sup> and others trace back to ‘Ikrima b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Barbarī<sup>7</sup> and al-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Ḥasan, omits some sūras but places sūra 44 after 40, sūra 3 after 2, and makes sūra 83 the first of the Medinan sūras.

The fourth version, in *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*, can be traced back through [Abū Muḥammad] SA‘ĪD IBN AL-MUSAYYAB [Ibn Ḥazn al-Makhzūmī, 13/634–94/713]<sup>8</sup> to ‘Alī and Muḥammad. It considers the first sūra to be the oldest, puts sūra 53 among the last of the Medinan sūras (*sic*), places 84 after 83, and omits sūras 111 and 61.

The first one in the same book with an *isnād* including (Muḥammad b. al-Sā‘ib) AL-KALBĪ,<sup>9</sup> Abū Ṣāliḥ Bādhām [al-Kūfī, d. 120/738<sup>10</sup>], and Ibn ‘Abbās places sūra 93 before 73, 55 after 94, 109 after 105, 22 before 91, 63 before 24, and considers 13 to be the first of the Medinan sūras, ending with sūras 56, 100, 113, and 114.

Although al-Ya‘qūbī<sup>11</sup> (*Historiae*, vol. 1, 32 sq., 43 sq.) mentions these authorities, with respect to the aforementioned differences he has only the first two and the last one identical with *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*, volume 1. His arrangement of the above list is as follows: sūra 1 after sūra 74; sūra 100 as Medinan; sūra 109 missing; sūras 113 and 114 as Medinan; sūra 112 missing; sūra 56 as Medinan; sūras 34 and 39 behind 43; sūra 32 as Medinan and confused with sūra 13; sūras 69 and 84 are missing; sūra 83 is the first Medinan sūra; sūra 59 before 33; sūra 24 before 60; 48 before 4; 99 missing. Starting with sūra 47, the differences are considerable: 47, 76, 65, 98, 62, 32, 40, 63, 58, 66, 49, 64, 61, 5, 9, 110, 56, 100, 113, 114.

<sup>5</sup> *EQ*; *EF*<sup>2</sup>; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 139–140; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 31 sqq., vol. 5, p. 24, vol. 8, p. 22.

<sup>6</sup> He is also mentioned in al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkh al-khamīs*.

<sup>7</sup> *EF*<sup>2</sup>; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 241; Sezgin, *GAS*, p. 23 sqq.

<sup>8</sup> *EF*<sup>2</sup>; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 4 sqq.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 276.

<sup>9</sup> *EF*<sup>2</sup>; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 21 and 34.

<sup>10</sup> *EQ*.

<sup>11</sup> *EF*<sup>2</sup>; *EQ*.

[i/61] Flügel's *al-Fihrist*, p. 25 sq., according to the transmission of al-Wāqidī<sup>12</sup> from Ma'mar b. Rashīd (d. 154/770)<sup>13</sup> from Muḥammad b. Muslim AL-ZUHRI, d. 124/742,<sup>14</sup> from Muḥammad b. Nu'mān b. Bashīr, has the following list: 96:1–5, 68, 73 (وآخرها بطريق مكة), 74, 111, 81, 87, 94, 103, 89, 93, 92, 100, 108, 102, 107, 105, 112, 113, 114 (according to others, Medinan,<sup>15</sup>) 53, 80, 97, 91, 85, 95, 106, 101, 75, 104, 77, 50, 90, 55, 72, 36, 7<sup>16</sup> (المص), 25, 35,<sup>17</sup> 19, 20, 56, 26, 27, 28, 17, 11, 12, 10, 15, 37, 31 (مدني آخرها), 23, 34, 21, 39 to 45, 46 (آخرها مدني), 51, 88, 18 (آخرها مدني), 6 (فيها أي مدينة), 16<sup>18</sup> (آخرها يمدني), 71, 14, 32, 52, 67, 90, 70, 78, 79, 82, 84, 30, 29, 83, 54, 86.

Medinan<sup>19</sup> 2, 8, 7<sup>20</sup> (الأعراف), 3, 60, 4, 99, 57, 47, 13, 76, 65, 98, 59, 110, 24, 22, 63, 58, 49, 66, 62, 64, 61, 48, 5, 9.

We see that the arrangement from 96 to 87, from 108 to 105, from 53 to 90, from 25 to 17, from 39 to 18, from 52 to 83, and from 76 to 9 is identical with *al-Itqān*, p. 20; everywhere else great diversity prevails.

The sequence ascribed to Abū l-Sha'tha JĀBIR IBN ZAYD al-Azdī<sup>21</sup> (d. 93/711)<sup>22</sup> and 'Alī in *al-Itqān*, p. 56 sq., differs still more. It places sūra 42 after sūra 18, and, starting with sūra 42, reckons as follows: 32, 21, 16:1–40, 71, 52, 23, 67, 69, 70, 79, 82, 84, 30, 29, 83 (Medinan) 2, 3, 8, 33, 5, 60, 110, 24, 22, 63, 58, 49, 66, 62, 64, 61, 48, 9. Al-Suyūfī himself calls this سياق غريب.

[i/62] When we now select even the very best from among these versions of transmission—their diversity, as can be seen, being rather considerable, and their origin impossible to trace back to a single archetype—we still arrive at no useful result. In all of these cases, sūras revealed to be very old by various reliable indicators are, nevertheless, placed after much later ones, turning Meccan sūras unequivocally into Medinan ones. This tradition, even

<sup>12</sup> *EF*; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 294–297.

<sup>13</sup> *EF*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 401, 587, 626, 630; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 290–291.

<sup>14</sup> *EF*; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 690–730; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 280–283.

<sup>15</sup> According to a note at the end of the list also sūra 114 is Medinan.

<sup>16</sup> This sūra is again listed later, but under its common name (الأعراف) as the third Medinan.

<sup>17</sup> The words *سورة الملائكة ثم الحمد لله فاطر* can be interpreted differently. Either sūra 35 is listed under two of its common names and *ثم* was introduced only inadvertently, or this designation, Sūra of the Angels, indicates sūra 33, which would otherwise be missing from the list.

<sup>18</sup> *Fihrist*, p. 25, l 32 sq. at the end of the Meccan sequence has the following addition: قال حدّثني الثوري عن فراس عن الشعبي قال نزلت النحل بمكة إلا هؤلاء الآيات فإن عاقبتهم فعاقبوا بمثل ما عوقبتهم به.

<sup>19</sup> *al-Fihrist*, p. 26, l 2 sqq.: 85 sūras originate from Mecca, 28 from Medina (according to Ibn 'Abbās). This makes 113 sūras. Thus the *Fātiḥa* does not seem to be reckoned as sūra.

<sup>20</sup> But see above, note 16.

<sup>21</sup> *EF*; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 128, 442; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 586.

<sup>22</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 586.

if very old and possibly stretching back to Ibn ‘Abbās, can be nothing other than a rough attempt at drawing up a chronological order on the basis of an extremely uncritical foundation and pure fantasy, with mere reference to some good traditions. An accurate transmission of the chronology of the early sūras, or of the Meccan sūras in general, is nearly unthinkable. Or are we to assume that Muḥammad kept a record of the chronological order of the sūras? This would be a nice counterpart to Gustav Weil’s ironic pigeonholes for the individual sūras, where later revelations could be added as received.

Moreover, there are plenty of traditions that differ considerably from this one. In *al-Itqān*, p. 23 sq., for example, the Medinan sūras are listed in two different ways. They agree, however, on the chronological sequence of the Meccan sūras. It is said that, excepting individual verses of other sūras, the controversy over a pre or post-*hijra* origin is limited to sūras 18, 55, 61, 64, 83, 97, 98, 99, 112, 113, and 114. This is wrong, however, because the controversy applies to many more sūras. Moreover, the enumeration of the Medinan sūras as found in al-Qurṭubī, folio 23 verso, and, with only minor differences, in al-Shūshāwī, cap. 20, is again different from the two versions referred to previously.

Thus, if we, like later Muslims, were to depend solely, or almost solely, on transmissions from older teachers, we would rarely arrive at a solid, or even less frequently, at an accurate result. Yet there still remains one reliable aid that leads to a profitable use of traditions, namely a precise appreciation of the sense and diction of the Koran itself. By careful observation even the casual reader of the Koran will become increasingly convinced that the passages with passionate diction and ideas must have been promulgated earlier than those with serene, broad content. We realize that Muḥammad moved from the first style to the second gradually rather instantaneously, and that he displays individual gradations in both.

An important element is the length of the verses. The moving, rhythmic diction of the earlier period, more closely related to the true *saj’*, requires far more pauses than the later style, which gradually moved closer to pure prose. A comparison of two passages with identical subjects—even if they do not originate from entirely different periods—can occasionally suggest the likelihood that one originated earlier than the other. Since Muḥammad often repeats himself explicitly, it is sometimes possible to distinguish the original from the later version. Like all writers, Muḥammad’s diction in different periods displays preferences of word and phrases that facilitate the establishment of a chronological order. By observing the rhyme, the language in the widest sense, and especially the context of his ideas, we

[i/63]

can identify the individual parts of which sūras are often made up. Of course, when considering the context we must not hastily presume an interpolation whenever a logical connection seems to be lacking. It is a consistent characteristic of the Koranic style that ideas seldom develop calmly, instead jumping from here to there. Yet careful observation easily shows that there is at least an inkling of connection.

[i/64] Muslims, too, tried to go beyond the rudimentary tradition and follow a more critical methodology examining linguistic usage. For example, they readily concede that passages containing *يا أيها الذين آمنوا* are Medinan, but that the address, *يا أيها الناس*, though mostly occurring in Meccan verses, is occasionally also found in Medinan verses,<sup>23</sup> or that the Meccan verses are shorter than those from Medina.<sup>24</sup> Occasionally Muslims even attempt to dismiss traditions with arguments taken from the passage itself. A case in point is al-Ṭabarī in his *Tafsīr*, as well as al-Farrā' al-BAGHAWĪ,<sup>25</sup> who refute the tradition that sūra 13:43 refers to 'Abd Allāh b. Salām [Ibn al-Ḥārith] (d. 43/663)<sup>26</sup> on the grounds that it is supposed to be a Meccan sūra. Such criticism we find in *al-Itqān*, p. 25sq., and p. 37sq., where it is stated directly (p. 31) that *“من الناس من اعتمد في الاستثناء على الاجتهاد دون النقل”* “there are some people who in the case of exception (i.e. regarding individual verses that have been promulgated at different places from that of the sūra in which they occur) rely on individual judgement without regard for tradition.” But this analysis, particularly if it goes beyond matters that are generally obvious, has no solid, critical foundation, even amongst Muslims. Such attempts at interpretation are nearly useless for our purpose.

[i/65] Careful consideration of the auxiliary means, which tradition and the Koran itself offer, enables us to obtain much more accurate knowledge of the origin of single Koranic passages. Yet our knowledge of this matter leaves much to be desired; some of it remains totally uncertain, while other aspects are at least doubtful. This is even more the case because we have very few European predecessors in the field of critical investigation of the Koran.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī on sūra 4:1, and 5:1; al-Zamakhsharī on 2:19; [ABŪ AL-QĀSIM] 'Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ]; [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 16, no. 24] (Leiden, cod. 674, Warner) on sūra 22; less explicitly Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī, *Tafsīr*. Less accurately al-Bayḍawī on sūra 2:19.

<sup>24</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima* (1886) *faṣl* 1, § 6, p. 87.

<sup>25</sup> *EF*; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 155, no. 2.

<sup>26</sup> *EF*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 303, 304, 324; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 304–305.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. the “Literarische Einleitung” [literary introduction]; which lists important contemporary works, particularly those of Goldziher, Snouck Hurgronje, and Wellhausen; in addition Leone Caetani, *Annali dell'islam*, volumes 1 and 2 as well as Hirschfeld.

The revelations of the Koran consist of two classes: those of Mecca and Medina. This division is quite logical, as Muḥammad's emigration to Medina gave an entirely new direction to his prophetic activity. From the earliest period Muslims rightfully recognized this, and we must accordingly respect the distinction. It is worth noting, however, that, following the custom of the majority of Muslims (al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 17sq, etc.), we call all passages promulgated before the *hijra* Meccan and all later ones Medinan, even if they were not exactly promulgated at Mecca and Medina proper.

We attempt to adhere to the chronology as much as possible, although individual passages belonging a different period are best discussed in the context of the relevant *sūra*, so as not to separate them unduly. An exact chronological order of the individual parts would be unworkable and impossible. Moreover, we shall allow ourselves a few exceptions to the chronological arrangement for the sake of convenience.



THE INDIVIDUAL  
PARTS OF THE CURRENT KORAN:  
THE MECCAN SŪRAS

*General Chronology of the Meccan Sūras*

The historical traditions offer little reliable help when it comes to studying the Meccan sūras. Even the very first subject of investigation, fixing of the span of time to which these promulgations belong, is uncertain. Muslims transmit many figures regarding the various periods of Muḥammad's life but these differ greatly. Far too often in this regard, unfortunately, Muslims fail to admit their ignorance of certain matters, instead conjecturing according to untenable principles. It is worthwhile to demonstrate this with an example.

[1/66]

It is certain that Muḥammad died on Monday, the 12th of First Rabīʿ in 11/632.<sup>1</sup> Since it is said that he had been active for a number of years in Medina and Mecca, these years were simply calculated as complete years, so that the most important periods of his life came to be dated to the 12th of First Rabīʿ, a Monday, or, in any case, to the same month. He is thus assumed to have arrived on Monday the 12th of First Rabīʿ at Qubāʿ<sup>2</sup> or Medina,<sup>3</sup> and also

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<sup>1</sup> That he died on a Monday we know best from a contemporary witness, namely from a verse of an elegy on his death by Ḥassān b. Thābit (Ibn Hishām, p. 1024, l 16; Ibn Saʿd, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 9648 (= cod. Sprenger, no. 103, folio 166 recto = *Dīwān*, ed. Tunis, p. 24, l 7)). All traditions are agreed on this point: Mālik b. Anas, p. 80; Ibn Hishām, p. 1009 sq.; al-Tirmidhī, *Shamāʾil, bāb waḥāt rasūl Allāh*; al-Nasāʾī, p. 216 (l, 259, *K. al-Janāʾiz*, § 8), al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, pp. 1256 and 1815; al-Yaʿqūbī, vol. 2, p. 126, etc. Cf. the evidence collected by Sprenger in his "Über den Kalender ..." p. 135 sqq. Since among the days of First Rabīʿ which are mentioned as those of his death, only the 12th or 13th fall on a Monday (al-Ṭabarī, loc. cit.; al-Yaʿqūbī, loc. cit.; Ibn Qutayba, *Handbuch*, p. 82; al-Masʿūdī, *Prairies d'or*, vol. 4, p. 141 sq.), the second date, which is also mentioned as the day of death (al-Ṭabarī Sprenger, loc. cit.), cannot be considered. Sprenger, too, settles definitely (loc. cit.) for the 12th, but he has the most important proof of al-Ḥassān b. Thābit only from a secondary source.

<sup>2</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, 5, 6, 289, 321, 595.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Hishām, pp. 333 and 415; al-Wāqidi, p. 2; Ibn Saʿd (*al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*): *Biographie Muhammads bis zur Flucht*, p. 157; Ibn Qutayba, *Handbuch*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 75; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 1255 sq. Other writers here mentioned only the day of the month, not the day of the week. It is quite possible that he arrived in this month at his new residence. Other writers mention the 2nd of First Rabīʿ (al-Wāqidi, loc. cit.; Ibn Saʿd, loc. cit.), and it remains to be seen how the afore-mentioned erroneous date of death was established.

to have been born<sup>4</sup> and called to his mission<sup>5</sup> both on Mondays. Other writers add still other events in the life of the Prophet that supposedly occurred on a Monday.<sup>6</sup> We generally know very little of the chronological order of the events before the emigration; not even the years of the main periods are known. The majority of writers fix the period of his prophetic activity at Mecca to either thirteen<sup>7</sup> or approximately fifteen,<sup>8</sup> while still others to ten<sup>9</sup> years or somewhat more (Muslim al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 9, p. 197; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1248) or, indeed, to only eight years (al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1250, l 4; Ibn Sa'd, loc. cit., p. 151). A compromise between the first and the third points of view seems to be the hint that Muḥammad received his missionary call at the age of forty-three and subsequently spent another ten years at Mecca.<sup>10</sup> This tradition does not seem to take into account the three years<sup>11</sup> during which his public preaching is said to have been interrupted, particularly as nearly all agree that he received his call to prophethood at the age of forty. Little reliability can be attributed to this figure, as the importance Orientals attach to the number forty is well known.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless,

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 102; Spr[enger], loc. cit., p. 138sq.; contemporary Muslims celebrate this day as the Prophet's birthday. Other writers mention different dates (Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr: Biographie Muhammads bis zur Flucht*, 62; Spr[enger], loc. cit., p. 137sq.) but they are all agreed on the month; some mention Monday only.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr: Biographie Muhammads bis zur Flucht*, p. 129; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 1141sq., 1255; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishkāṭ*, p. 171 (p. 179, صيام الطّوع, *faṣl* 1, §10); al-Wāḥidī in the introduction to the Cairo edition, p. 10. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Prairies d'or*, vol. 4, p. 154, mentions in addition the First Rabī'. That this is an error we shall see below.

<sup>6</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 1141sq., p. 1255sq.

<sup>7</sup> Various traditions in Ibn Hishām, note on p. 155, l 9; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, loc. cit., p. 151sq.; al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 2, p. 205, *bāb* (مبعث النبي), p. 211 (*bāb* (هجرة النبي); Muslim = al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 9, p. 196, p. 198, *faḍā'il*, *bāb* 26); al-Tirmidhī, *al-Shamā'il* (*bāb al-sinn*); al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 1246sq.; al-Ya'qūbī, vol. 2, p. 40; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishkāṭ*, p. 513 (521, *bāb al-mab'ath*, beginning); al-Mas'ūdī, *Prairies d'or*, vol. 4, p. 132, 138sq., vol. 9, p. 50.

<sup>8</sup> Muslim, vol. 2, p. 346 (al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 9, p. 199); Ibn Sa'd, loc. cit.; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1248; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishkāṭ*, loc. cit.; Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr: Biographie Muhammads bis zur Flucht*, p. 151, l 20: fifteen or more years.

<sup>9</sup> Muslim, vol. 2, p. 434 (al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 9, p. 195sq.); al-Bukhārī, vol. 2, p. 173, *باب صفة النبي*, and other passages; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Shamā'il*, loc. cit.; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1255; al-Mas'ūdī, *Prairies d'or*, vol. 4, p. 148sq.; Ibn Sa'd, loc. cit., p. 127, p. 151; al-Wāḥidī on sūra 24:54. Regarding the last foot-notes see the collection of traditions in Spr[enger], loc. cit., p. 170sq.

<sup>10</sup> Ibn Sa'd, loc. cit., p. 151; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 1245sq.; al-Mas'ūdī, *Prairies d'or*, vol. 4, p. 148sq.

<sup>11</sup> A similar attempt at solving this dilemma is the foot-note in Ibn Hishām, p. 155, l 9.

<sup>12</sup> In Jewish writings the number forty as a rounded off numeral is frequently found: *Genesis* 7:12 and 17; *Exodus* 34:28, *Numbers* 14:33, *Ezekiel* 29:13, 1 *Kings* 19:8, *Jonah* 3:4, *Acts of the Apostles* 1:3, *Apoc. Baruch Syr.* 76:3, *Mishnah*, *Pirkē Āboth*, vol. 5, p. 21; *Talmud*, *Ābōdah Zārah*, folio 5 b, top. From the Islamic world cf. *باب أربعين* and *مقام الأربعين* (Goldziher, "Ali



that Muḥammad was publicly active as a prophet for more than ten years we see from the words of a song, quoted several times by historians and usually ascribed to [Abū Qays] Ṣirmah b. Abī Anas<sup>13</sup> or, less frequently and reliably, to Ḥassān b. Thābit as well.<sup>14</sup>

ثوى في قريش بضع<sup>15</sup> عشرة حجة  
يذكر<sup>19</sup> لو يلقى<sup>18</sup> صديقاً<sup>17</sup> مؤاتياً<sup>16</sup>  
ويعرض في أهل المواسم نفسه إلخ

“He lived among the Quraysh for ten and some years, warning them, expecting possibly to find a friend who would meet him, and presenting himself to the visitors of the markets.”

Such a verse says more than twenty traditions do, although Muslims (al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 9, p. 197) who prefer this verse—and undoubtedly this is the verse in question—are generally reprimanded. It is also this verse that ruins the entire scenario concocted by Sprenger in his article, which has been referred to again and again. The conjecture that Muḥammad was active for ten years at Mecca is, it seems, tendentious and can be traced back to a man who wanted to present the Prophet’s entire public life in two equal parts, divided by the emigration, so as to give it an outwardly uniform appearance. The claim that for seven years he heard only the divine voice, and for eight subsequent years received revelations, is even more difficult

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Bāšā Mubārak,” p. 351, as well the favourite collection of forty traditions on certain objects (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, nos. 1456–1550), etc.). Sprenger, loc. cit., p. 172, makes the pertinent reference to sūra 46:14. It was for me a great pleasure that also Sprenger became convinced that Muḥammad was ignorant of the day of his birth, loc. cit., p. 172. But I add that he also did not know the year. All data are based mostly on rough calculations backwards, including the synchronisms with the Persian kings. Cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, pp. 168, 172, etc.; Leone Caetani, *Annali dell’Islam*, vol. 1, § 23. Mahmūd Efendi made the futile attempt to produce an exact astrological calculation regarding the unreliable data (*Journal asiatique*). It is quite a different matter if you want to consider only the conventional date as Sprenger has done.

<sup>13</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, p. 294.

<sup>14</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 350; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, pp. 1247 and 1248; al-Azraqī, p. 377; Ibn Qutayba, pp. 30, 75; al-Mas‘ūdī, vol. 1, p. 145, vol. 4, p. 141; al-Nawawī in Muslim, al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 9, p. 197; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, vol. 3, p. 18; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, vol. 2, p. 486; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-ta’rīkh*, vol. 2, p. 83.

<sup>15</sup> al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1248, خمس. This is a fabrication based on the traditions mentioned on page 49.

<sup>16</sup> al-Mas‘ūdī, vol. 1 and 4 مواسمياً. It is doubtful that this variant can be verified.

<sup>17</sup> Ibn Qutayba, p. 75, خليلاً Nawawī حبيباً.

<sup>18</sup> لاقي al-‘Azraqī.

<sup>19</sup> al-Mas‘ūdī, vol. 1, p. 145; Ibn Qutayba, p. 30 بمكة.

to reconcile with this verse.<sup>20</sup> In this case the Prophet's actual activity would have lasted only eight years. I would not dare to come down firmly on the side of fifteen or thirteen years as the period of Muḥammad's first prophetic activity. For the time being let us leave it at the latter number of years, as is generally done.

*Content and Characteristics of the Meccan Sūras*

This example demonstrates the uncertainty of the chronology of events in Muḥammad's life before the *hijra*. Only in a very few cases is it possible to give an approximate idea of how many years before the *hijra* (as the only definite date) something happened. Even the best available biographer, 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad IBN ISḤĀQ b. Yasār,<sup>21</sup> supplies almost no chronology for the entire Meccan period.<sup>22</sup> In the case of the Meccan sūras, where reference to precise historical events is extremely rare, it is hardly possible to establish any kind of chronology or establish individual periods.

The few chronological clues—of which not even a single one is absolutely certain—are as follows: first, sūra 53 refers to the flight to Abyssinia,<sup>23</sup> which is said to have occurred in the fifth year of Muḥammad's mission; second, sūra 20, according to the common story, was revealed before 'Umar's conversion, which is dated to the sixth year before the *hijra*; and third, sūra 30:1sq. is likely an allusion to the war between the Persians and the Byzantines,<sup>24</sup> events that occurred probably in the seventh and eighth year after Muḥammad's call.

If we use this vague classification as a basis, we can then attribute the sūras of the second category to approximately the years AH 5 and 6; the longer periods before and after would be for the first and third categories. This division is quite appropriate for the internal character of the individual periods, yet it poses the problem that the seventy-second sūra, which certainly belongs to the second period, is usually interpreted to refer to the journey to al-Ṭā'if undertaken by the Prophet after the death of Abū

<sup>20</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *Biographie Muhammads bis zur Flucht*, p. 151; Muslim, vol. 2, p. 437 (al-Qaṣṭalānī, vol. 9, p. 499), and al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt*, p. 513 (521) add *ولا يرى شيئاً*.

<sup>21</sup> *Et*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 419–423; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 288–290.

<sup>22</sup> Only Ibn Sa'd does this somewhat more often.

<sup>23</sup> See below on sūra 53:19.

<sup>24</sup> See below on the subject.

Ṭālib [Ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib<sup>25</sup>] and Khadija,<sup>26</sup> not many years before the emigration in the tenth year of his prophetic call. However, we could possibly avoid this difficulty and, by following certain traditions, completely separate the journey to al-Ṭā’if from the appearance of the *jinn* which is mentioned here.<sup>27</sup> We cannot pay any attention to the details concerning the Ascension to Heaven mentioned in sūra 17, since its dating is totally vague. When looking at the sūras of the individual periods we will consider only the internal development without regard for the utterly vague chronology.

The single, higher goal of Muḥammad in the Meccan sūras is converting humanity to the only true God and—what remains inseparable for him—to belief in the resurrection of the dead and the Final Judgement. Muḥammad did not attempt to convince his listeners with logical arguments, however, instead appealing to their emotions with rhetorical presentations. Of particular importance are both the description of eternal bliss for the pious and the torments of Hell for the sinners. The impression that such descriptions—particularly the latter—left upon the fantasy of simple minds, untouched by, or unfamiliar with, any similar theological imagery, we must consider to be one of the most powerful means<sup>28</sup> of spreading Islam. During this period the Prophet frequently resorts to almost personal attacks on his pagan adversaries, threatening them with eternal punishment. On the other hand, however, while living in a total pagan community, he seldom quarrels with the Jews, who are much closer to him, and hardly ever with the Christians.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> *EP*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 19, col. 1, 25.

<sup>26</sup> *EP*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.v.

<sup>27</sup> Further, see below.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Islam*, p. 256 sq.; “Une nouvelle biographie,” p. 150. According to Hubert Grimme (*Mohammed*, vol. 1 (1892), p. 14; *Mohammed* (1904), p. 50) “Islam did not enter by any means as a religious system, rather it was a kind of socialist attempt to counter certain growing mundane abuses.” This assertion, which defies the entire tradition, Snouck Hurgronje subjected to a thorough review (“Une nouvelle biographie,” particularly p. 158 sq.). Cf. also Fr. Buhl, *Muhammeds Liv*, p. 154 sq.

<sup>29</sup> Not all the passages where Muḥammad declaims the doctrine that God has progeny (أولاد) must be interpreted as polemics against the teaching of Christ, the Son of God. The pagan Arabs called their goddesses, al-Lāt, Manāt, and al-‘Uzzā’ [*EP*; *EQ*, Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 143,] “daughters of Allāh.” Most likely, the name means no more than divine female beings (cf. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2nd ed., p. 24 sq.). It was not far-fetched to assume that idolators responded to Muḥammad’s overwhelming evidence of the unity of God by saying that they, too, recognized this since their goddesses were but daughters of God; cf. sūras 37:149 sqq., 6:100 sq., etc. This sentence in the form in which it has come down

[i/72] In the different styles of the sūras we recognize different types which must each be closely related chronologically. Two large groups particularly stand out: the emotionally moving earlier sūras and, secondly, another group from a later period that closely resemble the Medinan style. Between both of these groups there is yet a third intermediate group, which leads gradually from the former to the latter. We must thus differentiate between the sūras of three periods.<sup>30</sup>

*Classification According to William Muir,  
Hubert Grimme, and Hartwig Hirschfeld*

In the second part of his *Life of Mahomet and history of Islam*<sup>31</sup> William Muir establishes a different arrangement of the sūras, which, though it differs in some parts with ours, is identical in its main points. He divides the Meccan sūras into five stages that he categorizes chronologically—albeit without any support whatsoever—as follows: (1) Sūras preceding sūra 96, which are thus before his actual call to prophethood; (2) from the earliest sūras up to his first public appearance; (3) to the fifth year of his call; (4) to the tenth year; (5) to the *hijra*. The first three of these stages, however, comprise nearly all of the sūras we combine in the first period, with the result that Muir's second stage corresponds to the group of sūras we consider the oldest and his first and third stages to all the rest. Muir's fifth stage is, for the most part, equivalent to our third period. Most numerous in his fourth stage are those sūras which we reckon to be of the second period, although there are many more added from other periods. But this difference is considerably reduced when we realize that Muir attributes seven sūras from our first period to his fourth stage and, conversely, eight sūras of the final years of our second period to his last stage. Thus, the main difference is that Muir puts an earlier start and end to our second period, his fourth stage. However, there still remain six sūras that Muir puts in his fourth stage that we, in contrast, assign to our last period.

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to us in many a Muslim tradition ("the idolaters considered the angels to be daughters of God") cannot be considered an old Meccan doctrine. Muslims are incapable of discussing the nature of other religions, and tinge them all Islamic. They thus have the Qurayshites discuss resurrection, prophets, etc.

<sup>30</sup> G. Weil was the first scholar to establish these three classes in his *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran*.

<sup>31</sup> P. 132 sqq., but particularly pp. 318–320.

The main error of Muir's classification consists in his attempt to arrange the sūras in a strict, chronological order in every respect. Although he is sufficiently modest to admit that he has not quite reached his goal, in fact his goal is itself unattainable. In addition, he fails to divide those sūras that are assembled from various pieces, and places entirely too much emphasis on the length of sūras, which is far less important than the length of the individual verses.

Hubert Grimme<sup>32</sup> basically follows us in his estimation of the Medinan period and the grouping of the Meccan sūras. From the first period he does not include sūras 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 1, 97, 109, and 112, of which he places the first five in his second period and the final four in his third period. Otherwise, he includes in his second period only sūras 14 (with the exception of the Medinan verses 38 to 42), 15, 50, and 54, whereas he assigns sūra 76 to the first period and all the rest to the third period.

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Hartwig Hirschfeld,<sup>33</sup> however, dismisses the criteria established by Gustav Weil, William Muir, and the present writer regarding the arrangement of the Meccan sūras, although his own categories (first proclamation, confirmation, declamatory, narrative, descriptive and legislative revelations) are nothing but a different transcription of our principles. Except for one sūra (98), there is total agreement regarding the classification of the Medinan period. With the exception of sūras 51, 1, 55, 113, and 114, Hirschfeld's three first categories consist of the sūras of our first Meccan period plus sūras 26, 76, and 72 from our second period, and sūra 98 from our Medinan period. Apart from these qualifications, his three final categories are a mixture of our second and third Meccan periods.

Over the course of the many years that I have studied the Koran I became increasingly convinced that certain individual groups among the Meccan sūras can indeed be identified, although I also realized that it is impossible to establish any kind of exact chronological order. Many an *indicium* that I had earmarked turned out to be unreliable, while some of my claims, which at the time seemed quite certain, upon new and careful scrutiny turned out to be uncertain.

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<sup>32</sup> Grimme, *Mohammed*; vol. 2 (1895), pp. 25–27.

<sup>33</sup> *New researches into the composition and exegesis of the Qoran* (1902), pp. 143–145.



## THE SŪRAS OF THE FIRST MECCAN PERIOD

### *General Comments*

The sūras of this period can, I think, be identified with some certainty by their style. The power of the Prophet's enthusiasm, which moved him during the first years and allowed him see the Godsent angels face-to-face, is necessarily reflected in the Koran. The God who inspires him is the speaker; man remains completely in the background, as was the case with the great old prophets of Israel.<sup>1</sup> The diction is grandiose, lofty, and full of daring images, while the rhetorical energy still retains a poetic coloring. The passionate flow of language, quite frequently interspersed with simple yet forceful, rather serene admonitions and colourful descriptions, is reflected in the brief verses; the entire diction is rhythmically moving and often of great, yet still natural, harmony. The Prophet's emotions and premonitions are reflected occasionally in a certain obscurity of meaning, which generally is alluded to rather than expressed. [i/74]

### *Formulas of Invocation at the Opening of Many Sūras*

A peculiar but characteristic phenomenon of the sūras of this period is the abundance of conjurations—thirty times against only once (64:7) in the Medinan sūras—by which Muḥammad purports to confirm the truth of his address, particularly at the beginning of the sūras. As was the case with *saj'*, he borrowed this custom from the pagan soothsayers (*kāhīn*, *kuhhān*), who used to introduce their predications with solemn oaths appealing less to the gods than invoking the most diverse natural objects,<sup>2</sup> such as landscapes, road marks, animals and birds, day and night, light and darkness, sun, moon and the stars, the heaven and the earth.<sup>3</sup> In his capacity as the Messenger

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ewald, *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, p. 31sq. In the earlier period this mode of speech of Muḥammad is not merely an outward form, rather it has a deep meaning, although becoming different later on.

<sup>2</sup> The question to what extent these formulas are originally based on animistic concepts cannot here be discussed.

<sup>3</sup> Saṭīh in: Ibn Hishām, p. 10, l 14, p. 11, l 5, 11sq. *al-Mustaṭraf fi kull fann mustaṭraf* of al-Ibshīhī, *bāb* 60; al-Mas'ūdī, *Les prairies d'or*, vol. 3, p. 394; Shīqq: in Ibn Hishām, p. 12, l

of Allāh he swears by the Revelation (36, 38, 43, 44, 50, 52, and 68), by the Day of Resurrection (75), by the Promised Day (85), and by his Lord.<sup>4</sup> Most difficult of all has always been—for Muslim exegetes<sup>5</sup> as well as for us—the interpretation of a third category of formula, in which, the majority of cases, the oath is sworn by female<sup>6</sup> objects or beings. This type also has its extra-Koranic parallel.<sup>7</sup> Most of the sūras of this period are short—of the forty-eight sūras, twenty-three consist of less than twenty, and fourteen of less than fifty verses—since the extreme mental excitement that produced them could not have lasted long.

[i/76] When Muḥammad now presented such revelations to his countrymen he was bound to be considered by most of them a lunatic or a liar. He was called a crazy poet, a soothsayer<sup>8</sup> associated with *jinn*, or a possessed person (*majnūn*). For some time, it seems, he must have shared the latter opinion to some extent,<sup>9</sup> but after having been convinced of his divine commission he naturally had to fight such views with all the rhetorical power at his disposal. The vehement attacks against his opponents, which culminated in damnation, singling out some of them personally—once even by name (cf. below, sūra 111)—played a great role in these sūras.

*Comments on Sūras 96, 74, 111, 106, 108, 104, 107, 102, 105, 92, 90*

[Sir William] Muir holds the peculiar view that eighteen sūras had been revealed prior to Muḥammad's prophetic call in sūra 96, and that they were

1. الكاهن الخزاعي, Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 2, p. 11; al-Maqrīzī, *Die Kämpfe und Streitigkeiten*, ed. G. Vos, p. 10; *Mustatraf*, loc. cit.; طريفة الكاهنة in al-Mas'ūdī, vol. 3, p. 381; Musaylima, al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 1933, 1 3 sq., 1 12 sq.; Ṭulayḥa, al-Ṭabarī, p. 1897, 1 9 sq.; cf. sūras 52, 85, 86, 75, 68, 89, 92, 93, 103, and 95.

<sup>4</sup> From the mouth of Muḥammad only in 34:3, 64:7, and 51:23; in other passages of the Koran where it is sworn by God the speakers are introduced as other men (37:54, 26:97, 21:58, 12:73, 85, 91, and 95), or God (19:69, 4:68, 70:40), or Satan (38:83). Except sūras 4:65, and 4:68, all these passages are from the Meccan period.

<sup>5</sup> For this reason Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350, cf. C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, v. 2, p. 105 sqq.; *ET*<sup>2</sup>) composed a book entitled التبيان في أقسام القرآن, "the explanations of the oaths in the Koran" (Kâtib Çelebi, no. 2401).

<sup>6</sup> Sūras 37, 51, 77, 79, and 100.

<sup>7</sup> al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, 1934, ll 3–5 (Musaylima).

<sup>8</sup> Although the ancient Arabs believed in a special relation between the *kāhin* and *jinn*s, this belief did not correspond to the Muslim notion according to which *jinn*s and Satan ascend to heaven, there spy on the angels, and communicate the content to the soothsayers. Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 137.

<sup>9</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 154; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1152; al-Bukhārī in several passages, particularly in *bāb al-waḥy*; Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographie Muhammads bis zur Flucht*, p. 130, 1 10.



inserted in the Koran only later; in these Muḥammad is speaking for himself; it is not God, who enters as speaker only with sūra 96. The English scholar [and missionary] was evidently somewhat infused with sympathy for the Prophet through his acquaintance with Muslim sources and tries, at least for a little while, to defend him from “the high blasphemy of forging the name of God.”<sup>10</sup> This opinion, however, does not have any positive arguments on its side, contradicts tradition, and, in the case of certain sūras, can readily be disproved. Given that Muḥammad argues against the enemies of religion in many of these sūras, against antagonists who refute the faith (يَكذَّبُونَ) (بالدين), and preaches and conversely praises the believers, these sūras cannot possibly originate from a time when he had not yet come to terms with himself, when he had not yet realized that he was destined to be the Prophet of Allāh, and had not yet proclaimed the faith (الدين).

Already sūra 103, which Muir considers to be the first to have been revealed—probably because in its current version it is the shortest—deals with the enemies of Muḥammad (103:2), and with his followers “who believe, and ... counsel each other to be steadfast” in the face of persecution (103:3). Thus, it can only have been revealed at a time after his public preaching stirred obvious antagonism. There is an abundance of similar passages in the sūras to which Muir refers, e.g., sūra 82:9, 92:16, etc. Here also belong those passages in which Muḥammad recalls the decline of the enemies of God in former times (89:6 sqq., 91:11 sqq., and sūra 105) as a warning example for his adversaries. Finally, it is not at all true that God Himself never appears as the speaker, for even if we assume that all the passages in which Muḥammad is being addressed are soliloquies (Wm. Muir, p. 60) and disregard those verbal forms that may easily be turned from a grammatical first person into another person by the mere change of diacritical points<sup>11</sup> (e.g., تفعل for نفع, etc.), there still remain the following passages: 90:10, 94:2, 108:1, 95:4–5. Muir (p. 62) thinks that some of these “verses are represented as pronounced directly by the Deity, but probably as yet only by poetical fiction.” Why does he not do this elsewhere? One could even possibly add that those passages were intentionally changed later on. On the basis of such an unreasonable, unsupported hypothesis, however, one should not venture equally untenable assumptions.

<sup>10</sup> *The Life of Mahomet*, p. 75.

<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of variant readings related to the peculiarity of the Arabic script see Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, pp. 2–3.

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We can thus see no reason—at least not in Muir’s argument—to depart from the generally accepted Islamic tradition<sup>12</sup> that sūra 96:1–5 is the oldest part of the Koran and contains Muḥammad’s first call to prophethood. Since the revelation of these verses was accompanied by a vision or dream, it is conceivable that even shortly afterwards the precise circumstances of the apparition eluded him. Even less so can we rely on Muslim accounts of the matter. The best of them is the tradition which ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr<sup>13</sup> reports from ‘Ā’isha,<sup>14</sup> although she is very unreliable. Moreover, Muḥammad cannot have told her of the event until many years later, as she had not even been born at the time. According to this tradition, the revelation began with unmistakable visions (الرؤى الصادقة) which illuminated the Prophet like the radiance of dawn. He then retreated to the solitude of Mount Ḥirā’.<sup>15</sup> After spending quite some time there in devotional exercises, the Angel (المَلَك)<sup>16</sup> visited him and brought the behest: “Recite”, to which he replied: “I cannot recite” (ما أنا بقارئ). The Angel put much pressure on him (فَعَطَّيَ)<sup>17</sup> and

<sup>12</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 152 sq.; Ibn Sa’d (*al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*): *Biographie Muhammads bis zur Flucht*, p. 130 sq.; al-Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*; Muslim, vol. 1, p. 113 = al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 2, p. 38 sqq. (*bāb bad’ al-wahy*), al-Azraqī, p. 426 sq.; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1147 sq.; al-Mas’ūdī, vol. 4, p. 133; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and other Commentators on sūra 96; al-Wāḥidī in the introduction; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishkāṭ*, p. 513 sq. (p. 521 sq., *Bāb al-mab’ūth wa-bad’ al-wahy*, beginning); *Itqān*, p. 52 sq., etc.; cf. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, vol. 1, p. 354; Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 45 sq.; Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 2, p. 85; Sprenger, *Life of Mohammad*, p. 95 sq., *Das Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 1, p. 297 sq.; but particularly Sprenger, “Notice of a copy ... of Tabary”, p. 113 sqq.; Leone Caetani, loc. cit., vol. 1, pp. 220–227. When reference is sometimes simply to sūra 96 as the earliest sūra, this is merely a general reference. Many scholars emphasize that only the first five verses are that old, and that the rest was revealed later. Al-Bukhārī, *Bāb bad’ al-wahy* refers only to the first three verses.

<sup>13</sup> *EF*; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 17 sqq; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 278–279.

<sup>14</sup> The text of this tradition—sometimes short sometimes long, with many variants—can be found in al-Bukhārī; Muslim, loc. cit.; al-Wāḥidī, loc. cit.; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1147 sqq.; al-Azraqī, loc. cit.; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, loc. cit.; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishkāṭ*, loc. cit.; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 52; abbreviated in Ibn Sa’d, loc. cit.; Ibn Hishām, p. 151. Cf. Sprenger, “Notice of a copy ... Tabary”, p. 113 sq.; on the following page (114 sq.) there is a different version which Sprenger rightfully considers embellished and confused. A comprehensive survey of the relevant traditions in Sprenger, *Leben*, vol. 1, pp. 330–349.

<sup>15</sup> So, حراء, the best manuscripts read; this vocalization is established to be the only permissible form in Yāqūt, vol. 2, p. 228; al-Bakrī, p. 273; al-Ḥarīrī, *Durrat al-ghawwās fi awḥām al-khawāṣṣ*, ed. H. Thorbecke, p. 140; and Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, no. 10169 (= Cod. Sprenger 282), anonymous Ms, ضبط أسماء اصحابه.

<sup>16</sup> The question whether these and other apparitions were hallucinations or nebulous ghosts (de Goeje, “Die Berufung Mohammeds”) cannot be answered. The fact remains that Muḥammad believed in the corporal apparitions of the Angel. For a historian of religion they thus are of identical reality as in comparative cases of the Bible.

<sup>17</sup> There are the variants فَعَطَّيَ، فَعَطَّيَ، فَعَطَّيَ، فَعَطَّيَ (Majd al-Dīn IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Nihāya*).

repeated the command. After this happened three times the Angel finally revealed those five verses. Muḥammad was deeply shaken and hurried to his wife Khadija to take comfort.

Another tradition, most likely originating from the same source and found in Ibn Hishām, p. 151sqq., and al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1149sq., is transmitted from ‘Ubayd b. ‘Umayr b. Qatāda.<sup>18</sup> It is interesting, as it mentions in particular that this event occurred in a dream. When Muḥammad awoke, the words of the revelation had already been impressed in the Prophet’s heart. The tradition continues with the remark that Gabriel brought a silken cloth (بمِط من ديباج) with the words he had to read (*al-Itqān*, p. 53). The Koran nowhere mentions such writing material, knowing only رَقِّ (parchment) and قِطَاس (paper). But that this Koranic revelation was a communication from a divine document is beyond doubt.<sup>19</sup> An indication of this is not only the linguistic usage of قرأ as explained above on p. 17sqq., but also the numerous passages that mention the sending down (أنزل) of *kitāb*, i.e., written revelation; further, sūra 85:21sq., where the aforementioned passage is called a Koran preserved on a well-guarded table (لوح), and finally, 96:4, because the words “your Lord Who taught man the use of the writing reed”<sup>20</sup> pertain most readily to a document in Heaven, which is the source of all true revelation, including the Jewish and the Christian as well as the Islamic—a reminder of the standard phrase أهل الكتاب. The tradition that Allāh had the complete Koran first sent down to the lowest heaven and that the Angel then communicated individual parts to the Prophet as required—compare the Commentators on sūra 97—thus presupposes a thoroughly correct point of view. These conceptions of the mechanism of revelation are of course no arbitrary invention; on the contrary, they are based on the Judeo-Christian tradition in which books written either by the Hand of God, or fallen from Heaven, or delivered by an angel, play an important role.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> (Abū ‘Āṣim al-Laythī) ‘Ubayd b. ‘Umayr b. Qatāda; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.v.

<sup>19</sup> According to sūras 20:113, 25:34 [*sic*], 53:5 and 10, 75:18, and 81:19 a revelation was delivered as follows: Muḥammad did not read himself from the divine book but an angel recited the words and the Prophet repeated them until they were embossed in his memory.

<sup>20</sup> Arberry translates “Thy Lord is the Most Generous, who taught by the Pen, taught man what he knew not.” Regarding this translation cf. Th. Nöldeke’s review of *Reste arabischen Heidenthums*, by Julius Wellhausen, *ZDMG*, 41 (1887), p. 723.

<sup>21</sup> *Exodus*, 31:18, 32:16, 34:1; *Deuteronomy*, 9:10, 4:13; *Ezekiel*, 3:1–3; *Apoc. St. John*, 10:10; the Apostolic Father, Hermas, 2nd vision; *Eusebii Historiae ecclesiasticae*, vol. 6, p. 38; Hippolyte, *Haeres*, refut., 9:13.

[i/80] More recent interpreters of the 96th sūra have more or less repudiated the Islamic exegetic tradition. Weil<sup>22</sup> believes that in this instance Muḥammad is receiving the command to present a revelation that had previously been made. This interpretation is not only contrary to tradition but also against its internal probability. For what reason would Allāh have commanded the Prophet to present or recite a particular revelation when it had already been revealed?

[i/81] Sprenger's statement in his *Life of Mohammed*, p. 95sq. that اِقْرَأْ means here "to seek for truth in the books of the Jews and Christians" clearly goes against the meaning and is sufficiently refuted by Muḥammad's previously-mentioned lack of familiarity with the Bible. Sprenger's later interpretation (*Das Leben*, vol. 1, pp. 298 and 462, and vol. 3, p. xxii), that اِقْرَأْ means "enounce," must also be rejected on the grounds that it is not supported by usage.

Abū 'Ubayda al-Naḥwī says—according to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, loc. cit.—that the phrase is equivalent to اِقْرَأْ اِسْمَ رَبِّكَ, where ب is زائدة, i.e., added to indicate clearly the object, and that قَرَأَ is equivalent to ذَكَرَ "to mention." قَرَأَ, however, does not have this meaning anywhere.<sup>23</sup>

Hartwig Hirschfeld<sup>24</sup> translates the phrase "proclaim the name of thy Lord." Since this meaning is foreign to Arabic, he quotes as an authority the frequently occurring Old Testament phrase קרא בשם יהוה. Of course קרא means "to proclaim, to reveal" but בשם is likely not its object and instead means "by the use of the name of Yahweh."<sup>25</sup> Only in this sense ("proclaim in the name of your<sup>26</sup> Lord") can the possibility of a borrowing from Hebrew usage be accepted. In support of this fact it could be asserted that several traditions, according to which Muḥammad replied to the Angel's command, اِقْرَأْ, with مَا اِقْرَأْ, display a very suspicious relationship with Isaiah 40:6 (קול אומר קרא ואמר מה אקרא). In this case, however, sūra 96 would represent a totally isolated usage never imitated in the least in the Koran, in ḥadīth, or in liturgy.<sup>27</sup> On the contrary, قَرَأَ is used everywhere

<sup>22</sup> *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran*, 2nd ed., p. 65; in the first edition he translated قَرَأَ as "to read."

<sup>23</sup> قَرَأَ بِشَيْءٍ means "he read something"—in a book or something similar—or "he followed this or that vocalization" like قَالَ بِشَيْءٍ "he expressed this or that opinion;" cf. M.J. de Goeje in the glosses in al-Ṭabarī.

<sup>24</sup> *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Korân*, p. 6; *New researches*, p. 18sq. Likewise even earlier Gustav Weil, "Mahomet savait-il lire et écrire?," p. 357.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. also B. Jacob, "Im Namen Gottes," p. 171sqq.

<sup>26</sup> This is how Th. Nöldeke is now inclined to interpret these words.

<sup>27</sup> Regarding the phrase قَرَأَ السَّلَامَ cf. above, p. 27sq.

in the Koran to denote the mere reciting or chanting of holy texts, while the meaning of “reading” texts evolved only gradually. It is advisable also in our passage not to abandon the usual meaning of the verb “to present”, “to recite.”<sup>28</sup>

If we follow this and reduce the prevailing tradition (see p. 57 sq.) to its essentials we may understand the development of that revelation as follows. [i/82]

After living for a long time in solitude as an ascetic and, through an inner struggle, becoming unbelievably excited, Muḥammad<sup>29</sup> is finally destined through a dream or vision to assume prophethood and proclaim the truth as he had come to understand it. This commission becomes firmly rooted in his mind as a revelation in which Allāh commands him in the name of his Lord, the Creator of mankind, to present to his countrymen those parts of the divine book with which he had become acquainted. The time of the first revelation seems to be indicated in the Koran itself as the so-called Night of Power (*laylat al-qadr*), which undoubtedly took place in the month of Ramaḍān.<sup>30</sup>

It must remain to be seen whether sūra 96:1–5 is indeed the earliest part of the entire Koran. Because of its compelling invitation “to recite,” even if it seems obvious to associate this part with the history of revelation, the chronological determination of the text does not follow at all. On the basis of its content the words can be attributed to any time at which a new part of the divine book was communicated to the Prophet. But its concise style as well as the short rhythm would suggest a composition in the first Meccan period. A somewhat more precise definition emerges from the relation of verses 1 to 5 with the rest of the sūra. This latter part [i/83]

<sup>28</sup> Cf. above, p. 27 sq.

<sup>29</sup> Regardless of how much scholars are divided regarding the meaning of verse 1, they are all agreed that it can only have been addressed to Muḥammad. As far as I can make out, Dozy in his *Essai sur l'histoire de l'islamisme*, pp. 27–29, is the only person who thinks that the verses 1 to 5 are a later admonition meant for a disbeliever or half-convert.

<sup>30</sup> Compare 97:1, and 44:2 with 2:181. This is also the general opinion; Muḥammad himself, however, probably never paid attention to the date. For this reason the particulars are at variance even in the earliest period (cf. *al-Muwattaʿ*, p. 98 sq.; Ibn Hishām, p. 151 sq., 155; al-Bukhārī at the beginning; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on sūra 96; al-Diyārbakrī, vol. 2, p. 280 sqq., etc.). As we have been able to see above on p. 46 sq., other writers reckon Rabīʿ 1 as the month of the commission. Related to this is the tradition that Gabriel once a year showed the Heavenly Book to the Prophet, but only in the year of his death this was done twice; and that in the month of Ramaḍān he always devoted himself for ten days to special religious observances (يعتكف) but in the year of his death this was extended to twenty days (Ibn Saʿd (*al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabūr*) I, iv [sic] ed. Sachau, 4, p. 3, ll 5–8, vol. 8, p. 17, l 14 sq.).

cannot possibly originate from the time when Muḥammad first received his prophetic commission, since it is already aiming at an enemy of the faith who was keeping a godfearing slave<sup>31</sup> from the ritual prayer of the young Muslim congregation (verses 9–10). Therefore this part of the sūra can have originated only after Muḥammad's prophetic commission. The same dating would apply to verses 1–5 if sūra 96 had originally been created as a single unit. Unfortunately, however, there is no evidence that it was. All that can be said is that there seems to be a certain relation between verses 5 and 6; it is worth noting *الانسان* in verses 5 and 6, and the particle introducing verse 6, *كَلَّا* (*kallā*), which does customarily stand at the beginning of direct speech in the Koran.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, if verses 6 sqq. should turn out to have been added on, we would have to consider the opening of the sūra to be older.

[i/84] After Muḥammad accepted his call to prophethood it seems that he was not quite sure of himself. Under such circumstances he could not dare to preach publicly. Unfortunately, details are completely wanting. In al-Bukhārī<sup>33</sup> we have a tradition regarding his enormous mental suffering during this period, which is appended to the above-mentioned tradition (p. 58, n. 14) of 'Ā'isha on sūra 96:

وفتر الوحي فترةً حتى حزن النبي صلعم فيما بلغنا حزنا غدا منه مراراً كي يتردى من رؤوس شواهِق  
الجبال فكَلَّمَا أوفى بدروة جبل لكي يلقي منه نفسه<sup>34</sup> تبتدى له جبريل فقال يا محمد إنك رسول الله حقاً  
فيسكن لذلك جأشه وتقر نفسه<sup>35</sup> فيرجع فإذا طالت عليه فترة الوحي غدا لمثل ذلك فإذا أوفى بدروة  
جبل تبتدى له جبريل فقال له مثل ذلك

<sup>31</sup> It is known that at first many slaves accepted the new belief (cf. Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt: Biographie Muhammads bis zur Flucht*, ed. Sachau, p. 132 sq.; Sprenger, *Life*, pp. 159–163; Sprenger, *Leben*, vol. 1, p. 356 sq.; L. Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, pp. 237 and 240 sq.). These people might have been quite rude to the ancient gods and the penalty was not undeserving. In al-Wāhidī, p. 336 on sūra 92:5 it says about Bilāl: *لمأ أسلم ذهب إلى الأصنام فنسلخ عليها*: I hardly need to add that the interpretation of *عبد* (verse 7) by "man" as opposed to *الرب* = God (Sprenger, *Leben*, vol. 2, p. 115, "Diener Gottes" ["a servant of God"]) is totally unsuitable.

<sup>32</sup> When the Koran begins a direct speech with the rebuttal of a fictitious sentence, without actually having been uttered, not *كَلَّا* is used but only *لا* (cf. sūras 75:1, 90:1, 56:74, etc.) It may be mentioned that there are variant views on this subject; see Wright, *Grammar of the Arabic language*, part third, p. 305, C–D.

<sup>33</sup> In *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal*, §16, *Bāb al-ta'būr*. Excerpts from it in al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt*, p. 514 (522), and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on sūra 96. All the others omit this addition or have only the first two words. In one passage (on sūra 96) al-Bukhārī has the first seven words.

<sup>34</sup> Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *نفسه منه*.

<sup>35</sup> So far al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt*, loc. cit. (*bāb al-mab'ath wa-bad' al-wahy*).

We cannot quite tell, however, if this mental state, which nearly drove the Prophet to suicide, really belonged to an earlier time,<sup>36</sup> namely before his prophetic commission, when he was still leading a lonesome life in the mountains (تحتّث) before being confronted with the revelation (حتى جاءه—or فَجِئَتْهُ—الحَقِّ).

Because of the connection of this tradition with the fact that, at first, Muḥammad attempted, not quite openly, and probably for a longer period, to convert relatives and friends,<sup>37</sup> but particularly in order to balance the chronological gap, Muslims construed a period lasting from two and a half to three years, called the *fatra*. This unbelievably long intermission in the revelation Sprenger first repudiated as insupportable in his frequently-quoted article.<sup>38</sup>

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In his early studies Sprenger considered this *fatra* to be an important period during which Muḥammad—who could only have been prompted to prophethood by his unshakeable belief in Allāh and the Final Judgement—began to develop a system of faith of his own, and even studied the Bible.<sup>39</sup> To this period Sprenger also attributed several sūras that urge the Prophet to defend himself against the suspicion of his friends that he was possessed. But all the sūras in which Muḥammad refutes such allegations are undeniably directed against the enemies of the religion he was proclaiming.

The usual view regarding the end of this fearful situation is reflected in the following, well-known tradition of Abū Salāma [Nubayṭ b. Sharīṭ<sup>40</sup>] from JĀBIR IBN ‘ABD ALLĀH [Ibn ‘Amr al-Khazrajī, d. 78/697:]<sup>41</sup>

After an intermission of revelation<sup>42</sup> Muḥammad suddenly recognized the Angel who had appeared to him in divine glory at al-Ḥirā’. Frightened, he ran

<sup>36</sup> On the other hand, Muḥammad’s doubts regarding the final success of his prophetic mission as well as the struggle with his conscience, which contrary to his innate timidity compelled him to public proclamation, did not cease entirely until his emigration to Medina. All the single stages, which Muslims here ostensibly achieve by means of contrivances of angels, are of little value.

<sup>37</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 166; Ibn Sa’d, [*al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*] vol. 1, part 1: *Biographie Muhammads bis zur Flucht*, edited by Sachau and Mittwoch, p. 132 sq.

<sup>38</sup> “Über den Kalender der Araber,” p. 173 sq., where the individual citations are listed. The original account (e.g., in Ibn Sa’d, ed. Sachau, loc. cit., p. 131, top) merely says that the revelation had been interrupted for “some time” (أَيَّامًا).

<sup>39</sup> Sprenger, *The Life of Mohammad*, p. 104 sq.

<sup>40</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 85.

<sup>41</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 85, no. 3, etc.

<sup>42</sup> The tradition begins as follows: ثم فتر الوحي عنى فترة فبيننا انا الح. This evidently relates to an earlier tradition regarding the first revelation, unless we assume that these words were not introduced until the tradition of ‘Ā’isha.





practice, according to the most likely guess, was not based on medical considerations but rather on a superstitious fear.

The words of the sūra at least show us that they were revealed in the earliest period of prophethood.<sup>51</sup> Considering all the circumstances, we must emphasize that this refers only to the verses 1 to 7 and 1 to 10 respectively; the following verses, in which a single outstanding adversary is attacked, are later, although still very old.<sup>52</sup> Inserted in this section is a paragraph from a much later period, namely the verses 31<sup>53</sup> to 34, whereas the end, وما هو إلا ذكرى للبشر, might belong to the older portion and constitute the original continuation of verse 30. The interpolation, which might go back to the Prophet, is in any case of Medinan origin,<sup>54</sup> because it differentiates between four classes. (1) the Jews (those who received the Scripture); (2) the Muslims (those who believe); (3) the Hypocrites<sup>55</sup> (those with sickness in their hearts); and (4) the idolaters. These might still be from the first Medinan period, since the Prophet is still friendly with the Jews and considers them in line with the believers, whereas he soon regarded them as his most bitter enemies. The verses 41 sqq. are of later provenance but still from the first period. The rarely used term for hell, *saqar*, in verse 43, which occurs twice in the first part of this sūra but only once more in all of the Koran, may serve as evidence that

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*l-Khimār* (the Veiled One) of the Yemenite prophet ‘Abhala b. Ka’b as well as the pagan seer ‘Awf b. Rabī’a (*Tāj al-‘arūs*, ed. 1395, vol. 3, p. 188 bottom; ‘Izz al-Dīn IBN AL-ATHĪR, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 1, p. 377, l 1 sqq.; *al-Aghānī*, vol. 8, p. 66, l 2 sqq.; Wellhausen, *Reste*, 2nd ed., p. 135 n. 2). This habit is probably mainly rooted in the common (cf. e.g. *Exodus* 34:33 sqq.) opinion that looking at the divine is harmful for man (το θεῖον πᾶν εὖν φθονεσόν, Herodotus, vol. 1, p. 32). Here, I cannot dwell on the interesting problem of religious disguise.

<sup>51</sup> There is a different version of the revelation of sūra 74 in Ibn Hishām, p. 184, l 8 sq. (not according to Ibn Ishāq) without listing the authority.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. the words تُفخ في الصور verse 8; later this becomes always تُفخ في الصور.

<sup>53</sup> Here, Flügel has a totally inaccurate arrangement in his edition of the Koran. Muslim tradition considers verses 31 to 34 to be one verse.

<sup>54</sup> This was the feeling of Weil (*Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 365), even though he did not want to say so.

<sup>55</sup> *Munāfiq* is derived from the Ethiopic *menāfeq*; its verb *nāfaqa*, with the meaning of “to doubt, to be inconstant” quite common in Ge’ez. It is probably derived from the noun *menāfeq*, and would be in accordance with the fact that the participial forms are found in thirty-two passages in the Koran, while the corresponding verbal forms only four times. Arab tradition rightfully identifies *munāfiq* as an “Islamic word” however falsely deriving it from *nāfiqā* “mouse-hole” (e.g. al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, Cairo ed., v. 1, p. 158). The common rendition of “Hypocrites” is in so far not quite pertinent as the majority of the men called *munāfiqūn* in the Koran and tradition are by no means feigned in the sense of the word, rather they demonstrated at every possible occasion that their hearts had not yet been totally won over since they had accepted Islam less for reasons of conviction but were obliged by circumstances.

they were originally connected with the preceding verses. Still, this term is likely to have been inserted into verse 43 only accidentally from those two passages, here to take the place of the older term *jaḥīm*,<sup>56</sup> since the context requires a rhyme with *īm*.

[i/89] Sūra 111 is considered by all to be one of the earliest revelations. There is general agreement on the broad outline of the circumstances of its revelation: after much hesitation, Muḥammad finally summoned his men, or, according to a more likely account, his clan, the Banū Hāshim,<sup>57</sup> and demanded their acceptance of God. But his uncle, ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā IBN ‘ABD AL-MUṬṬALIB, called Abū Lahab, said: *تبتا لك ألهذا دعوتنا*, “Go to the hangman! Is this why you called us?”<sup>58</sup> Upon hearing these words from a highly respected man of the family—which were likely not meant as maliciously as they sounded<sup>59</sup>—the assembly dispersed, as Muḥammad’s address did not make sense to them. The Prophet then cursed Abū Lahab and his entire clan with the words of sūra 111, making himself their most dangerous antagonist.

[i/90] At the same time, one should not be overly impressed by the extensive consensus of tradition. The reference to “hands” in the first verse might

<sup>56</sup> Next to the very frequent *nār* (fire) as well as *jaḥannam* (hell), *jaḥīm* is the most frequently used word (26 times) for hell in the Koran. Other equivalents are *sa’īr* (16 times) and *lazā* (لظى) (once).

<sup>57</sup> We have many different accounts regarding the meeting itself and the other details. Some of them are wonderfully embellished, others fabricated in favour of ‘Alī, who, at that time, was still very young. Cf. Ibn Sa’d, [*al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*] ed. Sachau: *Biographie Muhammads bis zur Flucht*, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 42sq. and 132sq.; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 170; al-Ṭabarī, transl. Zotenberg, vol. 2, p. 405; al-Bukhārī in *Kitāb al-Taḥsīn*; al-Bayḍāwī, al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 111; Muslim al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 2, p. 185 (*Kitāb al-Īmān* §77); al-Tirmidhī, *Kitāb al-Taḥsīn*; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt, Bāb al-Indhār, faṣl 1, §2, Bāb al-Mab’ath, faṣl 1, §9*; al-Wāḥidī on sūra 111; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on sūra 26:214; al-Ṭabarī, *Taḥsīn*, vol. 19, p. 67, v. 30, p. 190sq. These accounts are confusing in al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 26:214, etc. See also Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 53; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, vol. 1, p. 316sq.; Sprenger, *Life*, p. 177sq., Sprenger, *Leben*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, p. 526. Both Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 2, p. 113sq., and Leone Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 239sq., have well-founded doubts about the reliability of these accounts.

<sup>58</sup> Some sources add *جميعاً*.

<sup>59</sup> The general view which holds that Abū Lahab’s words constitute a curse is not true. We here have the exclamation of a man who is angry because he had been summoned to a great and important meeting and who hears nothing but nonsense. There is basically nothing bad about this and can be compared to the easily uttered words *لا أبا لك*, to hell with you, Goddamn, etc. For example, in Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *al-Aghānī*, vol. 16, p. 159, it says the poet Aḍbaṭ b. Quray’ [Sezgin, *GAS* vol. 2, p. 191] once called his countrymen together to tell them a bad joke, *فانصرفوا يضحكون وقالوا تبتا لك ألهذا دعوتنا*. In this case it is only annoying jesting. It is quite another story when, after having been deeply injured by his uncle, the Prophet shouts: *تبت يدا أبي لهب وتب*.

suggest an assault upon the Prophet. The description that Abū Lahab had thrown stones at his nephew during the afore-mentioned meeting is mentioned only in late writings (al-Bayḏāwī, al-Nasafī). Other traditions, according to which Abū Lahab threw dung or carrion in front of the Prophet's door (Ibn Hishām, p. 276 sq., Ibn Saʿd, *Biographie Muhammads bis zur Flucht*, p. ۱۳۴ sq.), do not refer to our sūra, whereas Ibn Hishām, p. 233, and all Commentators construe a connection with a similar action by his wife, referring to verses four and five. A lesser number of traditions<sup>60</sup> connect the sūra with other events, which are no less reliable. The impression remains that even at a very early period there existed no reliable tradition and that all we have is speculation on the part of the exegetes. Another noteworthy aspect of this sūra is that only one other sūra, 33:37, similarly mentions a contemporary by name.<sup>61</sup>

Sūra 106 admonishes the Quraysh to thank the God of the Kaʿba, رَبِّ هَذَا الْبَيْتِ<sup>62</sup> for being able to send out two caravans annually—the source of prosperity for the trading community.<sup>63</sup> The sympathetic mood expressed here indicates that the sūra originates from before the conflict with the Quraysh.<sup>64</sup> There is no mention of the Kaʿba in any other later Meccan sūra.

[i/91]

For lack of a historical guide to the remaining sūras of the first period, the chronological order must be abandoned outright. We therefore will aim for a topical arrangement, although when arranging the individual classes we intend to use the gradual development of style and thought as a guideline as far as possible.

<sup>60</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 231 connects the sūra with an event of the late Meccan period. Al-Azraqī (p. 81 sq.) and al-Wāqidi (ed. Wellhausen, p. 351) even date Abū Lahab's curse to year 8AH, when after the conquest of Mecca this uncle of the Prophet, after the destruction of the idols of al-ʿUzzā and al-Lāt respectively, promised to take care of the goddesses. Abū Lahab, however, had been long dead by that time. Al-Ṭabari in his *Tafsīr* (juzʿ/vol. 30, p. 191) mentions yet another reason but without supplying a date.

<sup>61</sup> A more detailed study in our chapter "The collecting and editing of the Koran."

<sup>62</sup> This contradicts Muir's view (*Life of Mahomet*, vol. 2, p. 140 and 154 sq.) that before the revelation of sūra 53 Muḥammad rejected "the existing Qurayshite worship as a whole by reason of its idolatry and corruption."

<sup>63</sup> "That the Quraysh put together the winter and the summer caravans, and may they continue to do so." This is how Sprenger finishes the explanation as presented in his "Muḥammad's Zusammenkunft mit dem Einsiedler Bahyrā" [Muḥammad's encounter with the hermit] at the same time completely misunderstanding the Hebrew term אלוהי. Like so many stories in honour of Muḥammad's own clan of Hāshim it is certainly not true that these two caravans were first organized not until Hāshim. Even Ibn Hishām, p. 87, l 12, adds to the account his critical words فيما يزعمون. The verses quoted in its support are false.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Leone Caetani, *Annali dell'islam*, vol. 1, § 234, n. 2.

[i/92] Of the various sūras that primarily serve to attack enemies, sūra 108 is likely to be among the earliest. In this sūra, God comforts the Prophet after suffering abuse. The target is in most cases al-‘Aṣ b. al-Wā’il,<sup>65</sup> less frequently it is ‘Uqba b. Mu‘ayt<sup>66</sup> or Ka‘b b. al-Ashraf [d. 3/625].<sup>67</sup> They were supposed to have reproached him for being a “tailless” man, i.e. a man without sons.<sup>68</sup> But God says that He has given him plenty<sup>69</sup> of goods. The view held by a few writers, who consider this sūra to be Medinan,<sup>70</sup> and who think this refers to the death of his son Ibrāhīm (Ibn Muḥammad),<sup>71</sup> does not warrant a serious refutation. As a matter of fact, the general expression, “he that hates you” [شأنك], might not even refer to any particular person but rather to an entire group of adversaries, an interpretation which, following older exegetes, already al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr*, vol. 30, p. 186) is inclined to suspect. Like the other sūras (48, 71, 97, and 108) beginning with *innā* (إنا = verily, we), this one, too, might have lost its original beginning.

[i/93] Sūra 104, which, according to Hibat Allāh b. Salāma,<sup>72</sup> some writers consider to be of Medinan origin, attacks rich and arrogant men.

Sūra 107, verse 4 (cf. 104:1), also hurls woe “unto those that pray and refuse charity.” As these words somehow seem to fit the Hypocrites in Med-

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 261; Ibn Qutayba, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 145; al-Mas‘ūdī, part 5, p. 61; [‘Izz al-Dīn] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 54; al-Wāhidī, and the Commentators; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, vol. 2, p. 4; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 89, col. 1.

<sup>66</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, loc. cit., vol. 30, p. 186; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 531, col. 1.

<sup>67</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *ibid.*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 577, col. 1.

<sup>68</sup> It is known that for times immemorial the greatest blessing for Semites is many sons, resulting in power, honour, and wealth, cf. Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode* (1892), p. 29 sqq.; G. Freytag, *Einleitung in das Studium der arabischen Sprache* (1861), p. 210.

<sup>69</sup> كثر is actually an adjective meaning “much, plentiful, abundant” cf. the examples in Ibn Hishām, p. 261; from there it is the “enormous dust” (*Dīwān der Hudāiliten*, 92, verse 44); thus in this case “the abundance, the mass.” The corresponding verb is تكثر “to be of large quantity,” e.g., dust (cf. Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, 106 verse 5). Already in Ibn Hishām, p. 261 sq., there is an old, yet inaccurate, explanation that *Kawthar* is the name of a river in Paradise.

<sup>70</sup> Like ‘Alā’ al-Dīn (‘Alī b. Muḥammad AL-KHĀZIN AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *Tafsīr al-Khāzin al-musammā Lubāb al-tawīl fī ma‘ānī l-tanzīl*) says according to the tradition of Ḥasan (al-Baṣrī [EP]; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol 1, pp. 591–594); ‘Ikrima, and Qatāda; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 30; Brockelmann, *GAL*, suppl. vol. 2, p. 135.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, where also another tradition is mentioned, according to which the sūra was revealed on the day of al-Ḥudaybiyya; so also *al-Itqān*, p. 45.

<sup>72</sup> Apart from this sūra there are many others which, according to [Abū l-Qāsim] ‘Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ] (Leiden, Cod. 674, Warner) all (old exegetes, like the students of Ibn ‘Abbās, etc.) consider to be of Meccan origin, while some others consider them to be from Medina, e.g. sūras 25, 53, 57, 67, 80, 87, 89, 90, 92, 102, and 110. [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 47; vol. 9, p. 183.]

ina, some exegetes hold that all of this sūra,<sup>73</sup> or at least verses 4 to 7,<sup>74</sup> are of Medinan origin.

According to a single proponent, sūra 102 refers to the Jews of Medina.<sup>75</sup>

Sūra 105 is probably to demonstrate with an example from history—and particularly from Mecca's own history—how God punishes their like.<sup>76</sup>

Sūra 92, like so many others, was, according to some authors, revealed totally or partially only after the *hijra*.<sup>77</sup>

Already sūra 90 seems to be somewhat later. The isolated view that it is of Medinan origin was recognized as false already by al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 29. No less erroneous is the view of writers who accept as Meccan only the first four or the first two verses, in which they identify a reference to Mecca.<sup>78</sup>

[i/94]

*Comments on Sūras 94, 93, 97, 86, 91, 80, 68,  
87, 95, 103, 85, 73, 101, 99, 82, 81, 53, 84, 100, 79, 77,  
78, 88, 89, 75, 83, 69, 51, 52, 56, 70, 55, 112, 109, 113, 114*

The following sūras are of miscellaneous content and do not, according to general consensus, have as their primary purpose either fighting against adversaries or describing eschatology.

<sup>73</sup> [Abū l-Qāsim] ‘Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ]; (according to Ibn ‘Abbās, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and Qatāda). al-Zamakhsharī, al-Bayḍāwī, *al-Itqān*.

<sup>74</sup> Hibāt Allāh b. Salāma, *al-Itqān*, p. 37 (not exact), and [Abū l-Qāsim] ‘Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ]. These two sūras, too, are allegedly addressed to particular persons: First.—Sūra 104, to Akhnas b. Shariq [*EP*] (Hibat Allāh [IBN SALĀMA], al-Zamakhsharī, al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*), Umayya b. Khalaf [*EP*]; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 460 sqq.; (al-Zamakhsharī); Walid b. al-Mughīra [*EP*]; (al-Zamakhsharī, Naysābūrī al-Qummī in the margin of al-Ṭabarī, *juz’ 30 (Gharā’ib al-Qur’ān wa-rahā’ib al-furqān)*, p. 161), to Jamil b. ‘Āmir (al-Ṭabarī.) Second.—Sūra 107 to ‘Āṣ b. Wā’il (Hibat Allāh [IBN SALĀMA], al-Wāhidī, al-Naysābūrī al-Qummī), Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb (Ibn Umayya), [*EP*]; G. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 108 sqq.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, p. 283] (al-Wāhidī, al-Naysābūrī al-Qummī), Walid b. al-Mughīra and Abū Jahl (al-Naysābūrī al-Qummī [*EP*; *EQ*]; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 73, col. 1). All this is, of course, pure fabrication.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. al-Bayḍāwī, al-Wāhidī, and *al-Itqān*, p. 30, which is in accordance with this view.

<sup>76</sup> Reference is to the familiar expedition against the sacred territory of Mecca, in the course of which the Abyssinian army was destroyed, apparently by plague. It is likely that the lore of the Meccans had already embellished this event. Cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 29 sqq., al-Azraqī, p. 86 sq., *Dīwān der Hudāiliten*, p. 112 sqq., al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 935 sqq., al-Mas’ūdī, *Prairies d’or*, vol. 3, 158 sqq., and the Commentators. Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 10, Caussin de Perceval, vol. 1, 279, Sprenger, *Life of Moḥammad*, p. 35, Sprenger, *Leben und die Lehre*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, 461, F. Buhl, loc. cit., p. 21, Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 143 sqq. A discussion of all the relevant problems to be found in Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, pp. 204–208.

<sup>77</sup> For example, *al-Itqān*, p. 29, etc.

<sup>78</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 37. The phrase وما أدراك ما العقبة alone guarantees verse 12 and its context its Meccan origin.

In sūra 94,<sup>79</sup> as well as the apparently somewhat later sūra 93, God purposes to console Muḥammad for his current situation by reminding him that He even earlier saved him from calamity. In those days when there were but few people who believed in him—nearly all of the lower strata of society—and there was little hope of succeeding with his message, there must have been ample opportunities for such a consolation by Allāh. Consequently, these sūras do not need to be the result of any particular incident. Even if this were the case, however, it would still be highly unlikely that any such report, alone among so many similar reports,<sup>80</sup> was properly transmitted to posterity.

Sūra 97 concerns “the Night of Power,”<sup>81</sup> in which “the angels and the Spirit descend” upon the earth<sup>82</sup> with the revelation. Because of reference to a tradition retold in al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 29, it is falsely held to be of Medinan origin.<sup>83</sup> The wording of the first verse makes it likely that the real opening of this sūra has been lost.<sup>84</sup>

[i/95] In sūra 86 the first three verses seem to indicate that it was revealed at night under the impression of a glowing star.<sup>85</sup>

In sūra 91, which opens with an disproportionately large number of solemn conjurations (verses 1 to 8), the Prophet demonstrated to his contemporaries the sin of the ancient Thamūdites who had accused a messen-

<sup>79</sup> From an inaccurate literal rendering of sūra 94:1 combined with the tradition of Muḥammad's epileptic fits in his childhood developed the miserable myth which we find in Ibn Hishām, p. 105 sq.; Ibn Sa‘d, ed. Sachau, [*al-Ṭabaqāt*] vol. 1, part 1: *Biographie Muhammads bus zur Flucht*, p. 74 sq.; al-Bukhārī in *bāb al-mi‘rāj*, and other sources; Muslim, *kitāb al-imān*, § 72 (al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 2, p. 60 sq.); al-Ṭabarī, transl. Zotenberg, vol. 2, p. 241 sq.; al-Mas‘ūdī, vol. 4, p. 131; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt*, p. 516 (524 *bāb ‘alamāt al-nubuwwa* beginning), etc. Cf. Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, note 11 [*sic*]; Sprenger, *Life*, p. 78, *Leben*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, p. 168; Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 1, p. 21, etc. Other writers establish a relation between the story of the opening of his chest and his midnight journey to the seven heavens (see the quotations on sūra 17.)

<sup>80</sup> Cf. the Commentators; al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-kusūf, abwāb al-taqṣīr*, § 24, *faḍā’il al-Qur’ān* § 1; Muslim, *Kitāb al-jihād*, § 24 (al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 7, p. 439 sq.); al-Wāḥidī.

<sup>81</sup> See above, p. 47.

<sup>82</sup> This is the first sūra in which the root ج: is used with reference to the revelation of the Koran.

<sup>83</sup> al-Bayḍāwī. [Abū l-Qāsim] ‘Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ] (Leiden Cod. 674, Warner); ‘Alā’ al-Dīn (‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī AL-KHĀZIN), vol. 4, p. 464; and al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 56, with reference to the commentary of al-Nasafī from al-Wāḥidī, it is held to be the earliest of the Medinan sūras. Hibat Allāh b. Salāma not even once mentions that some writers hold it for a Meccan sūra.

<sup>84</sup> See above, p. 76 sq., on sūra 108.

<sup>85</sup> According to al-Wāḥidī these words were revealed while Abū Ṭalīb IBN ‘ABD AL-MUṬṬALIB was having a meal and was frightened by a shooting star. The three verses, however, only fit a planet or at least a large fixed star.

ger of Allāh of deceit and killed him but were in turn punished by annihilation. Muḥammad often referred to this story<sup>86</sup> later on (altogether twenty-six times in the Koran).

In sūra 80, “God reprimands the Prophet for turning away from Ibn Umm Maktūm, a poor blind man<sup>87</sup> who was anxious for instruction, whilst he was engaged in conversation with al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, one of the chiefs of Makkah” [Sprengrer].<sup>88</sup> Muḥammad reproaches himself for his failure in having unduly favoured the mighty of his town. It is a surprise and also characteristic of the most humane of all the revealed religions that these words found their way into the Koran. Hibat Allāh b. Salāma al-Baghdādī is the only writer to mention that there is no agreement as to the place of this revelation (مختلف فيها). August Müller<sup>89</sup> sees in verse eleven “the beginning of a new fragment, probably of some later years,” whereas David H. Müller<sup>90</sup> holds that the second part, which “apparently is not at all related to the other part,” begins only with verse sixteen.

Sūra 68 is held by some to be the earliest sūra<sup>91</sup> or, in any case, the second earliest, following immediately upon sūra 96.<sup>92</sup> People most probably linked the initial words of the sūra, والقلم, to the opening of sūra 96, and consequently also construed a chronological relation. Of course, verses that polemicize directly against the enemies of the faith can by no means be that old. Yet verse 17 sqq., of which vv. 17 to 33 and vv. 48 to 60 are sometimes considered to be of Medinan origin,<sup>93</sup> were apparently added to the older sūra only in the second period.<sup>94</sup>

[i/96]

<sup>86</sup> al-Bukhārī and al-Tirmidhī (in *Kitāb al-Tafsīr*) relate a funny episode regarding this matter.

<sup>87</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 320, 470, 493, 494.

<sup>88</sup> Usually—(*al-Muwaṭṭāʾ*, p. 70 sq.; Ibn Hishām, p. 240; Ibn Saʿd, ed. Sachau, *Biographien der Muhāgīrūn* (vol. 4, part 1), p. 153; al-Tirmidhī, *Kitāb al-Tafsīr*; al-Wāḥidī; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, vol. 2, p. 1245; the Commentators; Sprengrer, *Life*, p. 186; Sprengrer, *Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 2, p. 317; Muir, vol. 2, p. 128; Caetani, *Annali dell'islam*, vol. 1, p. 297)—the man is called [ʿAbd Allāh] Ibn Umm Maktūm [*EP*; Juynboll, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 320 sqq.] but this person must serve everywhere as the representative of the blind. In this case, you expect a man from the lower strata of society while the other one belonged to the Quraysh clan of ʿĀmir b. Luʿay, and his mother even originating from the Makhzūm clan, of equal importance as the ʿAbd Shams. Cf. about him Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, loc. cit., and ʿIzz al-Dīn IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Uṣd al-ghāba fī maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 4, p. 127.

<sup>89</sup> *Der Koran*, translated by Friedrich Rückert, ed. by August Müller (1888), p. 545.

<sup>90</sup> *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form*, p. 57.

<sup>91</sup> Hibat Allāh [Ibn al-Salāma al-Baghdādī.]

<sup>92</sup> See above, the chronological arrangement on p. 43 sqq.

<sup>93</sup> Leiden, Cod. 674; *al-Itqān*, p. 36.

<sup>94</sup> One ought to note, for example, the greater length of most of the verses as well as some

Sūra 87 is yet another example of the careless interpretations and conclusions of some of the ancient exegetes. The invitation to praise God (87:1 and cf. 87:15) was taken to refer to the five daily prayers instituted not long before the *hijra*, and the sūra was taken to be Meccan without hesitation.<sup>95</sup>

They reached the same conclusion about both sūra 95, in the third verse of which there is a clear reference to the sacred territory of Mecca, and sūra 103, which might possibly be a mere fragment.<sup>96</sup> These two sūras are likely to have come to us in a revised version. It seems to me that 95:6 was added later, since it is disproportionately long, its content excessively weakens the impression of the context, and the phrase *الذين آمنوا وعملوا الصالحات* was not common until the late Meccan period. The first and the third argument apply also to the current form of 103:3.

Sūra 85 warns the believers of the example of the pious people who long ago were tortured and killed by accursed<sup>97</sup> men.<sup>98</sup> Verses 8 to 11 were probably added later, possibly by Muḥammad himself. They differ from the other related verses in terms of their greater length, long-winded diction, and slightly different rhyme.<sup>99</sup>

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unusual expressions not used in the first period like *رَبَّنَا سَبِّحَانَ* verse 28, *رَبِّكَ*, *فَاصْبِرْ* *حُكْمَ رَبِّكَ* verse 48; cf. generally, below on sūra 52. H. Hirschfeld, *New researches*, p. 60, "Somewhat later but still of a very early period are vv. 34 to 52 with an allusion to Jonah, 'the man of the fish'."

<sup>95</sup> Leiden Cod. Warner 674; al-Bayḍāwī.

<sup>96</sup> Leiden Cod. Warner 674; Hibat Allāh b. al-Salāma.

<sup>97</sup> Naturally, this alone is meant by *فُقِيلَ* as some of the exegetes realized.

<sup>98</sup> Generally, these are held to be the Christian martyrs of Dhū Nuwās [EQ; EP,] king of the Jews in Najrān. Cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 20 and 24; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 925; the Commentators; Sprenger, *Life*, p. 36sq., Sprenger, *Leben und Lehre*, vol. 1, p. 464sqq.; Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 2, p. 146. There is something to this; the event of October 523 created a great uproar wherever it became known. The most reliable source, the letter of Simeon of Bēth Arshām (cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 185sq.) relates that at that time the church was put on fire, killing everybody who had there taken refuge, priests as well as ordinary church members (*Anecdota Syriaca*, vol. 3, p. 236, l 12sqq.). All who did not renounce their faith died by the sword. The letter knows nothing of an actual stake or ditches. Later writers only (cf. W. Fell, "Die Christenverfolgungen in Südarabien," pp. 8 and 32) report of fiery ditches, which, according to Fr. Praetorius *ZDMG*, 23 (1869), p. 625 [wrong; this reference is not to Praetorius but to M. Grünberg, "Nachträge zu den Bemerkungen über die Samaritaner"]) can only have been inferred from our sūra. In such circumstances see A. Geiger's conjecture (loc. cit., p. 192) that those verses might refer to the three men in the "burning fiery furnace" (*Daniel*, 4), cf. O. Loth, "Tabarī's Korankommentar", p. 621. This explanation is also to be found in Muslim commentaries to the Koran, among others by al-Ṭabarī in his *Tafsīr*, s.v. (cf. O. Loth, loc. cit., p. 610), and by al-Baghāwī (ابن العوفى وهذه رواية العوفى عن ابن عباس). Of course, Geiger's reasoning is without foundation, claiming that Muḥammad—who at that time can hardly have had even an inkling of the discrepancy between his doctrine and Christianity—could not have called Christians believers.

<sup>99</sup> In other cases all verses rhyme with *ūd* or *ūd*, only verses 20 (*ū*) and 22 (*ūz*) differing



[i/98] Sūra 73, as mentioned above,<sup>100</sup> is occasionally held to be one of the earliest sūras because of the similarity of its beginning to that of sūra 74.<sup>101</sup> Equally off the mark are those who, when explaining its origin, mention ‘Ā’isha, whom Muḥammad did not marry until much later.<sup>102</sup> Verse 20 is so obviously of Medinan origin that this could not possibly have escaped Muslims.<sup>103</sup> Of course Weil also realized this.<sup>104</sup> The verse must belong to a time when fighting with the disbelievers had already started. As its content is similar to that of the first verse—cf. particularly verses two and three—we must assume that either Muḥammad himself or one of the Companions must have purposely attached it to the other sūras. For unknown reasons verse 20 is also held by some<sup>105</sup> to be Medinan.

The remainder, and greater portion, of the revelations of this period deal with the enormous upheavals of nature that will accompany the advent of the Final Judgement, or describe the joys of heaven and the horrors of hell with dazzling colours. There are no more grandiose sūras in all of the Koran, and none in which the emotional excitement of the Prophet appears in fuller force. It is as if one’s very eyes see how the earth splits asunder, mountains scatter, and stars are thrown about. Another group of sūras, whose descriptions are more serene and prosaic, must on the whole be attributed to a later period.

The emotional turmoil appears immediately in the short verses of sūra 101. The argument that August Fischer<sup>106</sup> advances for an interpolation of the verses 7 and 8 is inconclusive as far as I am concerned. More easily accepted—although he does not even consider this—would be the possibility of a lacuna between the verses 6 and 7. But this, too, is both unnecessary and unlikely.

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slightly; but verse 10 rhymes with *īq*, and verse 11 with *ūr*, a very frequent change of rhyme later on.

<sup>100</sup> The original reference is to *Seite* 1/81, where no sūra is mentioned at all.

<sup>101</sup> This must be the reference of al-Baghāwī’s statement regarding verse 1, God addressed the Prophet before his public preaching (في أول الوحي قبل تبليغ الرسالة) with the words *يا أيها المزمل*; he seems to place even this sūra before sūra 111 as well as other passages that refer to the public sermon.

<sup>102</sup> al-Bayḍāwī.

<sup>103</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, pp. 20 and 36. But one tradition from ‘Ā’isha has this verse be revealed a whole year after the others. Cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on verse 4; [Abū l-Qāsim] ‘Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ].

<sup>104</sup> *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, 1st ed., p. 56; 2nd ed. p. 65.

<sup>105</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, pp. 20 and 36. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn (‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī AL-KHĀZIN), vol. 4, p. 338.

<sup>106</sup> In his article “Eine Qoran-Interpolation.” I concur with Fischer in so far as the possibility of interpolations in the Koran must be unconditionally admitted.

Sūra 99, which impresses with its gradiose, rhetorical and rhythmical opening, is considered by many<sup>107</sup> to be of Medinan origin, probably because verse seven was interpreted as dealing with mundane affairs, i.e., the victory of the Muslims over the pagans.<sup>108</sup>

Similar to this sūra but embellished with more colourful imagery are sūras 82 and 81. One would like to connect the latter to sūra 53, which belongs to the later sūras of the first period, although not to this third section. Both sūras are related in content, and both deal with the apparition of the Angel. Sūra 81 mentions only one apparition, whereas sūra 53 is concerned with two, for the one mentioned at the beginning of this sūra is identical with the one in sūra 81,<sup>109</sup> cf. particularly 53:1 and 81:23. In sūra 53, however, there is an allusion to yet another apparition, when the Prophet imagines himself to be in Heaven. Sprenger's assertion<sup>110</sup> that verse 15 is a later addition we cannot accept.<sup>111</sup> Given the connection of these apparitions with the later dream of the Night Journey to Jerusalem (sūra 17), as well as the influence of Jewish and Christian examples,<sup>112</sup> the legend of Muḥammad's ascension was not born until some time after his death. In the description of this matter Muslims like to resort to the words of sūra fifty-three.

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When Muḥammad publicly recited sūra 53 and reached the verses 19 to 22, where the pagans are asked whether they had ever seen their goddesses, al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā, and Manāt, in the same way that he had seen the Angel, it is reported that either he or Satan imitating the Prophet's voice said at that moment: "These are the exalted *gharānīq*, whose intercession (from God) can be counted on."<sup>113</sup> The episode is explicable by Muḥammad's uneasy

<sup>107</sup> [Abū l-Qāsim] 'Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ]; al-Bayḍāwī, al-Zamakhsharī, and al-*Itqān*, pp. 20 and 30. Hibat Allāh [Ibn Salāma] does not even mention that some writers hold it to be from the Meccan period. Cf. also the classification of the sūras on p. 39 sqq.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. al-Suyūṭī, al-*Itqān*, p. 30.

<sup>109</sup> This apparition is probably to be considered a dream; according to sūra 81:15–18 it seems to me likely that the revelation originated "by the night swarming, by the dawn sighing."

<sup>110</sup> Sprenger, *Life*, p. 133, note; *Leben*, vol. 1, p. 307, note; *ma'wā* (verse 15), Sprenger considers to be a house outside Mecca near which Muḥammad had the apparition. This idea, which surprisingly August Müller thought plausible, misled Caetani in his *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 231, also to suspect in *sidrat al-muntahā* (verse 14) a place name near Mecca.

<sup>111</sup> Sprenger, *Life*, p. 123 sqq.; *Leben*, vol. 1, p. 306 sqq.

<sup>112</sup> I point out the familiar celestial journey of the Ecstasies, for example, Isaiah (*ascensio Jesaiae*). Further, see below on sūra 17.

<sup>113</sup> A quite common version of these words runs as follows:

\* تلك الغرائق العلى \* وَإِنَّ شَفَعَاتَهُنَّ لَتُرْتَجَى \*

Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographie Muhammads bis zur Flucht*, p. 137, l 11; Majd al-Dīn IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Nihāya*, vol. 2, p. 58; al-Wāḥidī, Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī,

mood when looking for a compromise with the old belief by recognizing those goddesses as Allāh's subservient, benevolent beings.

Both Muir<sup>114</sup> and Sprenger<sup>115</sup> affirm the reality of this event, recognizing in it a welcome motive to denounce the Prophet once more as an impostor. On the other hand, Leone Caetani,<sup>116</sup> the most recent of Muḥammad's biographers, tries to prove that this is a later fabrication. His main arguments are as follows: (1) The *isnād* of this tradition is unreliable. (2) It is doubtful that the Quraysh—who only a short time previously had obliged the Muslims to emigrate to Abyssinia, and who persecuted everyone who recited only a few verses of the Koran—quietly listened to an entire sūra and then prayed together with Muḥammad. (3) Other compromises with the pagan cult, e.g., the incorporation of the Ka'ba into Islam, demonstrate an entirely different tactic. (4) Such a gross error as the admittance of the three pagan goddesses into the Islamic cult would have destroyed the Prophet's entire early life's work.

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and al-Bayḍāwī on sūra 22:51; Hibat Allāh [Ibn Salāma] on sūra 20:113. Al-Jurjānī in the recension of al-Tirmidhī, preface, p. 3, and al-Damīrī, s.v., غريب. The most common variants are as follows for *لَهَا بَتْلُكَ*, al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, vol. 1, p. 1193, l 6, p. 1194, l 1; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* on sūra 22:51 (Cairo edition, vol. 17, p. 119sqq.) no. 3; *فَاهْتَنَ*, Yāqūt, *Geographisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 3, p. 665, l 20; *الغرافة*, al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, vol. 1, p. 1195, l 8; codices al-Bayḍāwī, and M. [not listed among Nöldeke-Schwally's abbreviations], al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, loc. cit., no. 1; al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 22:51.—For *وَانِ*, al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, no. 4; Hibat Allāh (Ibn Salāma) on sūra 22:51; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī on sūra 17:75; *مَنْهَا*, al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, no. 6; al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rikh al-khamīs*, vol. 1, p. 289; *لَهَقَ*, Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī on sūra 22:51.—*الشفاعة*, al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, no. 6; al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rikh al-khamīs*, vol. 1, p. 289; *الشفاعة* *مَنْهَا*, Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī on sūra 22:51; *شفاعة*, Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī on sūra 22:51.—For *لَتَرَجِي*, al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, vol. 1, p. 1195, l 8; al-Ḥalabī, *al-Ḥalabiyya*, vol. 2, p. 4; *تَرَجِي*, Hibat Allāh (Ibn Salāma) on sūra 22:51, and Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī, loc. cit.; *تَرَجِي*, al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, vol. 1, p. 1192, l 14 codices al-Bayḍāwī, and M. [abbreviation not identified]; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, nos. 1 and 4; *تَرَضَى*, al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, vol. 1, p. 1192, l 14, p. 1193, l 6, p. 1194, l 1; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, nos. 2 and 3.—Regarding the word *الغرائيق* which is used for a variety of birds, and in the *Dīwān der Hudāiliten*, no. 157, l 2, edited by Wellhausen, for water-birds, cf. the dictionaries of Majd al-Dīn IBN AL-ATHĪR (*Nihāya*), and al-Damīrī (*al-Ḥayawān*), s.v. Regarding *غرائيق* and *غرائق* with the meaning of “tender young men” and “refined people” cf. Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, pp. 608 and 607; Abū Zayd, *al-Nawādir [fi l-lughā]*, p. 44, l 18, p. 45, l 7; other passages in J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 1st ed., p. 30, 2nd ed., p. 34. It remains to be seen how these meanings can be reconciled with each other, and how the word in that remark of the Prophet is to be understood—in this case its common translation is “swan.” Incidentally, there are frequent allusions to this event without specifically mentioning these words; e.g. in al-Bukhārī. Cf. also Weil, n. 64 [*sic*—incomplete]; Sprenger, *Life*, p. 184sq., and Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 2, pp. 150–151.

<sup>114</sup> *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 2, p. 149sqq.

<sup>115</sup> *Das Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 2, p. 16sqq.; also H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, vol. 2, p. 16sqq., and Frants Buhl, *Muhammeds Liv*, p. 180sq., but without any *arrière pensée*.

<sup>116</sup> *Annali dell'islam*, vol. 1, p. 278sqq.

There are several objections to these contentions. The evidence of the above-mentioned *isnād* was suspicious even to scholars of the fifth to the seventh centuries. Apart from the fact that in the final analysis they were guided by dogmatic considerations, their criticism of *ḥadīth* cannot really be taken seriously. In particular Goldziher<sup>117</sup> has shown that the literature is full of fictitious traditions despite the fact that their *isnāds* are formally quite sound. Caetani's contention in the second argument is correct but this does not mean that the claim is improper *per se*. No matter how many fictitious details a tradition might contain, it might still be based on a historical core. Caetani's last two arguments are also not convincing. The remark about the *gharānīq* does not attempt to equalize the pagan goddesses with the One Allāh but rather considers them subordinate beings with only the privilege of intercession. Moreover, the central theme of Muḥammad's sermon was resurrection and Final Judgement rather than rigid monotheism.<sup>118</sup> In the same way he initially also did not assail the Christians despite the resemblance of their doctrine of the Trinity to polytheism. It is even more serious that Caetani cannot explain the origin of the ostensibly false tradition. It goes without saying that Muslims did not fabricate a story that depicts their Prophet in such an unfavourable light.<sup>119</sup> But if—as some Muslim theologians have it—heretics concocted this, it simply would not have penetrated orthodox tradition. There is consequently no way out of the dilemma but to accept the event in its basic outline as a historical fact.

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Many traditions associate the foregoing with the return of some Muslims who had taken part in the well-known emigration to Abyssinia. Upon their arrival at Mecca they are supposed to have learned that Muḥammad's remark regarding "the sublime *gharānīq*" had in the meantime resulted in the conversion of many pagans. If the connection of the two events, as well as their dating to the months of Ramaḍān and Shawwāl of the fifth year of the prophetic commission, as Ibn Sa'd alone contends,<sup>120</sup> were correct, it can only follow that the two verses originated at that time. By the same token, although they both correspond well to the other verses in terms of length and rhyme, we have no guarantee that they might not have been

<sup>117</sup> *Muslim studies*, vol. 2. See now also Sezgin, "Goldziher and hadith."

<sup>118</sup> Regarding this important aspect of the Koranic theology see in particular Snouck Hurgronje, "de Islam," tweede deel, pp. 259sq. and 455sq., derde deel, p. 109; and also his review "Une nouvelle biographie de Mohammed," by H. Grimme, pp. 63 and 150.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. now also Th. Nöldeke's review, "L. Caetani, *Annali dell'islām*," p. 299.

<sup>120</sup> Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographie Muhammads bis zur Flucht*, vol. 1, part 1, p. ١٣٨, l 12.

introduced into a previously revealed sūra. Verse 23, as well as 26 to 33, are undoubtedly somewhat later than the rest of the sūra, yet they nevertheless refer to the verses that Muḥammad dismissed and declared to be the work of Satan when he recovered his senses. Verses 58sqq. make up a unique, independent segment with different rhymes. Muir (vol. 2, p. 319) lists the entire sūra under his fourth stage either because of its greater length or because of verses inserted later. Some writers hold verse 33<sup>121</sup> or verses 34 to 42<sup>122</sup> or the entire sūra<sup>123</sup> to be of Medinan origin.

The beginning of sūra 84 ["When heaven is rent asunder"] is a continuation of sūras 82 ("When heaven is split open"), and 81 ["When the sun shall be darkened"]. Verse 25 ["theirs shall be a wage unfailing" and identical with 95:6] is probably secondary, for the reason stated above on page 70.

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Sūra 100 some writers<sup>124</sup> falsely consider Medinan, thinking that the first verses refer to the riding mounts<sup>125</sup> used by Muḥammad in campaigns.

Sūra 79 consists of three parts: verses 1 to 14, 15 to 26, and 27 to 46. The third group of these is probably somewhat later, a fact that, in addition to the slightly greater length of the sūra, apparently prompted Muir to include the entire sūra in the following stage of his list of sūras.

According to one tradition,<sup>126</sup> sūra 77 was revealed when Muḥammad once found himself with several companions in a cave near Minā. Verse 48 is inappropriately considered by some writers to refer to the tribe of Thaḳīf who during the last years of the Prophet wanted to accept Islam only on the condition that they be exempted from prayer.<sup>127</sup> In addition, the sūra is noteworthy for the refrain-like repetition<sup>128</sup> of the same verse (15, 19, 24, 28, 34, 40, 45, 47, and 49).

Sūra 78:17 already seems to presuppose sūra 77:12sq. Judging by their style, verses 37sq. were probably added only in the second stage.<sup>129</sup> Hibat Allāh [Ibn Salāma's] strange opinion that the sūra was the very last Meccan

<sup>121</sup> [Abū l-Qāsim] 'Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ]; *al-Itqān*, p. 36.

<sup>122</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 36.

<sup>123</sup> [Abū l-Qāsim] 'Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ].

<sup>124</sup> Loc. cit.; al-Wāḥidī; Hibat Allāh b. Salāma; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; *al-Itqān*, p. 30.

<sup>125</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 30; al-Wāḥidī; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>126</sup> al-Bukhārī in *Kitāb al-tafsīr*, s.v., according to 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd; *al-Itqān*, 45.

<sup>127</sup> [Abū l-Qāsim] 'Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ]; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 37; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. above, p. 33.

<sup>129</sup> Flügel has after قريبتا, verse 40, a hemistich, which is neither in agreement with good tradition nor with the fact that beginning with verse 6 the rhyme is identical and in the paenultimate syllable all end with *ā*.

sūra revealed, on the day before the emigration to Medina, can be explained only when verse 17 is considered to be a reference to this event.<sup>130</sup>

According to Hibat Allāh, sūra 88 is said to originate from the year of the conquest of Mecca, in 8/629.

Some exegetes hold sūra 89 to be of Medinan origin.<sup>131</sup>

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In sūra 75 we find some verses (16 to 19) that have no connection with the immediate context or with other verses of this sūra. It cannot be determined why they ended up in this place.

We also have a great deal of inaccurate information regarding sūra 83. Since by a stretch of imagination the first verses can somehow be connected with Medinan affairs,<sup>132</sup> the first six<sup>133</sup> or the first twenty-eight<sup>134</sup> or all<sup>135</sup> verses are sometimes held to be of Medinan origin. As we were able to observe above, p. 48sq., others hold the sūra to be either the last Meccan or the first Medinan sūra. Finally, both views find their intermediary in a third view, maintaining that it originated between Mecca and Medina.<sup>136</sup>

Muir assigns sūra 69 to the following period, probably on account of its greater length.<sup>137</sup>

In sūra 51, verses 24sq. are likely to have been added later.

In sūra 52, which already presents a somewhat broader description of Paradise, there are verses from stage two: verse 21,<sup>138</sup> which does not fit into the context and is disproportionately long, running three times the length of the largest of the rest of the verse, and also verse 29sq. As examples of the difference of their diction from what is generally prevalent in the first stage, one can list only the expressions, *سبحان الله عن* and *بشرك*, both from verse 43 (regarding the recognition of other gods), as well as the phraseology beginning at verse 48, all of which belong to Muḥammad's

<sup>130</sup> *يوم الفصل* is the Final Judgement, but *فصل* also means "to go away, depart," e.g., in 12:94.

<sup>131</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 29.

<sup>132</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 28sq.; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī.

<sup>133</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 37.

<sup>134</sup> [Abū l-Qāsim] 'Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ]; 'Alā' al-Dīn ('Alī b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī AL-KHĀZIN).

<sup>135</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, pp. 28 n. 55; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, according to al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, and Abū 'Abd Allāh IBN MĀJĀH [*EP*; *EQ*]; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. xxx–xxxii, Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 147–148], *Sunan*. Although according to another tradition in 'Alā' al-Dīn ('Alī b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī AL-KHĀZIN), verse 13 is held to be Meccan.

<sup>136</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 29; 'Alā' al-Dīn ('Alī b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī AL-KHĀZIN).

<sup>137</sup> The types of rhyme of the sūra are very peculiar. Verses 1 to 29 rhyme with *ḥ*, verses 30 to 32 with *ḥ* and *ḥ*, and verses 33 to 52 mixed rhyme with *īm*, *in*, *ūn*, *il*.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. thereon, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, s.v., and al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt*, K. *al-Īmān bi-l-qadar*, *faṣl* 3, § 5.

later diction.<sup>139</sup> This sūra, which is somewhat longer, Muir reckons among his fourth stage, probably on account of the later verses.

Sūra 56<sup>140</sup> is Medinan according to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.<sup>141</sup> Others claim this only for the verses 74 to 81<sup>142</sup> or solely for verse 81,<sup>143</sup> which they apply to the Hypocrites of Medina. Some others say the same thing of verses 94sq. or, finally, also of verses 1 to 3,<sup>144</sup> possibly because of the allusion to the Battle of Badr. This sūra can be considered to be homogeneous, although verse 74 seems to be the beginning of a new section; both sections (verses 73 and 96) end identically [“Then magnify the Name of thy Lord, the All-mighty”], and the verses from 87 to the end show a distinct relation to the first part. But it might just as well be conceivable that we are facing a special revelation which Muḥammad composed with verses 1 to 73 in mind and therefore later combined the two. In this case verse 96 (= verse 73) would be an editorial matter.

The opening of sūra 70 seems to be related to that of sūra 56. Perhaps a disbeliever mockingly asked Muḥammad to comment on those verses and received a thundering reply in this sūra. The sūra first supplies a more detailed description of the duties of believers. Weil<sup>145</sup> holds that verses three and four were added later. This guess makes sense but only for the later verse, which indeed appears to be a gloss. Verses 30 to 32, and 34 are also found in sūra 23:5–9. Since verse 34 constitutes an almost literal repetition of verse 23 it could well be regarded as later. In this case, verses 30 to 32 are also likely borrowed from sūra 23.

Sūra 55, with its almost playful manner, shows itself to be a somewhat later product, for which reason I previously followed Weil in reckoning it part of the second period. Most Muslim scholars dismiss<sup>146</sup> the opinion that all of the sūra, or part of it, but in any case verse 29,<sup>147</sup> is Medinan. The

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<sup>139</sup> Cf. above, p. 79sq. on sūra 68:17sqq.

<sup>140</sup> The verses 8 to 10 do not seem to have been transmitted intact. Since verse 10, where analogically to verses 26 and 40 after *والسابقون* probably ما is missing, can only be the introduction to what follows, you should think that the *sābiqūn* ought to have been mentioned once before. In addition, the questions in verses 8 and 9 are here not quite fitting, and might possibly come here from verses 26 and 40.

<sup>141</sup> [Abū l-Qāsim] ‘Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ].

<sup>142</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, pp. 36 and 44; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on v. 81.

<sup>143</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 44.

<sup>144</sup> Cf. on these different opinions al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 36.

<sup>145</sup> Weil, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, p. 70, note.

<sup>146</sup> Hibat Allāh (Ibn Salāma); al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 27.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. [Abū l-Qāsim] ‘Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ]; *al-Itqān*, pp. 27 and 36; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍawī.

peculiar style of this sūra, already indicated above (p. 30), is the endless repetition of the tiresome refrain *وَبِأَيِّ آلَاءِ رَبِّكُمَا تُكَذِّبَانِ* ["O which of your Lord's bounties will you and you deny?"] It is found from verse 12 to verse 21 in every third verse, and from there to the end in every second verse, with the exception of verses 25 to 28, and 43 to 45,<sup>148</sup> where, as in the beginning, two verses come in between. It is hard to understand why the refrain was not also used in verses 2 to 10. The moral lesson of verses 7 and 8, it seems, was added to verse 6 only later. Verse 33 is disproportionately long and lacks rhythmic elegance, suggesting that probably only the last five words (starting with *فَانفَذُوا*) belong to the original form.

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We follow up the discussion of the revelations of the first period with some short sūras that serve as formulas of the creed and magical conjuration. Although it is hardly possible to determine their exact date, since they are too short and their whole character differs from all the others too much to give any clue, still they seem more likely to belong to Muḥammad's earlier period than to his later one.

Many scholars assign sūra 112 to Medina because it was thought to be the Prophet's reply to its Jewish population regarding the essence of God.<sup>149</sup> Muir attributed it to the very earliest period, immediately following upon sūra 96. He probably arrived at this conclusion<sup>150</sup> through his erroneous assumption that Muḥammad must have established a kind of creed immediately after his prophetic commission.

Sūra 109 contains the answer to the Meccans' compromise to follow the Prophet so long as he gave their gods their adequate due.<sup>151</sup> It can only

<sup>148</sup> This exception would not apply if the verses 43 and 44 of Flügel's edition of the Koran were to form a single verse as a sound tradition (Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā' AL-ANṢĀRĪ, *al-Maqṣad*) requires. This would also eliminate the extremely offensive and isolated rhyme with *ūn* (verse 43). Apart from this, conspicuous rhymes are only found in verses 16 and 17 (with *'ayn*, everywhere else with *ān*, *ār*, and *ām*), which, in addition, also disagree with the tenor of the surrounding rhymes.

<sup>149</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 400; [Abū l-Qāsim] 'Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ;] *al-Wāḥidī*; Hibat Allāh (Ibn Salāma); *al-Bayḍāwī*. In addition we also learn from *al-Suyūṭī*, *al-Itqān*, p. 30, that to this sūra, as well as the first sūra, some scholars attribute a double origin, both Mecca and Medina.

<sup>150</sup> Hirschfeld, *New researches*, pp. 35, 89, 143, is guided by the same principles and lists the sūra as the third oldest, immediately following upon sūras 87 and 68. Sprenger, *Leben*, vol. 2, p. 33sq., and Grimme, part 2, "Einleitung in den Koran," p. 26, are more in agreement with our point of view.

<sup>151</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 239; *al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 1, p. 1191, and in his *Tafsīr*; *al-Wāḥidī*; Fakhr al-Dīn *al-Rāzī*; *al-Bayḍāwī*; Weil, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, 1st ed., p. 60, 2nd ed., p. 69; Sprenger, *Leben*, vol. 2, p. 34sq. We have seen above (in the case of sūra 53, cf. also sūra 106) that



have been revealed after Muḥammad had quarrelled with his countrymen for quite some time, as they could not have demanded such conditions otherwise. Some writers falsely hold the sūra to be Medinan,<sup>152</sup> but after the *hijra* his reaction to such a proposition<sup>153</sup> would have likely been different.

Far more difficult is the classification of sūras 113 and 114, which Muslims call collectively the *mu'awwidhatāni*. Not even Muir,<sup>154</sup> who in other cases assigns a definite place to every sūra, dares say anything in this respect. According to a common tradition<sup>155</sup> they were revealed to relieve the Messenger of Allāh from the disease which Labīd, the Medinan Jew, had inflicted on him by a magic spell. One cannot doubt that Muḥammad might have been susceptible to such outright superstition. In this respect he never ceased to share the views of his age and people, as proven by the numerous episodes of credulity recorded by his biographers. The wording of both sūras, however, is entirely general and has no specific subject at all. Weil<sup>156</sup> differs with the tradition insofar as he claims that the Prophet used this conjuration only at this time, although orthographically they must be older. Yet this view is equally open to criticism, as language and style, ordinarily an excellent aid in dating sūras, are of no use in this instance. Incantations the world over have an antiquated diction different from the common usage of the era and individual. If Muḥammad had composed such an invocation, even in his later years, it would certainly be far different from the usual style of the Medinan sūras, resembling more closely the archaic type of the pagan averruncation formulae. We might even go one step further and suspect that Prophet did not freely invent these sūras at all, instead slightly modifying a

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Muḥammad did not always outright reject such proposals. This passage also shows us how the pagans envisaged a compromise between Muḥammad and their belief. Since they were already at that time contemplating some kind of monotheism, they merely wanted an honourable status for their old gods; but although Muḥammad at times displayed willingness to accept them in his heaven as subordinate beings, his rigid unity of God soon gained the upper hand.

<sup>152</sup> [Abū l-Qāsim] 'Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ]; Hibat Allāh.

<sup>153</sup> We naturally need not worry too much about the details of form in which Islamic tradition depicts these proposals of the pagans.

<sup>154</sup> *The Life of Mahomet*, vol. 2, p. 320.

<sup>155</sup> al-Wāḥidī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 30 sq.; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, [*al-Ṭabaqāt*] vol. 1, iv, p. 5 sq.; Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 94. That these sūras are held to be of Medinan origin by some people is also mentioned by al-Zamakhsharī, al-Bayḍāwī, and al-Itqān, p. 20 sq. That story is related also by al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Ṭibb*, § 7; Muslim, *K. al-Ṭibb*, § 2 (= al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 9, p. 19); al-Nasa'ī, *K. Taḥrīm al-dam*, § 19; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt, bāb al-mu'jizāt, faṣl 1*, § 24, without mention of these sūras.

<sup>156</sup> *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, 1st ed., p. 60 n. 2, 2nd ed., p. 69 n. 3.

traditional text and presenting it in Islamic garb. The three last verses of the *mu'awwidhatāni*—this is more than half of them—indeed display a pagan mark. The necessity of rewriting might have appeared quite early, since, while Islam shared with paganism the belief in misanthropic spirits, it could not beseech help from any god other than the unique Allāh. Furthermore, if it is true that several sūras referring to conjurations against the power of Satan (sūras 23:99, 16:100, 41:36 = 7:199) belong to the second and third Meccan periods, we may assume with a great likelihood the *mu'awwidhatāni* are older. Their position at the end of the Koran is most likely due to the same superstition that prompts Muslims to this very day to begin every recitation of the Koran with the formula: “I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan.”

[i/110] Similar to the two sūras of conjuration, the first chapter of the Koran is also out of place with the rest. Whereas the former sūras serve to instruct and admonish, the first sūra contains nothing but enthusiastic glorification of Allāh, closing with request for “guidance in the straight path.” The particular Islamic ingredient recedes to such an extent that the prayer would fit unnoticed into Jewish or Christian devotional literature. It is precisely for this reason that it is so difficult to determine its age. Given these circumstances, it is wrong to consider it to be the earliest sūra,<sup>157</sup> or even one of the earliest,<sup>158</sup> merely because of its repute among Muslims from time immemorial,<sup>159</sup> or because of its position in our current Koran. Although the frequent

<sup>157</sup> al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'riḫ al-khamīs*, Cairo ed., vol. 1, p. 10. Thus Weil, p. 364, note.

<sup>158</sup> al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'riḫ al-khamīs*, loc. cit.; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 54; al-Wāḥidī, p. 11. Cf. Weil, loc. cit. The strange statement that the *Fātiḥa* was revealed at Mecca as well as at Medina (cf. [Abū l-Qāsim] ‘Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ]; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḏāwī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, pp. 25 and 124; al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'riḫ al-khamīs* (Cairo ed., vol. 1, p. 11)) is based on the inaccurate interpretation of *mathānī* as “repetition.” Some writers tried to solve this discrepancy by having one part of the sūra be revealed at Mecca and the other part at Medina, but this explanation is rejected (Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī and *al-Itqān*, p. 25). When a few ancient exegetes hold this sūra to be Medinan (Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; [Abū l-Qāsim] ‘Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ]; al-Wāḥidī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 25) this is unlikely to conform to a tradition, rather it was done because of the alleged antithesis to Jews and Christians contained in the last verse. Even early traditions call the former المنضوب عليهم and the latter الضالون. Al-Kalbī in Ms. Sprenger 404 (= Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, vol. 1, no. 732), al-Tirmidhī in the *Tafsīr*; al-Ṭabarī, Cairo ed., vol. 1, pp. 60 sqq.

<sup>159</sup> As the first chapter of the Koran it is called *al-Fātiḥa* (“the Opening,” actually *Fātiḥat al-Kitāb*) and because of its unique content, *umm al-kitāb* (al-Bukhārī, *Faḏā'il al-Qur'ān*, § 9; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 35, etc.). According to an alleged saying of the Prophet, the like of it is to be found neither in the Torah, the Gospel, the Psalms nor the Koran (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 36; al-Wāḥidī, p. 12 sq., etc.). As a prayer it equals the Christian Lord's Prayer. Tradition knows of a saying of the Prophet that there is no valid religious service without

use of “we”<sup>160</sup> would, at least, indicate that Muḥammad already had a small congregation around him at the time of sūra’s origin, Muir<sup>161</sup> still thinks that the sūra belongs to his first stage, i.e. the period before Muḥammad’s actual prophetic commission. However, it seems that the sūra originates from the end of the first period at the earliest, as it contains several remarkable words and expressions that appear nowhere else in the first period but frequently<sup>162</sup> in the second period. It is not easy to determine the lower limit, since the literary relation of the first sūra to the parallels mentioned below in note 162 is by no means clear.

Of course, if these phrases were entirely of Muḥammad’s invention, their original placement would likely not be in a prayer, as a liturgical form with rigid terminology could not possibly go back to an ecstatic period of religious foundation grappling not only with theological conceptions but also with linguistic expression. Nevertheless, as we shall demonstrate below,<sup>163</sup>

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the *Fātiḥa* (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, § 93, cf. § 105; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt* § 63; al-Nasā’ī, *Iftitāḥ*, § 24; Ibn Mājah, *K. al-Ṣalāt, bāb al-iftitāḥ al-qirā’a*). At an early period it was used as a charm (Bukhārī, *Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān* § 9 at the end, *Kitāb al-ṭibb*, § 33, etc.) An equally frequent name of the sūra, *al-Ḥamd* (e.g., Ibn al-Nadīm, *K. al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 26; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 150), has been taken from the first word.

<sup>160</sup> علينا اهدنا، نستعين، نعبد twice.

<sup>161</sup> *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 2, p. 59.

<sup>162</sup> الحمد لله (verse 1) sūras 18:1, 34:1, 35:1, 27:15, 17:110; رب العالمين (verse 1) sūras 37:182, 40:67, 39:75, 10:10; صراط مستقيم (verse 5) 43:42, 11:59, 7:15, 36:3, 42:52, 37:118. Regarding *al-rahmān* (verse 2) see below, the introduction to the sūras of the second period; *al-rahīm* alone is found in sūra 52:28.

<sup>163</sup> (I) الحمد لله is the exact equivalent to the Syriac ܠܗܡܘܫܐ ܠܗܡܘܫܐ and ܠܗܡܘܫܐ ܠܗܡܘܫܐ, respectively as well as the New Testament δεῦξ αὐ δέω. Next to it we also find ܠܗܡܘܫܐ ܠܗܡܘܫܐ = εὐλογητός ὁ θεός, St. Luke 1:68, II Corinthians 1:3, a formula which is used even in the Old Testament (אשר הציל) ברוך יהוה (אשר הציל), Exodus 18:10, etc.; Tobit 8:5 and, with a little change, became prevalent in the Jewish liturgy (ברוך אתה יי אלהינו).

(II) رب العالمين: With this the following phrases are to be compared: מרא עלמא, Targum Qohel 7:3, 7:13, 9:7; Ruth 4:21; Genesis 9:6 Y[erushalmi]; Genesis 22:1, 22:5, 49:27; Exodus 12:11, 19:17; Numbers 21:1, 21:14; Palmyrene, de Vogüé, no. 73, 1 (Cooke, *Textbook*, p. 296).—Mandaean מרא עלמא *Sidrāh Rabbā*, p. 1, l 21, p. 36, l 1 and 9.—ריבון עלמא, Exodus 23:17, O.J. [abbreviation not identified] and frequently.—ריבון של עולם, very frequently in the Midrashim and at the beginning of Jewish prayers.—רבון בול עלמא, Targum to Mic[a]h. 4:13; Canticles 1:1.—רבון כל עלמא, Targum Qohel 8:3; Genesis 18:30sq.; Numbers 23:19.—רבון מלך העולמים (frequently in the Midrash).—In the Jewish liturgy there is most commonly מלך העולם (already Jeremiah 10:10; but Targum to Isaiah 6:5; Zechariah 14:6). In the New Testament Apocr. 15:3, βασιλευς των αιωνων (other Mss. εδωσεν).—Ethiopic: *egzī’a* (*kuellu*) *‘alamāt* (*Liber jubilaorum*, ed. A. Dillmann, cap. 31, p. 112, penult.); Enoch, p. 81, l 10, *amlāka ‘alam* (*‘alamāt*) *Liber jubilaorum*, cap. 12, p. 52, p. 52, l 1; *amlākōmu la‘alam*, *Liber jubilaorum*, cap. 25, p. 93, l 12sq.

(III) الرحمن الرحيم: That the name الرحمان was new to the Meccans we can see from sūras 17:110 and 25:61; cf. the commentaries Ibn Hishām, p. 747, l 11, and al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1546,

the largest part of the sūra, namely the phraseology of the verses 1, 2, 3, and 5, is of Jewish or Christian provenance. In such circumstances the *Fātiḥa* might well be older than the above-mentioned parallels. This would become

l 9. But it was by no means totally unknown in Arabia. Its occurrence in the poetry of al-Burayq al-Hudhalī [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 263–264] (*Dīwān der Hudhailiten*, no. 165, l 6) and Suwayd b. Abī Kāhīl, [d. ca. 65/685; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 165–166] (*al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, no. 34, l 60) can be accorded little credence since these men were familiar with Islam; on the other hand, we might here even have a Muslim correction like in ‘Izz al-Dīn IBN AL-ATHĪR, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 1, p. 450, l 2. It is more important that the prophet Musaylima indicates his god الرحمن (al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1933, l 12 and p. 1937, l 3), and that he himself is even called “the Raḥmān al-Yamāma” corresponding to his South Arabian rival Aswad, “the Raḥmān of the Yaman” (al-Balādhurī, p. 105, l 6; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1935, l 14; Ibn Hishām, p. 200, l 3; al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 1). If this were to be in imitation of Muḥammad, it would be difficult to understand why a name was chosen that is used for Allāh only in the middle Meccan period. We are fortunate to have six Sabaeen inscriptions, authentic pre-Islamic documents, mentioning *rahmān*. (Mordtmann and Müller, “Sabäische Denkmäler”, no. 43, l 2, p. 96sq.; F. Fresnel, Sabäische Inschriften, in *Denkschrift d. Wiener Akad. d. W.*, v. 33, p. 3, l 3; J. Halévy, Sabäische Inschriften, p. 63, l 7; D.H. Müller, “Himjarische St.,” *ZDMG*, 671–708; Mordtmann & Müller, “Monotheist. sabäische Inschrift,” *WZKM*, 285–292; Ed. Glaser, “Zwei Inschriften,” p. 618.) This consonantal form, common to both texts, is usually considered a plural. But from Ed. Glaser, loc. cit., p. 554, by comparing l. 32 and l. 81sq. בנצר ורדה אלהן בעל עמין it is evident that here as well as in other passages we are dealing with a singular. This linguistic use cannot possibly have developed spontaneously, rather it must be based on borrowing. Now, *rahmān* is extremely rare in Christian Aramaic, e.g., in Ephrem (see P. Smith, s.v.) and in Christian-Palestinian Aramaic. Peshitta interprets Old Testament הרום as well as οὐρανοκράτωρ and ελεήμων by رحمة رحمن. On the other hand, in Hebrew literature, starting with the Targums, רחמן was so popular that, for example, in both Talmuds it became a common name of God. The ancient Arab lexicographers like al-Mubarrad and (Aḥmad b. Yahyā) THA’LAB, [*EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 140–142,] claiming its Hebrew origin عبراني وأصله بالخاء المعجمة al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 321; *Lisān al-‘Arab*, vol. 15, p. 122), thus seem likely to be quite correct. In the final analysis *rahmānā* seems to be the Syriac equivalent of the Assyrian *rēmēnu*; as an epithet of various deities the word appears in the Palmyrene inscriptions of the first, second, and third centuries (cf. Cooke, *Textbook of North-Semitic inscriptions*, pp. 295, 300, and 301).

Although رحيم is a truly Arabic form, its specific meaning of “compassionate” is based in this form and all the others of this root on the assimilation of the North Semitic linguistic usage. Muḥammad himself might have still used it with the meaning of “amiable, kind” as it is rendered by φιλόανδρως in the bilingual Heidelberg papyrus no. 21 (*Papyri Schott-Reinhard*, vol. 1, edited and explained by C.H. Becker, Heidelberg, 1906, p. 103). On the other hand, the close connection of the two expressions makes it probable that the adjective *rahīm* was added to the noun *rahmān* merely to intensify the noun. Apart from the *basmala* and sūra 1:2 the connection *al-rahmān al-rahīm* is found only in some sūras of the second and third Meccan period (21:58, 27:30, 41:1) as well as once in a Medinan passage (29:22.)

(IV) ἡμέρα χριστου already Judith 16:17; *Testamenta xii Patriarch.* in Levi [sic] at the beginning, frequently in the New Testament and later Peshitta ܠܗܡܢ ܠܗܡܢܝ, Ephrem ܡܪ ܕܝܘܡ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܪܒܐ ܕܗܡ, Targum Qoheleth 3:15 and 17, 7:15, 12:14; Job 5:4; in the prayer of Elxai, *Epiph. Haeres.* 19:4, cf. M.A. Levy, “Bemerkungen,” p. 712; זים דין הגדול Mekhiltha on Exodus 6:25. Ethiopic ‘elata kuenanē ‘abāi, Enoch, c. 16: 1; ‘elata dain, *Sive Liber jubilaeorum qui idem a Graecis*, c. 4, p. 18, l 2.

even more likely if verses 1 to 5 had been available to the Prophet as a definite entity. However, if he had borrowed only single phrases and then freely composed a prayer, sūra 1 could also be from a later date.

The mystery of the date of composition would immediately resolve itself if the words of the “seven of the *mathānī*” (sūra 15: 87)<sup>164</sup> were indeed to refer to the first sūra, as many Muslim exegetes maintain.<sup>165</sup> But this is very doubtful. The expression “seven of the oft-repeated” includes the presumption that there had been other *mathānī*. Muslim tradition, which tacitly replaces it with السبع المثاني “the seven *mathānī*,” cannot be right. As far as the sense of *mathānī* is concerned, none of the transmitted meanings, such as “repetitions”<sup>166</sup> or “verses,” is sound. In the only other passage of the Koran<sup>167</sup> in which we find *al-mathānī* (39:24), the meaning is also not clear. More acceptable than any of those interpretations I consider A. Geiger’s assertion<sup>168</sup> that

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I cannot find a reference to the phrase “King of the Day of Judgement” although the kingdom of the Messiah is quite a common notion not only among Jews (e.g. Targum Yerushalmi to Numbers 24:7, 17) but also among Christians (St. Matthew 2:2; St. Mark 15:2 sqq.; 15:2 sqq.; St. John 19:3 sqq., etc.).

(V) נחני בארה מישור ו:27 Psalms corresponds as far as possible to الصراط المستقیم (V) but this is not to say that Muḥammad can have borrowed these words only from Jews (cf. above, p. 5).

We cannot say for sure whether the following two verses are the Prophet’s free invention or only a traditional interpretation, although the somewhat clumsy diction might readily be explained by the difficulty of translation. Calling the behaviour of the unbelievers “going astray” as in the last verse of the sūra is exceedingly often to be found in the Koran. ضل in this religious meaning corresponds to Aramaic טצא and is common in Jewish as well as Christian literature. In the case of טעיא, as time went on, Christians were increasingly thinking of heretics rather than pagans.

<sup>164</sup> “We have given thee seven of the oft-repeated, and the mighty Koran.”

<sup>165</sup> *al-Muwattā*, p. 28; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Tafsīr* on sūra 1 and 15:87, *Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān*, § 9; al-Tirmidhī, *Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān* at the beginning, *K. al-Tafsīr* on sūra 15:87; al-Nasā’ī, *K. al-Ifṭitāh*, § 26; al-Wāḥidī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 124; the Commentators, particularly al-Ṭabarī, and the dictionaries.

<sup>166</sup> The designation “repetitions” is derived from the frequent use of the *Fātiḥa* in the liturgy of prayer, or from the endless repetition of the sūra headings “In the Name of God”, which, as we shall see later, many consider to be the first verse of the *Fātiḥa*; or from the phrase used twice in this sūra, *al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*. The meaning “verse” (= آية) is justified by the peculiarity of the verses to follow one upon the other (لأن بعضها يثنى بعضها يتلو بعضاً), or that Allāh thus distinguished Muḥammad from other prophets (cf. above, p. 90, n. 159): الله تعالى: استثنائها لمحمد صلعم دون سائر الأنبياء. Cf. in this context the Commentators, particularly al-Ṭabarī on sūra 15:87 (vol. 14, pp. 32–38) and al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 124, where other strange explanations are listed. Regarding the identification of Hebrew *mishnā* and Arabic *al-mathnāt* in *ḥadīth*, cf. Ignaz Goldziher, “Kämpfe und die Stellung des Hadīth,” pp. 866 sqq.

<sup>167</sup> “Allāh has sent down the fairest discourse as a Book, consimilar in its oft-repeated, whereat shiver the skins of those who fear [their Lord.]”

<sup>168</sup> Loc. cit., p. 58, which Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 1, p. 463, follows and translates *mathānī* by “renewed revelation.”

it was connected with Hebrew *mishnā*—it would be more appropriately called Jewish-Aramaic *mathnūthā*—“tradition.” This could also be the meaning in sūra 15:87.<sup>169</sup>

[i/115] Finally, the division of the first sūra into seven verses creates enormous difficulties, since, in order to arrive at this number—**عليهم** cannot form the end of a verse for lack of topical break and rhyme—we are obliged to follow that type of enumeration according to which the heading **بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم** is considered to be one of the verses of the sūra.<sup>170</sup> Most exegetes, however, do not reckon this heading to be a verse in other sūras, and the heading does not represent an integral part of the *Fātiḥa*, which, by analogy with Jewish and Christian prayers, begins with the words “Praise be to God.”<sup>171</sup> Therefore, if the first sūra consists of only six verses, the “seven *mathānī*” of sūra 15:87 cannot refer to it.

[i/116] The words of introduction, “in the Name of God,” called by the Arabs *tasmīya* or, commonly, *basmala*, can be traced back to the diction of the Bible.<sup>172</sup> When this expression occurs there, of course, it is always combined with words of action, although phrases such as “to invoke in the Name of God,” and passages like *Colossians* 3:17, presuppose—as I pointed out on

<sup>169</sup> Those Muslim exegetes who, when commenting on sūra 15:87, orientate themselves on sūra 39:24, apply *sabʿan min al-mathānī* not to the *Fātiḥa* but either to all of the Koran—arguing that its content consists of seven types (سبعة اجزاء مُرّ وَاثَة وَيَشْر وَأَنْذَر وَأَضْرَب الْأَمْثَال) (واعدد النعم سبعة اجزاء مُرّ وَاثَة وَيَشْر وَأَنْذَر وَأَضْرَب الْأَمْثَال), al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* s.v., vol. 14, p. 36, 19 sq.), or that its individual narrations are “oft-repeated”—or to the seven long sūras which to some people—probably most of them—refer to sūras 2 to 7 and 10, to others, to sūras 2 to 8, and still others, to sūras 2 to 7, with the remark that the last of the seven were unknown to them. Cf. particularly al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* on sūra 15:87, and al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 124.

<sup>170</sup> Meccan and Kufan readers consider the *basmala* to be a verse. From among the latter it is Ḥamza alone, but he does it only in the case of this sūra. Others introduce a caesura after **عليهم**. The division into seven verses is by far the most common but not the only one as al-Zamakhsharī, al-Bayḍāwī and others maintain. There are still others who reckon only six verses, by disregarding the *basmala* in their count, yet they still do not make a break after **عليهم**, or eight verses by reckoning those, and here presuppose an end of the verse, or even nine verses by making a break also after **نعبد**. Cf. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 159 sq.; Umar b. Muḥammad; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; al-Sajāwandī on pauses (Ms. Wien, Mxt., 717); Leiden, Ms 653 Warner; *al-Itqān*, p. 185 sq.; Abū Yahyā Zakariyyāʾ [AL-ANṢĀRĪ] al-Shāfiʿī *Fi l-waqf wa-l-ibtidāʾ*, p. 14; Muslim, *K. al-Ṣalāt*, *bāb*, 15, آفة، سورة سوى براءة، (al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 3, pp. 26–28).

<sup>171</sup> **الحمد لله** occurs also at the opening of other sūras (6:1, 18:1, 34:1, and 35:1), thus all Meccan passages. Regarding the occurrence of the religious term **حمد** “to praise” in Sabaeen inscriptions cf. Johannes H. Mordtmann and David H. Müller, “Eine monotheistische sabäische Inschrift,” particularly p. 286.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. **בשם יהוה** in the Old Testament, and **εν ονοματι κυριου** in the New Testament. As far as we now know, Greek usage did not produce this formula. Cf. A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie erläutert*, p. 115.

pp. 57–58—the absolute usage of the formula. Thus, the two only passages in the Koran in which the *basmala* occurs—apart from the sūra headings—can unmistakably be retraced to Jewish sources. In sūra (*Hūd*) 11:43 it says: “Embark in it! (i.e. the Ark) In God’s Name.” Sūra 27:30 mentions a letter of Solomon to the Queen of Sheba that begins with the words, *bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*. This verse is of particular importance. Apart from the headings, it is not only the single passage where the expanded form of the *basmala* occurs within a sūra but also—if the *basmala* does not belong to the original text of the *Fātiḥa*—the oldest passage with the formula at all. Sūra 27, however, originates from about the middle of the Meccan period. The next certain evidence for the use of the formula by the Prophet are the transmitted texts<sup>173</sup> of the Constitution of Medina,<sup>174</sup> the Pact of al-Ḥudaybiyya, and the epistles to the pagan tribes, all of which belong to the Medinan period. Even if it cannot be doubted that at some point Muḥammad began to place the *basmala* at the head of sūras, the dating of the formula remains unknown. Tradition<sup>175</sup> even holds the *basmala* to be the oldest revelation, although it is by no means certain that the Prophet ever considered this formula a part of revelation.

<sup>173</sup> Cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 342sqq., and p. 747; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1546; J. Wellhausen, *Medina vor dem Islam*, p. 87sqq.

<sup>174</sup> The English translation of Wellhausen’s text in A.J. Wensinck, *Muḥammad and the Jews of Medina*, pp. 128–138.

<sup>175</sup> al-Ṭabarī in the introduction to the *Tafsīr* (Cairo ed.), vol. 1, p. 37sqq.; al-Wāḥidī in the introduction (Cairo ed.), p. 10sq.; Leiden, Ms. 653, fol. 275<sup>v</sup>; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 54sq., 184sqq., etc. According to a different tradition (al-Wāḥidī on sūra 17:110, Cairo ed.), p. 223, the *basmala* was used by Muḥammad only after the revelation of sūra 27:30.





## THE SŪRAS OF THE SECOND MECCAN PERIOD

### *General Comments*

As has been observed above, on p. 52, these sūras have no particular character in common, some of them bearing resemblance to those of the first period and others to those of the third period. We recognize the transition from overwhelming enthusiasm to great serenity and on to the rather prosaic later sūras. Gustav Weil<sup>1</sup> attributes the main purpose of this change of style to Muḥammad's endeavour not to appear as a poet or soothsayer. This opinion, however, can be disregarded, as this transition did not happen suddenly, as would be expected if it had been based on a conscious purpose, but rather came about gradually. It might be added that even in later sūras<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad still complains about reproaches directed against both the content and the form of sūras. Weil's other criticism is quite serious, even though presented with undue harshness. The first outburst of enthusiasm was bound to be dampened by the disappointment of reality. The constant repetition of the same ideas which, again and again, fell on barren ground, were bound to be detrimental to the artistic form of its presentation. Muḥammad's fantasy had to sacrifice elegance and originality the more he was obliged to look after the practical needs of the young community. This development is not surprising, since it follows the law of nature; and in view of the final success it need not be regretted. Nevertheless, Muḥammad was convinced of the outcome of his divine commission up to the very end. Again and again he gathered fresh hope from this conviction, and all the grandeur of the later revelations emanated from his never-ending stamina.

[i/117]

Quiet reflection gradually replaced the enormously excited fantasy and enthusiasm of the first period. The Prophet endeavours to explain his sentences with numerous examples from nature and history. Since he heaps up these examples rather than logically arranging them, however, he becomes verbose, vague, and even boring. His ability to reason leaves something to be desired, endless repetition leading to the intimidation of his opponents but

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<sup>1</sup> *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 387; *Historisch-kritische Einteilung in den Koran*, 1st ed., p. 55, 2nd ed., p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Sūras 23:72, 34:8 and 45, 7:83.

never to their conviction. This is not to say that the later sūras are without beautiful and serene passages. The power of his thoughts, which made him a prophet, is permanently evident. The traces of his poetical spirit, which is everywhere apparent in the earliest sūras, declines without ever disappearing. Despite all the rambling in his presentation, these late revelations not infrequently offer passages in which thoughts boldly bypass the context, even in the narrative sections, which generally contain many appealing passages. At the same time, we must remember that the Koran was aiming primarily at listeners and not readers, and that many things that appear boring to us—because we are familiar with its original Biblical form—left an entirely different impression on Muḥammad's contemporaries.

[i/119] In this second period, all these qualities of the later revelations gradually come to the fore. The diction at first attempts to maintain the level of the early sūras but the narratives become increasingly broad and more dispassionate. The greater calm becomes apparent in the gradually growing length of both the verses and the individual revelations.

Fiery declamations give way to broad elaborations on dogma, particularly the recognition of God from the signs (آيات) prevalent in nature, and also to long tales from the early prophets, which serve as proof of dogma, warning to enemies, and consolation to followers. In so doing, Muḥammad usually has the old messengers of God use his own personal style. On the whole, all these prophets share with one another, and with Muḥammad, a great family likeness that at times extends even to minor, unimportant characteristics. The indications that the Koran offers—not so much about events but about the general relation of the Prophet to his followers—are aptly supplemented by many tales related. Incidentally, Muḥammad deals most frequently with the history of Moses, to whom he then felt most closely related.

[i/120] The change of style implies new idioms and the abandonment of old ones. For example, the stilted invocations (cf. p. 55sq.) so typical of the early period gradually disappear. Sūra 37 still sets out with a lengthy invocation; thereafter we only find such short formulae as “by the Koran”, “by the Book,”<sup>3</sup> etc. until, finally, the third period has none of this at all. On the other hand, the Prophet starts in this period to assign formal headings<sup>4</sup> to

<sup>3</sup> تلك آيات الكتاب المبين (sūras 43, 50) والقرآن المجيد (sūra 38) والقرآن ذي الذكر (sūra 36) والقرآن الحكيم (sūras 43, and 44).

<sup>4</sup> For example: “Those are the signs of the Book and of a manifest Koran,” تلك آيات الكتاب (sūra 26), and تلك آيات القرآن وكتاب مبين (sūra 27:1).

those sūras that emanate from more serious reflection, as attestation of their divine origin, e.g.: “This is the revelation of God”, etc. Or he announces himself as the speaker of the divine words by an explicit قُلْ “speak!” which is totally lacking in the early sūras, and precedes only formulae intended to be used frequently by man, i.e. sūras 112, 113, and 114—but not the first sūra. In this connection we cannot consider it accidental that certain expressions for “to reveal” occur only now and then in the Meccan sūras but become quite frequent later on.<sup>5</sup>

### *The Divine Name Raḥmān*

In this period, Muḥammad started to introduce the specific name, *al-Raḥmān*, “the Merciful,”<sup>6</sup> for his God, concurrently with Allāh, which was familiar also to the pagans. This name, which was previously used only once,<sup>7</sup> now becomes in places even more frequent than the usual Allāh.<sup>8</sup> *al-Raḥmān*, on the other hand, disappears in the sūras of the third period, apart from a few exceptions,<sup>9</sup> and is completely lacking in the Medinan period.<sup>10</sup> What prompted the Prophet to abandon the use of this name is only vaguely known to us. It could possibly have been his intention to avoid being suspected of worshipping two deities, Allāh and *al-Raḥmān*. At least a few Muslim Commentators on sūra 17:110 maintain that such a silly defamation was indeed once mentioned.

[i/121]

As stated above, the sūras of this period are somewhat easier to place into a kind of chronological arrangement. This, naturally, applies only in a general sense, as even in this instance we are unable to assign a precise or even a relative place to individual sūras with any kind of certainty.

<sup>5</sup> “revelation” and أوحى “to reveal” respectively, in the first Meccan period only three times, 99:5, 53:4 and 10, but in the second period fifty-three times, and in the third period thirty-three times; جُرِّدَ of the sending down of the revelation in that first period only five times, 97:1 and 4; 56:79; 53:13; 69:43, but in the later Meccan sūras exceeding one hundred.

<sup>6</sup> Regarding the origin of this name cf. above, p. 91 n. 163 section (III).

<sup>7</sup> Sūra 55:1, from which the entire chapter derived its name, *Sūrat al-Raḥmān*. Sūra 78:37 sq. is—as indicated above, p. 85—most likely to be assigned to the second Meccan period. Sūra 1:2 does not belong here, even if the *Fātiḥa* belongs to the first period since *al-Raḥmān* is here not an independent proper name but an epithet of Allāh.

<sup>8</sup> On the whole some 50-odd quotations, most frequently in sūra 19 (sixteen times).

<sup>9</sup> Sūras 13:29, and 41:1.

<sup>10</sup> Sūra 2:138 is according to what has been remarked below s.v. Meccan. Sūra 59:22 is to be interpreted like sūra 1:2 (cf. above, foot-note 7).

*Comments on Sūras 54, 37, 71, 76, 44, 50, 20, 26, 15, 19, 38*

An inaccurate interpretation of sūra 54:1<sup>11</sup> led to an equally absurd tale<sup>12</sup> based on sūra 94:1; many Muslims, however, correctly interpret the passage as referring to the Final Judgement.<sup>13</sup> Gustav Weil is mistaken in thinking that it comes from another sūra.<sup>14</sup> Sūra 21 also displays a beginning to the others (cf. also 16:1). The first verse, which matches the others well, particularly in its rare rhyme, is tied to the second verse, which, incidentally, does not discuss ancient people, as Weil thinks, but rather the disbelieving contemporaries of the Prophet. We first encounter in this sūra the history of several former prophets side by side. Verse 45 is considered to be Medinan<sup>15</sup>—some also apply this to the verses 54sq.—probably because it is generally<sup>16</sup> associated with the Battle of Badr. Verses 47 to 49 are believed to refer to the embassy of the Christians of Najrān to Muḥammad or even the sect of the Qadarites.<sup>17</sup> Such untenable assumptions have led to the entire sūra being attributed to the Medinan period.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Regarding the artistic construction of sūra fifty-four, and its double refrain (verse 16 = 18, 21, and 30; verse 17 = 22, 32, and 40); cf. above, p. 33, and David H. Müller, *Die Propheten*, vol. 1, p. 53sq.

<sup>12</sup> Neither in Ibn Hishām nor in Ibn Saʿd but in numerous other passages: al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Tafsīr*, *K. badʿ al-khalq*, §98 (*Bāb suʿāl al-mushrikīn*), §167 (*Bāb inshiqāq al-qamar*); al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Tafsīr*, *abwāb al-fitan*, §13; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt*, *Bāb ʿalāmāt al-nubuwwa* at the beginning; al-Ṭabarī in *al-Tafsīr*; al-Wāḥidī, s.v.; al-Diyārbakrī, *Taʾriḫ al-khamīs*, vol. 1, p. 298sq.; al-Qaṣṭallānī, *Mawāhib ladunīyya*, vol. 1, pp. 465–468, where, as it is customary, also the dogmatic aspect is discussed. We here also learn that all philosophers (جمهور الفلاسفة) beginning with Abū Ishāq (d. 188/802) denied *a priori* the possibility of such an event. The real author of this tale seems to be Ibn Masʿūd; of the others in this *isnād* Anas (Ibn Mālik [d. 91/709, *EP*; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 131–134]) and Ḥudhayfa (Ibn al-Yamān al-ʿAbsī), [*EP*; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 231, col 2; Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, p. 54] were Medinans, Ibn ʿAbbās, at the time when the event had to have occurred, not yet born, [ʿAbd Allāh] Ibn ʿUmar [Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 10–11; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, p. 172, l. 4)], a little boy; also Abū ʿAdī JUBAYR IBN MUTʿIM [*EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 48sqq.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 258] must have been a youngster unless he had lived almost to the age of eighty (d. 59/678). In general, we cannot accept this man—who is also the authority of another tale (Sprenger, p. 138 [*sic*])—as witness for Muḥammad since he became Muslim only in 8/629. Only ʿAlī (Ibn Abī Ṭālib)—who incidentally, as far as I can see, first appears in the *Mawāhib* as an authority in this matter—might qualify as witness, but likewise only as a youngster, as at his death in 40/660 he was likely no older than fifty-eight years old.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. also the beginnings of sūras 81 and 82.

<sup>14</sup> *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran*, 1st ed., p. 62, n. 2; 2nd ed., p. 71 n. 3.

<sup>15</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 36.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. the Commentators, already al-Wāqidī, p. 132.

<sup>17</sup> al-Wāḥidī.

<sup>18</sup> [ABŪ AL-QĀSIM] ʿUmar b. Muḥammad [IBN ʿABD AL-KĀFĪ]; who could not refrain from adding the critical *والله أعلم* to this statement.

In the rather long sūra 37,<sup>19</sup> verses 1 to 70 contrast the disbelief of the Meccans with the certainty of resurrection and judgement. Verse 71 sq. leads to the second<sup>20</sup> part (verses 73 to 148), which uses the history of seven Jewish prophets to demonstrate that their contemporaries also remained largely in disbelief. While verses 167 to 182 constitute a good conclusion for this passage,<sup>21</sup> verses 149 to 166 on the polytheism of the Meccans<sup>22</sup> have a much looser relationship with the whole. Nevertheless, the fact that this section shares some phrases and two verses with the other two, as well a common style, rhyme and rhythm, means that the unity of the whole cannot be challenged.

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Sūra 71, in which Muḥammad makes the patriarch Noah warn against the idols of the Arabs, seems to be a fragment.<sup>23</sup>

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Sūra 76 deals with the hereafter and the Final Judgement. Because of a miserable tale depicting Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan (Ibn ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), and al-Ḥusayn (Ibn ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib),<sup>24</sup> some writers date the entire sūra,<sup>25</sup> or parts of it, namely verses 8 to 31<sup>26</sup> or verses 1 to 23<sup>27</sup> or verses 1 to 23 and 25 to 31,<sup>28</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche feest*, p. 31, suspects that sūra 37 is later than sūra 15 since the latter relates less of Ibrāhīm [Abraham] and his son. But the scanty content of sūra 16 need not necessarily lead to the conclusion that at that time Muḥammad did not know more about these Biblical persons. In any case, the style of sūra 37 leaves one with the impression of being older than the style of sūra 15.

<sup>20</sup> Its unity is also assured by the great uniformity of the style which increases from the repetition of phrases to entire verses, سلام على, verses 109, 120, and 130; verse 78 = verses 105, 110, 121, and 131; verse 79 = verses 111, 122, and 132. The homogeneity of the two parts, however, is externally hardly at all indicated. This is the case only in verse 39 (72) = 128 (160, and 169).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. verses 168 and 69. The verses 169 to 174, but particularly the verses 171 and 181, clearly refer to earlier matter. Compare also the phrases سلام على verse 181 with verses 109, 120, and 130; verse 169 = verses 39, 72, and 128; حتى حين, verses 174 and 178, and إلى حين verse 148; مرسلون, verses 171 and 181 with verses 36, 123, 133, and 139.

<sup>22</sup> The verses 149 sqq. are on the same level as the sūras 53:19 sqq., and 16:59. But the verses 150 and 158 show that the reference is not only to the familiar triad of goddesses of 53:19 sq. but also to other female spirits. Cf. also the remarks of R. Dussaud, *Les Arabes en Syrie avant l’Islam*, p. 121 sq., based on Hartwig Derenbourg’s “Le Culte et la déesse al-Ouzza en Arabie au I<sup>er</sup> siècle de notre ère,” pp. 33–40.

<sup>23</sup> There can be no end of a verse after نسرًا (Flügel, verse 23) as the rhyming words of the rest of the verses all have ta’sīs. The number of twenty-nine transmitted verses results from the break inserted after ونهاتًا in verse 5.

<sup>24</sup> al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī on verse 12.

<sup>25</sup> [ABŪ AL-QĀSIM] ‘Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ]; Hibat Allāh (IBN SALĀ-MAH), *al-Itqān*, p. 28, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn (‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī al-Khāzin).

<sup>26</sup> [ABŪ AL-QĀSIM] ‘Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ].

<sup>27</sup> ‘Alā’ al-Dīn (‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī AL-KHĀZIN) at the beginning.

<sup>28</sup> [ABŪ AL-QĀSIM] ‘Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ]; ‘Alā’ al-Dīn (‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī AL-KHĀZIN).

the time after the *hijra*, whereas other writers consider verse 24 alone to be of Medinan<sup>29</sup> origin. The same applies probably also to verse 23 sqq.<sup>30</sup>

According to some writers, verse 14 of sūra 44 is Medinan because العذاب was interpreted as referring to the long famine that God inflicted upon the Meccans after Muḥammad's emigration.<sup>31</sup> Verse 15, like so many others, was interpreted as referring to the Battle of Badr.<sup>32</sup>

In sūra 50, verse 37 appears to be an objection to the Biblical view that God rested after completing Creation. Since this was largely held to be a polemic against the Jews, the verse was immediately considered to be of Medinan origin.<sup>33</sup>

Muir lists sūra 20 in his final stage because of its length. The presentation of the first fourteen, sixteen or seventeen verses is said to have prompted 'Umar to accept Islam. Although several early witnesses attest to this<sup>34</sup>—and in a form that, by and large, is not untrustworthy—we are unable to produce the evidence. Another tradition that connects 'Umar's acceptance of Islam with the early Meccan sūra 69<sup>35</sup> is less well documented. The remaining traditions cannot be considered, since they replace sūra 20 with Medinan passages, namely sūra 61<sup>36</sup> or sūra 57.<sup>37</sup> Against this account (Ibn Hishām,

<sup>29</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, pp. 28 and 37.

<sup>30</sup> [ABŪ AL-QĀSIM] 'Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ].

<sup>31</sup> al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. Cf. also Friedrich Rückert in the notes to his translation of the Koran. The break in the verse after ت (verse 36) in Flügel's edition of the Koran is wrong.

<sup>33</sup> [ABŪ AL-QĀSIM] 'Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ]; *al-Itqān*, p. 36; al-Wāḥidī; 'Alā' al-Dīn ('Alī b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī AL-KHĀZIN). According to al-Nasafī in al-Khāzin al-Baghdādī (*Tafsīr*), vol. 4, p. 188, also verse 38. For the opinions of Muslim theologians see Goldziher, "Die Sabbathinstitution."

<sup>34</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 226 sq. (cf. the foot-note); Ibn Sa'd, [*al-Ṭabaqāt*] ed. Sachau, *Biographie Muhammads bis zur Flucht* (vol. 1, part 1), p. 192; al-Ṭabarī, ed. Zotenberg, vol. 2, p. 245; A.I. Silvestre de Sacy, "Mémoire sur l'origine et les anciens monuments de la littérature parmi les Arabes," p. 420]; cf. Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 60; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, vol. 1, p. 396 sqq.; Sprenger, *Life*, p. 187 sq.; Sprenger, *Das Leben*, vol. 2, p. 87 sq.; Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 2, p. 168; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 284 sqq.—The notes in Ibn Hishām, p. 76, al-Bayhaqī, *Mahāsīn*, ed. Schwally, p. 71 sq., etc., also add sūra 81:1–14 of the first Meccan period. But I have not found anything about this either in the collections of *ḥadīths* nor in the Commentators (al-Wāḥidī, Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Bayḍāwī).

<sup>35</sup> Notes on Ibn Hishām, p. 76; 'Izz al-Dīn IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 4, p. 53; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, vol. 2, p. 1234; cf. G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, vol. 1, p. 132, n. 2.

<sup>36</sup> 'Izz al-Dīn IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Usd al-ghāba fi ma'rīfat al-ṣahāba*, vol. 4, p. 54; G. Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 69, note.

<sup>37</sup> Hibat Allāh (Ibn Salāma) regarding this sūra; al-Qastallānī, *al-Mawāhib al-laduniyya*, vol. 1, p. 67; G. Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 69, note. It ought to be observed that sūras 61 and 57 begin with the identical verse.

p. 227 sq.), which differs markedly with all other reports, it must be observed that the story does not fit in with 'Umar's historically established character. This conversion is said to have taken place at the end of the sixth year of Muḥammad's prophetic commission,<sup>38</sup> or when 'Umar's son—who in 2/623 was fourteen years old, and in 8/629 twenty<sup>39</sup>—had not yet reached maturity (بلوغ),<sup>40</sup> or was only six years old,<sup>41</sup> i.e., in the year six before the *hijra*. When we reckon the period of the Prophet's activity before the emigration to have been thirteen years,<sup>42</sup> the difference between the two statements becomes negligible. For no reason at all some people consider verses 130 sq. to be Medinan.<sup>43</sup>

Sūra 26 has the first formal heading that confirms its character as a revelation.<sup>44</sup> Like so many verses that seem to refer to Jews, verse 197 is also held by some to have originated from Medina.<sup>45</sup> Far more important is the claim that verse 214 alone, or verses 214 sq., or verses 214 to 223, belong to the very first part of the Koran, as they are considered to contain the first invitation to the Prophet to preach Islam to his relatives.<sup>46</sup> This cannot be true,

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<sup>38</sup> Ibn Sa'd, [*al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*,] ed. Sachau, 1 ed., vol. 3, part 1, p. 193, l 12, quoted by al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā'*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 449; Sprenger, loc. cit.; Muir, loc. cit.; Caetani, *Annali dell'islam*, vol. 1, p. 285, n. 2.

<sup>39</sup> Ibn Sa'd, [*Ṭabaqāt*] ed. Sachau, vol. 4, part 1, p. 105, l 5, p. 126, l 25, s.v. عبد الله بن عمر.

<sup>40</sup> Loc. cit., p. 105, l 5.

<sup>41</sup> Ibn Sa'd, [*al-Ṭabaqāt*] ed. Sachau: *Biographien der mekkan.*, vol. 3, part 1, p. 193, l 14.

<sup>42</sup> Ibn Hishām, who as usual also in this case does not supply a date, says at least—like al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1189, l 9 sq.—that 'Umar's conversion occurred after the Abyssinian emigration. In Ṭabarī's Persian edition, vol. 2, p. 403 sqq., everything is mixed up: He has 'Umar embrace Islam even before year three (i.e., before the *hijra*), and confuses the greater audacity that the Muslims displayed upon 'Umar's encouragement also in the exercise of the religious service with the very first public appearance of the Prophet.

<sup>43</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 34; al-Ṭabarī in the *Tafsīr*; al-Wāḥidī; 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Baghādāī AL-KHĀZIN), etc. relate an event from the Medinan period in verse 131.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. above, p. 75.

<sup>45</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 34.

<sup>46</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 166; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, *Biographie Muhammads bis zur Flucht* (vol. 1, part 1), pp. 42 and 133; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1169; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Waṣāyā*, § 10, *K. bad' al-khalq*, § 83; Muslim, al-Qastallānī, vol. 2, p. 181 sqq., *K. al-Īmān*, fourth last *bāb*; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt*, *Bāb al-Indhār wa-al-tandhūr*, *faṣl* 1 § 2, *Bāb al-Mab'ath*, *faṣl* 1 § 9; al-Ṭabarī in the *Tafsīr*, vol. 19, 66 [*sic*], Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 34, etc. The connection, not infrequent, of this information with the one regarding the occasion to sūra 111 might be wanting in the original form of this tradition. That precisely these verses were the first invitation to the conversion of the Prophet's relatives is not specifically mentioned by any of the sources.

Weil (*Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, 2nd ed., p. 65) thinks that the earliest part of the sūra consists of the verses 214 to 218. Hirschfeld (*New researches*, p. 143) separates the verses 221 to 228, and lists them in the chronological arrangement of the revelations on sixth place, without supplying any reason on p. 63.

however. The more general and rather less forceful style of these verses is in total agreement with the rest of the sūra,<sup>47</sup> which makes it impossible to give them the same date as sūras 111 and 74. Naturally, we disassociate ourselves from the totally untenable view that would assign only the creation of verses 214 sqq. to this time. Apart from this, verses 215 and 219 indicate quite clearly the existence of a community, albeit small,<sup>48</sup> whereas such a group did not exist at that time. Consequently, verse 214 can only be interpreted as a renewed invitation to conversion. After all, we know that among Muḥammad's uncles Abū Lahab (IBN 'ABD AL-MUṬṬALIB) died a pagan in 2/623, 'Abbās (IBN 'ABD AL-MUṬṬALIB) embraced Islam only after the Battle of Badr, and Abū Ṭālib had to ward off his nephew's pro-selekyzing efforts even on his deathbed.

[i/127] Since كَثِيرًا (verse 227) cannot constitute the end of a verse—verses 227 and 228 of Flügel's edition of the Koran must rather be brought together—the verse becomes disproportionately long. Added to this formal reservation is a conceptional one: the words from ظَلَمُوا إِلَى لا weaken the main idea excessively and—if indeed the conclusion that starts with وَسِعَ الْعِلْمُ belongs to the earliest part—the context is probably also interrupted.<sup>49</sup> As for the particulars of the interpolation, we learn the following: the poets, Ḥassān b. Thābit, 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī,<sup>50</sup> and Ka'b b. Mālik,<sup>51</sup> who all put their talents to the service of Islam, one day came weeping to the Prophet, complaining that Allāh made such derogatory comments about “poets” in verse 224, although He ought to know that they, too, were poets. Although the details of this tradition are not the least bit reliable,<sup>52</sup> the general tenor of the matter is probably correct.

Although our conjecture regarding the Medinan origin of the interpolation is thus confirmed, there is no reason to believe that verses 224 to

<sup>47</sup> The individual words, too, e.g., العزیز الرحیم which in this sūra are rather frequently connected (in the monophonic refrain-like verses 8, 68, 104, 122, 140, 159, 175, 191, and 217) but otherwise only three times, namely in the sūras of the second and third period; السميع and العلم (verse 220) which, as similar epithets of God, never occur in the first period.

<sup>48</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 166, admittedly speaks of many secret followers of Muḥammad around that time who, reportedly, were won over before the time of his public sermons—probably by a kind of spell!

<sup>49</sup> Cf. above, p. 80 and 85, the comments on sūras 95:6, 103:3, and 84:25.

<sup>50</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 493 and 679; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 292–293; vol. 9, p. 277. His *dirwān* has been edited in 1972 by H.M. al-Bājawda.

<sup>51</sup> *EP*<sup>2</sup>; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.v.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 293–294.

<sup>52</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*. Slightly different, also regarding the names, the traditions can be found in Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Bayḍawī, [ABŪ AL-QĀSIM] 'Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ], and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī.



226 must also be assigned to this late date,<sup>53</sup> even if, against all appearances,<sup>54</sup> they did not belong to the preceding verses. It makes no difference whether these verses refer to the polemics Quraysh poets might have waged against the Prophet at an early date, or to the guild of the *shu'arā'* in general. The latter case is the more likely, as the other Koranic passages that mention the *shā'ir* have the entire class in mind when they passionately deny that Muḥammad had any connection to them. Here (sūras 21:5, 37:35, 52:30, and 69:41) the *shā'ir* is put on the same level as the *kāhin*, or soothsayer, and is considered a man whose "hotchpotch of nightmares" (21:5) are ominous and reveal "Fate's uncertainty" (52:30). The *jinn* or demon in the *shā'ir* (37:35) is not there to whisper nice words or ideas into his ears but rather to inspire him when the clan turns to him for spiritual assistance.<sup>55</sup> The word "poet," which usually serves as translation of *shā'ir*, is in this case, of course, not quite accurate. In any case, the Meccan origin of verses 224 to 226 is assured by the fact that no Medinan passage of the Koran refers to *shā'ir*.

Additionally, even if it were certain that the dubious verses belonged to the same period as the rest of the sūra,<sup>56</sup> it would still seem to me that the literary unity has not been established. As D.H. Müller<sup>57</sup> in particular has shown, verses 1 to 191 were composed in accord with an artificial scheme. The introduction (verses 1 to 6), as well as the seven following sections, which deal with the ancient prophets and the judgements on their godless countrymen, have the same refrain.<sup>58</sup> Apart from the name, the first verses of the last five sections have the same text.<sup>59</sup> This stylistic device ceases to

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<sup>53</sup> Hibat Allāh; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Zamakhsharī, al-Bayḍāwī; [ABŪ AL-QĀSIM] 'Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ]; 'Alā' al-Dīn ('Alī b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī AL-KHĀ-ZIN). After Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī, al-Kalbī holds some verses (آيات) at the end of this sūra to be Medinan. Muqātil [Ibn Sulaymān d. 150/767; *EP*; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 431–432; Goldziher, *Schools*, 38 sqq.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, 36–37] on the other hand, considers the entire sūra to be Meccan.

<sup>54</sup> The men of verses 210 and 221 inspired by the devil are likely to include also the *shu'arā'*.

<sup>55</sup> The profane literature of the Arabs contains numerous examples of the enormous influence of the *shā'ir* upon the actions of the clans. For the collection and elaboration of this literature we are indebted to Goldziher's *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, 1. Teil, pp. 1–25. Cf. also Schwally, "Die Vision" in his *Semitische Kriegeraltertümer*, pp. 18–20.

<sup>56</sup> So also Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 2, p. 113, and Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 239.

<sup>57</sup> *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form*, vol. 1, pp. 34–42.

<sup>58</sup> ["Surely in that is a sign, yet most of them are not believers."] Verses 7–8 = 67–68, 103–104, 121–122, 139b–140, 158b–159, 174–175, and 190–191.

<sup>59</sup> [... cried lies to the Envoys.] Verses 105–109, 123–127, 141–145, 160–164, and 176–180. In addition verse 108 [so fear you God, and obey you me] (= 126, 144, 163, and 179) is found still three times more, verses 110, 131, and 150. Th. Nöldeke does not recognize in these repetitions a conscious artful literary device but simply a naïve technique.

be used in the last part of the sūra (verses 192 to 228), which would suggest that another revelation was hastily attached to verse 191 by means of three, introductory little words (*wa-inna-hu la*).<sup>60</sup>

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In sūra 15 as well a few very old verses are thought to exist,<sup>61</sup> namely verses 89 and 94, which, like 26:214sqq., were allegedly the first to contain invitations to propaganda. This view is inferred solely from the words *النذير* and *فاصدع*, as if Muḥammad could not also have propagated the faith later without fear. Moreover, these and the closely related verses deal with the opponents whose mockery and persecution he had to suffer for a long time. Finally, even the style and individual expressions do not correspond to the earliest period.<sup>62</sup> Ibn Hishām,<sup>63</sup> incidentally, mentions a different and better occasion in a later period for verses 94 to 96. For trivial reasons certain exegetes consider verses 24 and 87 to be Medinan.<sup>64</sup>

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The first part of sūra 19 the Muslims are said to have recited to the Christian Najāshi (Negūs) of Abyssinia in the presence of the Quraysh envoys.<sup>65</sup> Verses 59<sup>66</sup> and 74<sup>67</sup> are unreasonably considered to be of Medinan origin. Verses 35 to 41 Muḥammad can only have added later, at approximately the beginning of the third or the end of the second period, i.e., as a dogmatic and polemic supplement to the verses on Jesus, which differ in language as well as in rhyme.<sup>68</sup> The rhyme, too, changes in verses 76sq. In view of the identical rhyme in verses 1 to 34, and 42 to 75, this fact alone suffices to make us suspect a later addition, even if the loose structure of the homily does not make the content of the text after verse 75 appear unreasonable,

<sup>60</sup> In this case, the original revelation would have started with the word *tanzil*, a much favoured beginning of sūras, cf. sūras 32, 39, 40, 41, 45, and 46, all of which belong to the late Meccan period.

<sup>61</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 166; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1169; cf. G. Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 51, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran*, p. 56, 2nd ed., p. 65sq.; Spr., 177 [*sic*, not listed among the abbreviations: Sprenger, but which work?]

<sup>62</sup> Cf. e.g. the idioms, *سبيح محمد، مشركون*, etc. which are never used in the first period.

<sup>63</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 272; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 14, p. 74.

<sup>64</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 33; al-Wāḥidī; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, only verse 24 is related to events after the *hijra*.

<sup>65</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 220, etc.; cf. Sprenger, *Leben und Lehre*, vol. 2, p. 182; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 277.

<sup>66</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 33. [This and the following foot-note appear in the same line in reverse order].

<sup>67</sup> al-Bayḍāwī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 59.

<sup>68</sup> The rhyming words of the oldest part of this sūra (verses 1 to 34, and 42–75) end with *يَا*– (once, verse 75 *يَا أَيُّهَا*–), *يُنَا*– (verses 10, 43, 61, and 68 or *يَا*– verses 15, 32, 60, and 67). The other rhymes of verses 3 and 26 of the Flügel edition must be based on inaccurate division. Verses 35 to 41 end with *in*, verses 76 to 98 (end) with *dā*, *bā*, and *zā*.

content which is, incidentally, of the same period. Whether the reason for the combination—similar to that of verse 75—is to be found in the ending of verse 98, or whether this verse was composed with that other one in mind, remains to be seen. The sūra<sup>69</sup> is the earliest—or at least one of the earliest—to refer to the New Testament and saintly<sup>70</sup> persons such as Mary, Zechariah, John, and Jesus.

*Comments on Sūras 38, 36, 43, 72, 67, 23, 21, 25, 17, 27, 18*

The first ten verses of sūra 38, or verse 5 alone, are supposed to date from the time when the Quraysh tried to persuade Abū Ṭālib (IBN ‘ABD AL-MUṬṬALIB) not to protect Muḥammad any longer, or when the former was on his death-bed.<sup>71</sup> But these are mere conclusions from the simple words, الملائكة اطلق. Verse 28 poses difficulties in context, namely, does it refer to David and the revelation of the Psalms that is often mentioned in the Koran, or to Muḥammad, which, according to passages like sūras 6:92 and 156, 21:51, 7:1, 11:1, and 14:1, seems more likely. In this case the interpolation of the verse would make even less sense.

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Verses 67 to 87 (end) have a common rhyme with *īm, in, ūn, and ūm*,<sup>72</sup> whereas in the rest of the sūra the rhyme is exclusively with *āb, ār, ād*, etc.<sup>73</sup> Consequently, the assumption that the two parts originally did not belong together—a view that comes easily to mind—is not in contrast to the content. Al-Suyūṭī says that one exegete holds this sūra to be Medinan in contradiction of the general view.<sup>74</sup>

The same opinion also prevails in regard to sūra 36.<sup>75</sup> Other exegetes maintain this pertains only to both verse 11—applying it to the Banū Salīma, who intended to settle not far from the mosque of Medina,<sup>76</sup>—and verse 47,<sup>77</sup> because the prescribed charity is taken, as often in other cases, to

<sup>69</sup> This sūra, as well as all the following of the second period, with the exception of sūra 67, Muir puts into his fifth stage.

<sup>70</sup> From here on, they are repeatedly mentioned not only in the Meccan period (sūras 21, 23, 43, 42, and 6) but also in the Medinan period (sūras 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 33, 57, 62, and 66).

<sup>71</sup> al-Wāḥidī; al-Bayḍāwī.

<sup>72</sup> The verses 75 and 76 constitute one verse in the Flügel edition of the Koran.

<sup>73</sup> The verses 43 and 44 of the Flügel edition ought to be one single verse.

<sup>74</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 27.

<sup>75</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 27.

<sup>76</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 35 after al-Tirmidhī, s.v.; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Wāḥidī.

<sup>77</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 35; [ABŪ AL-QĀSIM] ‘Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ].

refer to the community tax (صَدَقَةٌ) instituted only after the *hijra*. Between verses 24 and 25 a few words may have been lost that mention the murder of the only believer by the godless people.

Sūra 43:44 is said to originate from Jerusalem<sup>78</sup> or heaven<sup>79</sup> and was addressed to the prophets who were assembled there in the so-called “Night Journey.” The origin of this strange account is not difficult to find, and Weil supplies the proper explanation.<sup>80</sup> The assertion that the verse originates from Medina<sup>81</sup> is perhaps based on an inaccurate interpretation of the aforementioned account; the verses sound unlike a Meccan sūra, so a Medinan origin was simply deduced from this. If the consonantal text of 43:88 is not damaged, a few words must be missing at its beginning, since وَقِيلَ,<sup>82</sup> even with changed diacritics, can hardly be connected satisfactorily with the preceding verse. Hirschfeld,<sup>83</sup> without supplying any sound reason, attributes verses 1 to 24 and 25 to 89 to different periods.

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Sūra 72<sup>84</sup> is held to refer to the vision when Muḥammad learned of the *jinn* listening to his recitation of the Koran. According to the traditional account, this happened when he was on his way home from al-Ṭāʾif, where the Prophet had gone after the death of Abū Ṭālib, and reached Nakhla.<sup>85</sup> Other writers agree on the place of this event but attribute it to a different time, namely during the journey to the fair of ʿUkāz.<sup>86</sup> A third tradition puts the event in the immediate vicinity of Medina.<sup>87</sup> Although we cannot

<sup>78</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 43; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (ʿAlī b. Muḥammad AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī).

<sup>79</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 35.

<sup>80</sup> *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 374.

<sup>81</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 35.

<sup>82</sup> The easiest explanation would opt for the nominative which, however, is not recognized by the canonical readers and accepted only as isolated (شَدَّدَ) reading. Even in this case, there still remains the great problem of the change in person.

<sup>83</sup> *New researches into the composition and exegesis of the Quran*, p. 144.

<sup>84</sup> The verses 22 and 23 constitute only a single verse in Flügel's edition of the Koran. Verse 26 (Flügel), however, can be divided into two parts.

<sup>85</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 281; Ibn Saʿd, [*al-Ṭabaqāt*] ed. Sachau, vol. 1, part 1, p. 141 sq.; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1202 sq.—who even supplies the names of the seven *jinn*s—and in the *Tafsīr*. Cf. Weil, *Leben Mohammeds*, p. 69; Sprenger, *Life*, p. 187 sq., *Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 2, p. 246 sq.; Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 2, p. 204; Snouck Hurgronje, in *de Gids*, 1886, part 6, 267; August Müller in Fr. Rückert's translation of the Koran, p. 525; Fr. Buhl, *Muhammeds Liv*, p. 187; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 311.

<sup>86</sup> al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Adhān* § 103, *Tafsīr*, s.v.; Muslim—al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 3, p. 88 sqq., *K. al-Ṣalāt* § 33 (*Bāb al-jahr bi-l-qirāʾa fi l-ṣubḥ*); al-Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī.

<sup>87</sup> al-Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Muslim, al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 3, p. 91 sqq. This is a

ascertain the historicity of any of these accounts, we do have it from other sources that Muḥammad believed quite seriously that he had a mission to the *jinn*. One day, on his way to Tabūk (9/630), a large, strong, male snake approached him and remained in front of him for a long time as he halted on his camel, then turned away from the path and raised up. “Do you know who this is,” Muḥammad asked. “It is one of the *jinn* who wanted to hear the revelation.”<sup>88</sup> In some Koranic passages the sermon is directed to the assembly of *jinn* (6:128, and 130, 55:33).

Sūra 67, according to one tradition, is held to be Medinan,<sup>89</sup> probably only because its length is similar to Medinan sūras 57 to 66, which it follows in our Koran.

Verse 78 of sūra 23, which is considered to be Medinan on the basis of a mistaken identification with the Battle of Badr,<sup>90</sup> some writers maintain for unknown reasons to be the very last Meccan sūra.<sup>91</sup>

In sūra 21, some people consider verse 7 to be of Medinan origin.<sup>92</sup>

Sūra 25:47, according to one tradition—which al-Suyūṭī distrusts—was promulgated at al-Ṭāʾif.<sup>93</sup> If this were the case, the related verses ought to be of identical origin, although there is nothing to support this.<sup>94</sup> Verse 68, and possibly also the following verses,<sup>95</sup> are attributed to Medina, since there appears in these as well as in other verses of similar context (atonement and forgiveness) an allusion to Waḥshī [Ibn Ḥarb al-Ḥabashī<sup>96</sup>], who in the Battle of Uḥud killed Ḥamza (Ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib), Muḥammad’s uncle, but later became a Muslim.<sup>97</sup> According to others, these verses, although composed

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local tradition at Mecca (al-Azraqī, p. 424), where until this day this particular place (*Masjid al-Jinn*) is shown to pilgrims (Richard Burton, *Personal narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Madinah & Meccah*, vol. 3, p. 353), and for this reason the least reliable.

<sup>88</sup> al-Waqīdī (i.e. Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*), p. 400; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2nd ed., p. 153.

<sup>89</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 28.

<sup>90</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 34; cf. the commentaries which apply the verses 66 and 79 to things that happened after the *hijra*.

<sup>91</sup> al-Wāḥidī in the introduction, Cairo edition, p. 8; *al-Itqān*, p. 55 (end).

<sup>92</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 34.

<sup>93</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 43; al-Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrikh*, vol. 1, p. 12; from it G. Weil, *Das Leben*, p. 374.

<sup>94</sup> Weil is wrong if he thinks that the words here used by Muḥammad are allegorical.

<sup>95</sup> Incidentally, these verses are attributed to the *mansūkhāt* which were abrogated by 4:35 (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 19, 25 sq.; al-Wāḥidī).

<sup>96</sup> *EF*; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 73, col. 1.

<sup>97</sup> Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; [ABŪ AL-QĀSIM] ‘Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ], *al-Itqān*, p. 34; *EF*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 73, col. 1, sqq.

at Mecca, were later dispatched from Medina to Waḥshī at Mecca.<sup>98</sup> Ḍaḥḥāk [Ibn Muzāḥim al-Hilālī, d. 105/723<sup>99</sup>] considers the entire sūra to be Medinan.<sup>100</sup>

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Since verses 25:64 to 25:77 (enumeration of the marks of the true believer) lack topical relation to the preceding text, and also have a somewhat different rhyme,<sup>101</sup> the question might be allowed as to whether they are now in their original place. As pointed out above, on p. 12, verses 5 and 6 are of fundamental importance for the early history of Islam, because we learn there of Muḥammad's zeal for procuring copies of ancient holy texts.

Sūra 17:1 refers to Muḥammad's Night Journey from Mecca to Jerusalem.<sup>102</sup> Tradition considers this journey a miracle, although this is in conflict with several passages of the Koran (e.g. 13:8 and 27, 17:95, 25:8sq., and 29:44) in which the Prophet explicitly rejects miracles, wanting to do nothing other than warn and preach. We therefore have to assume that Muḥammad wanted to communicate a dream.<sup>103</sup> However, this assumption can only be reconciled with the first verse if the dream was a real experience for him and not an illusion.<sup>104</sup> His extreme fantasy here resembles the naïve belief of primitive races that visits to or from strange persons in a dream can be a reality. That verse 62<sup>105</sup> relates to this dream is possible but cannot be proven, not

<sup>98</sup> Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī.

<sup>99</sup> *EF*; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 29–30.

<sup>100</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 27.

<sup>101</sup> The verses from 1 to 63 throughout rhyme with *lā* or *rā* because Flügel's verses 3 and 4 as well as 20 and 21 must be brought together, and in verse 18 السبيل is perhaps to be replaced by سبيلًا. On the other hand, the verses 64sq. usually rhyme with *mā*, and only verses 71 with *bā*, and 73 with *nā*.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. the Commentators.

<sup>103</sup> This is also Muslim opinion as can be seen from the introductory words to the relevant traditions: بين النائم والمقطن، ولا ينام عينه ولا كانت تنام عينه، cf. al-Bayḏawī, Ibn Hishām, pp. 263–266, al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* on verse 1. In other traditions (Ibn Sa'd, loc. cit.; al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, ed. Houtsma, vol. 2, p. 25; Muslim, al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 2, p. 63, *K. al-Īmān*, § 72) this is not quite as apparent.—This dream of Muḥammad is possibly somehow influenced by the familiar vision of the Hebrew Prophet Ezekiel when the spirit "took him by the lock of his head and lifted him up between the earth and the heaven and brought him [from Babylonia] to Jerusalem" (Ezekiel 8:3).

<sup>104</sup> It is out of the question that it is "an unblushing forgery" (Sprenger, *Life*, p. 124; Sprenger, *Leben*, vol. 1, p. 306, vol. 2, p. 528).

<sup>105</sup> Nearly all Commentators relate the verse with the "Night Journey" (*isrā*) in addition to Ibn Hishām, p. 265; Ibn Sa'd, [*al-Ṭabaqāt*] ed. Sachau, vol. 1, part 1, p. 144; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Qadar*, § 10. There are only a few who relate it with the dream of the conquest of Mecca (Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Zamakhsharī, 'Alī' al-Dīn ('Alī b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī AL-KHĀZIN), Cairo ed., vol. 3, p. 177; al-Qaṣṭallānī, *Mawāhib*, *Maqṣad*, 5, at the beginning), for which reason it is held to be Medinan in *al-Itqān*, p. 33.

even if it was originally part of the same homily as the first verse. The context would instead suggest a vision with eschatological information. *Ru'yā*, incidentally, refers not only to a dream but also to a daytime vision.<sup>106</sup> On no account can verse 95 be included in this context, as it speaks only hypothetically of an ascension to heaven. Even if, as some think,<sup>107</sup> this verse was an allusion to Muḥammad's ascension, verse 1 deals exclusively with the Night Journey to Jerusalem. Although both events are usually related to one another,<sup>108</sup> the ascent is accorded such importance and independence that its absence in the first verse is not at all self-evident. However, since Muḥammad's ascension is not mentioned anywhere in the Koran, this tale can have originated only after the death of Muḥammad, probably influenced by the heavenly journeys of Ecstasies<sup>109</sup> in early Christian literature.

That the first verse of this sūra cannot be connected with the following one is so obvious that it needs no proof. In a sūra with a totally uniform rhyme of *ā*,<sup>110</sup> the isolated rhyme of *īr* in the first verse is already suspicious. An explanation of the actual state of the text, however, cannot be offered with any degree of certainty. It is possible that some verses are missing after

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<sup>106</sup> Cf. e.g. al-Bayḍāwī; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Hiyāl* § 27.

<sup>107</sup> G. Sale in his translation of the Koran. On the other hand, this relation is, as far as I know, nowhere maintained in Islamic tradition.

<sup>108</sup> Even in the earliest traditions, largely going back to Anas b. Mālik (d. 93/711) [*EQ; EP*, d. 91/709], and are traced back from him to Abū Dharr [al-Ghifārī, d. 652/1254; *EP*], and others: Ibn Hishām, p. 268; al-Bukhārī, al-Tirmidhī, and al-Ṭabarī in the *Tafsīr* on verses 1 and 62; al-Bukhārī, *K. bad' al-khalq*, § 174, *bāb al-mi'rāj*; Muslim, *K. al-Imān*, § 72; Ibn Hishām, p. 268; al-Yā'qūbī, *Historiae*, vol. 2, p. 28; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt*, p. 518 (526), *bāb al-mi'rāj*; al-Nasā'ī, *K. al-Ṣalāt*, beginning; Ibn Sa'd, [*al-Ṭabaqāt*] ed. Sachau, *Biographie Muhammads bis zur Flucht* (vol. 1, part 1), p. 162 sq., relates first the ascent, and then p. 143 sqq., the air journey, without connecting them. Al-Ṭabarī in the *Annales*, vol. 1, p. 1157, does not even mention the air journey, and places the ascent at the beginning of Muḥammad's prophethood, something that also happened to the air journey in a tradition in Muslim, al-Qasṭallānī, vol. 2, p. 63. Al-Bukhārī, in places other than his *Tafsīr*, accords detailed treatment almost only to the ascent (*K. al-Ṣalāt* at the beginning, and *K. Bad' al-khalq*, § 5). It can be observed that interest is increasingly focused on the latter subject. Cf. in addition Sprenger, *Life*, pp. 126–136, his *Leben*, vol. 2, p. 527 sqq., vol. 3, p. lvi; Wm. Muir, vol. 2, pp. 219–222; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 229 sqq. A precise and critical study of the stories of the ascent, from the earliest traditions down to the embellishments of the Persian and Turkish poets would be very instructive.

<sup>109</sup> II Corinthians 12: 1 sqq.; Ascension of Isaiah; Apocalypses of Baruch, Sophonias and Abraham; Talmud, Ḥagīgah, fol. 14b, 18<sup>a</sup>, regarding Rabbi 'Aqībā; *Teshūvōt ha-geōnīm* (Rabbi Ismael). Cf. D.W. Bousset, "Die Himmelsreise der Seele," pp. 136 sqq. and 229 sqq., and A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, p. 180.

<sup>110</sup> In the Flügel edition the verses 9 and 10 as well as 26 and 27 must be united to one verse each since rhymes with *īr* and *in* are impossible in the sūra. The same applies to verses 48 and 49 since in all the other verses the rhyming word in the penultimate has a long vowel.

the first verse, which itself segued naturally into the second verse, or that the first verse is totally out of context and was intentionally placed here because people applied it to verse 62. In this case, the original introduction to the second and following verses must have been lost. Completely unlikely is Weil's<sup>111</sup> assumption that 17:1 was "fabricated after the death of Muḥammad or erroneously included in the Koran." Al-Bayḍāwī considers verse twelve to be Medinan but this is wrong, as his source, al-Zamakhsharī, merely mentions this verse in an account of an event after the *hijra* without ever once saying that it originated from that date. Verses 23 to 41, which briefly summarize the duties of a Muslim, and verses 34sq. are considered by Ḥasan al-Baṣrī<sup>112</sup> to be Medinan. Two other traditions include verses 28 and 31 in this provenance as well.<sup>113</sup>

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Weil agrees at least as far as verse 35 of this sūra is concerned.<sup>114</sup> However, we would expect first of all in such an enumeration of the duties of Muslims the interdiction of murder. It is not at all necessary, as Weil thinks, that the words "we have appointed to his next-of-kin (i.e. his avenger) authority" is a reference to the Medinan passage, sūra 2:173sq., since Muḥammad had no executive power until Medina. As with all ancient peoples, the blood feud was so deeply rooted among the Arabs, and so sacred, that Muḥammad considered it a godlike law. That he mentions it here, when he is merely establishing moral principles, is no more astonishing than his recognizing it as a law in sūra 2. Similar reasons advanced by Weil might also serve to prove that verse 36, among many others, could not have originated in Mecca.<sup>115</sup> There are greatly varying accounts regarding verses 75 to 82. Many hold them to be Medinan,<sup>116</sup> considering verse 75 to be a reference to the Banū Thaḳīf—who, in 9/630, were prepared to accept Islam only under conditions contrary to

<sup>111</sup> *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran*, 2nd ed., p. 74.

<sup>112</sup> [ABŪ AL-QĀSIM] 'Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ].

<sup>113</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl* in the margin of *Jalālayn* (Cairo, 1301/1883).

<sup>114</sup> Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 377; *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, 1st ed., p. 64, 2nd ed. p. 74.

<sup>115</sup> Qatāda [Ibn Dī'āma] [*EF*; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 438–449; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 31–32] is said to have declared verse 45 to be Medinan, as did Muqātil [Ibn Sulaymān]. Cf. 'Alā' al-Dīn (AL-KHĀZIN AL-BAGHDĀDĪ), *Tafsīr*, introduction to sūra 17.

<sup>116</sup> Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Bayḍāwī; [ABŪ AL-QĀSIM] 'Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ]. According to al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 83, the verses 78 to 80 are allegedly Medinan, according to al-Ṭabarī *Tafsīr*, the verses 75, 78, and 82, according to al-Wāḥidī, verses 75 and 78, after al-Nisābūrī (in the margin of al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*), verse 75, after al-Farrā' [d. 200/822; *EF*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 131–134], verses 75 and 78, according to Qatāda in al-Khāzin al-Baghdādī, loc. cit., verses 75 to 77, after Muqātil [Ibn Sulaymān], *ibid.*, verses 76, 77, and 82, after al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, verses 75 to 78, and 83.



Muḥammad's interest, and had nearly obtained his consent<sup>117</sup>—and verse 78 to the Jews of Yathrib,<sup>118</sup> i.e., the story that the Prophet one day was prompted by a stratagem of the Jews to go to Palestine, only soon to return.<sup>119</sup> Others see verse 82 as referring to the conquest of Mecca,<sup>120</sup> or originating between Mecca and Medina, considering it a reference to the entry into the cave [of Thawr] (cf. 9:40)<sup>121</sup> or the marching into Medina.<sup>122</sup> Still others appropriately find in verses 75<sup>123</sup> and 78<sup>124</sup> merely a reference to the Quraysh, and in verse 32—on whose inaccurate and literal interpretation all those fantasies are based—simply a general meaning.<sup>125</sup> Weil will not even admit that verse 78 refers to the Quraysh.<sup>126</sup> But it is not improbable that there had been an earlier attempt to oust Muḥammad from Mecca, without considering that his followers were to accompany him ally themselves to a strange clan, and eventually make war against his native town. The verse cannot refer to the Jews as even their initial attempts to use force against Muḥammad ended with their expulsion. Also the language of the verse conforms to that of the rest of the text.<sup>127</sup>

Incidentally, some writers find in verse 75, or in verses 75 to 77, an allusion to the words inserted in sūra 53:14: “these are the sublime *gharānīq*.”<sup>128</sup> But it is quite obvious that these verses must be of a much later date. (ABŪ

<sup>117</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 15, p. 83; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Wāḥidī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; [ABŪ AL-QĀSIM] ‘Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ]; al-Khāzin al-Baghdādī; al-Nisābūrī; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*.

<sup>118</sup> The same.

<sup>119</sup> Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Wāḥidī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Nisābūrī in al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, in the margin of vol. 15, p. 72; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*; al-Khāzin al-Baghdādī.

<sup>120</sup> al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Khāzin al-Baghdādī.

<sup>121</sup> al-Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Khāzin al-Baghdādī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī.

<sup>122</sup> Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Wāḥidī; [ABŪ AL-QĀSIM] ‘Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ]; al-Bayḍāwī; al-Nisābūrī, loc. cit.; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*.

<sup>123</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Wāḥidī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*; al-Khāzin al-Baghdādī.

<sup>124</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Wāḥidī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; August Müller in Friedrich Rückert's translation of the Koran, note, s.v., p. 488.

<sup>125</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Wāḥidī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; al-Nisābūrī; ‘Alā’ al-Dīn (AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī).

<sup>126</sup> *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran*, 1st ed., p. 64sq, 2nd ed., p. 74.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. *وَأَن كَادُوا* verses 78 and 75; *لَأَنَّا* verses 78, 77, 75, 44, 102; *سَمِيعُونَ* verses 78 and 66, but nowhere else in the Koran.

<sup>128</sup> Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; Ibn Sa‘d, [*al-Ṭabaqāt*]: *Biographie Muhammad bis zur Flucht*, p. 137; al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, vol. 1, p. 1195, but not in the *Tafsīr*; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*; Aug. Müller in Fr. Rückert's translation of the Koran, p. 488; cf. also above, pp. 70–71.

AL-QĀSIM) ‘Umar b. Muḥammad IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ alleges that verse 80, like 28 (because of alms; see above), and verse 59, are considered to be Medinan by Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Verse 87 allegedly contains the answer to one of the three questions which the Jews, or Quraysh, once put to the Prophet at the instigation of the Jews. This event, and consequently also the verse, is sometimes placed at Mecca and sometimes at Medina, other details varying considerably. All of this is so fanciful that we should think little of it. There is even less reason to conclude that sūra 18, which is supposed to contain the answer to the two questions, shares the same dating as this passage, even if it is quite possible.<sup>129</sup>

[i/139] Thus, not even a single verse has been proven to be of Medinan origin. Although there is uniform rhyme from the second verse on,<sup>130</sup> the internal coherence of the various parts is so weak, and the external correspondence so inadequate,<sup>131</sup> that scepticism about the unity of the sūra is not unwarranted. However, given the absence of sound standards, it would hardly be possible to arrive at a sound conclusion. The great uniformity of language and style alone argues against Hirschfeld,<sup>132</sup> who would like to attribute verses 1 to 8, 103 to 111, 87 to 102, and 9 to 86 to three different periods.<sup>133</sup>

[i/140] Some words in sūra 27 must be missing, as in verse 42 the words that follow هو can refer only to Solomon or his retinue; a transition indicating this is certainly necessary. Before verse 93 قل should to be supplied according to context, or simply be considered missing.

In sūra 18, some verses are occasionally considered Medinan: Verse 27 either *in toto* or up to الدنيا,<sup>134</sup> verses 1 to 7, and 107 sqq.,<sup>135</sup> as well as verse 82<sup>136</sup> for the same reason as sūra 17:87. I would not venture to maintain with certainty that the two strange parts—telling us how Moses recognized Divine

<sup>129</sup> Cf. in this matter Ibn Hishām, p. 192 sq.; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-‘Ilm*, § 48; al-Wāḥidi; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*; and the Commentators in general.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. above, p. 111.

<sup>131</sup> E.g., the connection of verses 22 and 23, of 41b and 41<sup>a</sup> is difficult. Then, too, verse 41b sqq. does not seem to presuppose verse 23. The great importance attached to the code of conduct in verses 23 to 40 would suggest that it once formed the core of a revelation.

<sup>132</sup> *New researches into the composition and exegesis of the Qoran*, pp. 70 and 144.

<sup>133</sup> Apart from the idioms listed above (pp. 99–100) I draw attention to عسى أن verses 8, 53, and 81; سبحان verses (1), 95, 108, 45 (46); مدحوراً verses 19 and 41; قرآن verses 9, 43, 47, 49, 62, 84, 90, and 91; قل verses 44, 53, 58, 86, 87, 90, 95, 98, 108, 110, and 111; verse 100 b = verse 52.

<sup>134</sup> [ABŪ AL-QĀSIM] ‘Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ]; al-Bayḍāwī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 33.

<sup>135</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 33.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

Providence and his own weakness (verses 59 to 81), and how Dhū l-Qarnayn, i.e., Alexander the Great,<sup>137</sup> crossed the world and “set up a barrier” against Gog and Magog (verses 82 to 98)—originate from the same time as the preceding verses. As suggested above in the comments on sūra 17:97, there is little to be said for their homogeneity except that their beginning, the legend

<sup>137</sup> Muslims produced much fantastical material about the name *Dhū l-Qarnayn*. Here I draw attention only to the most important sources: al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 16, p. 6 sqq., as well as the other Commentators; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma‘ārif*; ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 26; al-Mas‘ūdī, *Prairies*, vol. 2, p. 248 sq.; Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 10163 (fol. 1–104), no. 7019 (fol. 105–144) = I Petermann, [Ms without title by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Alī IBN AL-JAWZĪ]; Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Dahsha, *Tuhfa*, ed. Mann, p. 52; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 807.

This appellation is likely to refer to Alexander the Great, as also Muslims assume. As far as we know, the first mention of the “horns” of Alexander (*The History of Alexander the Great*, ed. E.W. Budge, pp. 257 and 274) “I know that you had me grow horns in order to destroy the empires of this world,” which—according to Nöldeke’s *Beiträge zur Geschichte* (cf. S. Fraenkel’s review of Nöldeke’s *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans*)—dates from AD 514 or 515 (826 Seleuc.), but not from 626 as Carl Hunnius has it. The expression “the horned man,” of course, does not occur in the Syriac legend. But if it is really the first source of Muḥammad or his authority, the Arabic designation must be a creation based on the transmitted characteristics. After all, many an Arabic epithet is made up of *dhū* with following dual. (Cf. al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. W. Wright, p. 777 sq., and the comprehensive compilation in Goldziher’s “Ueber Dualtitel,” p. 321 sq.) *Dhū l-Qarnayn*, in particular, is also found as epithet of the Lakhmid King Mundhir III (cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 169 n. 3, and Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, vol. 2, p. 26, note 13, regarding no. 28. [See further *EP*.]) The name “horned man” might have conceivably been used in an unknown recension of the legend, and from there found its way into Arabic. Syriac *be’el* might possibly correspond to *ḳarnē* or *ḳarnāmā*, since this dialect no longer has a dual.

An equivalent to the Arabic idiom has been known from Hebrew literature, namely the apocalyptic Daniel 8:21, where the Persian Empire appears as a “ram having two horns” (הַאֵיל בְּעַל הַקַּרְנַיִם), while Alexander the Great is presented as a “goat with the great horn between his eyes,” and *Midrash Rabbā* to Genesis, Par. 99:2, here Edom (i.e. Rome) is called בעל קרניים, cf. also ذات القرون الروم, Ibn Hishām, p. 187, note. From these sources it seems that the horns of Alexander are derived from the apocalyptic literature, being the symbol of invincible power. The problem, however, becomes complicated as according to the historians (Curtius Rufus 4, 29, 5 sqq., and Flavius Arrian 3, 4 [*sic*, the author’s inconsistent page references]) the oracle of Jupiter Ammon recognized Alexander the Great as son of this god, and that the horn originates from this very deity, which is imagined to be a ram, and which ornaments the head of Alexander on the Ptolomaeic and Lysimachic coins. (Cf. J. Bernouilli, *Die erhaltenen Darstellungen*, plate viii, figure 4; Theod. Schreiber, “Studie über das Bildnis Alexanders des Großen,” plate xiii, figure 5.) Since all these are graphic reproductions in profile, only one horn is visible. The often cited statement of Athenaeus, of Naucratis in Egypt, after Ehippus, of Athens (vol. 12, p. 537) that Alexander at times dressed himself as God Ammon, can be disregarded since it is possibly nothing but learned conclusion from the numismatic find.

The fish of the Moses legend in verse 18:60 corresponds exactly to the fish which, according to the Alexander legend, becomes alive again in the well-head of life (al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 428; Th. Nöldeke, loc. cit, p. 25). If this is a confusion of images, this might have happened since Moses’ shining face appears in the Biblical story (*Exodus* 34:29, 30, and 35) in Aquila,

of the Seven Sleepers (verse 8sq.),<sup>138</sup> as well as their end (Dhū l-Qarnayn), are thought to refer to the three questions of the Jews. Nowhere else in the three sections mentioned is there any reference to the others. It is far more significant that the legends touched upon here belong to the timeless storehouse of contemporary world literature.<sup>139</sup> The uniformity of rhyme in the verses<sup>140</sup> cannot therefore be accidental; it must be assumed that those parts were intended *a priori*<sup>141</sup> to be united in a single sūra. It is conceivable that Muḥammad also closely followed the tradition in terms of sequence.

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and the Vulgata as “horned” (*cornuta*), by bringing together the word “radiate” in the Hebrew text (*karan*) with *qeren* “horn”. (Cf. C. Hunnius’ thesis, *Das syrische Alexanderlied*, p. 27.)

The remainder of the Moses legend belongs to a legendary cycle of the Orient still shrouded in obscurity, which from there spread to the European Occident. (Cf. the bibliography in Joh. Pauli, *Schimpf*, p. 550 sq., Gaston Paris, *La poésie du moyen âge*, chapter “L’Ange et l’ermite,” pp. 150–187.) Apart from the Koran, its oldest source is a Jewish work of the tenth century. The Midrash itself might be considerably older because here one of the two wanderers has been identified with a historical personage of the first half of the third century, the famous Palestine Amorite Joshua ben Levi (cf. *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., s.v. “Elijah,” p. 125, col. 2). Still, a direct dependence is excluded as the stories are too different. As the well-head of life, which the Koran mentions in this connection, plays an important role in Babylonian mythology, the entire legend might originate from there. If we consider that in Paradise not only eternal life but—as can be seen from the Biblical form of the story—also super-human knowledge was to be gained, it follows that between the apparent disparate parts of the Koranic legend of Moses there is an inner connection.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. I. Guidi, *Testi orientali*; Nöldeke’s review of *Testi orientali*; de Goeje, *De Legende der Zeven slapers*; J. Koch, *Die Siebenschläferlegende*; B. Heller, “Éléments parallèles et origines de la légende.”

<sup>139</sup> Cf. also Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2nd ed., p. 236.

<sup>140</sup> The rhyme regularly ends with *ā*, because the verses 21 and 22 as well as 97 and 98 of Flügel’s edition of the Koran must be combined to one verse each. The rhyming letters (*rawī*), however, are very different and cover the entire scale of the alphabet; most frequently *dā* (47 times), *rā* (22 times), *hā* (17 times), and *lā* (13 times.)

<sup>141</sup> Among the frequently used expressions common to several parts I note: رَبِّي, “my Lord,” verses 21, 23, 34, 36, 38, 94, 97, 98, 109, and إِذَا حَتَّىٰ, 70, 73, 76, 84, 89, 92 and 95.

## THE SŪRAS OF THE THIRD MECCAN PERIOD

### *General Comments*

The style, language, and treatment of subjects that developed gradually during the second Meccan period appear fully developed in the third period. The language becomes drawn-out, dull, and prosaic. The endless repetitions, in which the Prophet does not hesitate to use almost identical words, a line of argument devoid of sharpness and clarity, which convinced only those who had already been converted, and the monotonous narratives all often make the revelations downright boring. Someone not interested in the language of the original, or in historical religious problems, finds it difficult to read the later parts of the Koran for a second time.<sup>1</sup> Of course, one should not imagine that the ardent spirit of the first revelations never appears again; it does, albeit in isolated sparks. The prosaic, longwinded diction is unsuited to providing a dignified garb for his fantasy, whenever it does appear. Closely related to the style, which becomes increasingly prosaic, is the growing length of the verses, with the result that nothing remains of the poetical form but the rhyme. Although the rhyme does still frequently leave an impression as a forceful conclusion to ideas, it is also often annoying, employed casually and reduced to the simplest forms, such as *ūn*, *īn*, etc. The sūras themselves are at times exceedingly long, although some of these long sections may be made up of shorter ones without readily apparent joints. Another peculiarity of the third period is the address, "O, you people" (يا أيها الناس). Just as an Arab usually uses an address when speaking at an assembly,<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad now does so more often when speaking prosaically. The earlier sūras, which are poetically or, even more, rhetorically motivated, lack this figure of speech.

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<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad was an average stylist at best. The literary importance of the man is based on his originality to create a new Bible-like style for the documents of his new religion.

<sup>2</sup> For example, يا قوم، يا معشر قريش.

*Comments on Sūras: 32, 41, 45, 16, 30, 11, 14, 12, 40, 28, 39*

[i/144] Since the sūras of the third period display virtually no apparent development, it is even more difficult than for the earlier periods to establish any kind of chronological order.

In sūra 32,<sup>3</sup> the words of the twenty-third verse, فلا تكن في مريّة من لقائه were certainly interpolated, since they do not fit into the context in any way.<sup>4</sup> Verse 16,<sup>5</sup> or verses 18 to 20,<sup>6</sup> are incorrectly considered to be of Medinan origin, the former because of a tradition that applied it to the poor emigrants or the “helpers,” and the latter because it was cited in connection with an event during the Battle of Badr.

With sūra 41:1–3 Muḥammad is supposed to have tried to convert ‘Utba b. Rabī’a,<sup>7</sup> a respected Meccan. Even if this were true, all it teaches us is that the sūra antedates the conversion attempt. Ibn Hishām dates this to immediately after the conversion of Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb al-Taymī, yet Ibn Hishām is known to have paid virtually no attention to precise chronology of the events before the *hijra*. It must be added that we have no reliable information on Ḥamza’s conversion.<sup>8</sup> As for the external form of the sūra, it is noteworthy that verses 1 to 38 regularly rhyme with *ūn* or *īn*, less frequently (verses 1, 11, 32, and 34 to 36) with *īm*. The caesuras at the end of verses 12 and 26 (Flügel’s edition) are inaccurate. Thereafter, in verses 39 to 54, *ūn* and *īn* respectively disappear altogether; *īm* occurs only once and is replaced by a great variety of other rhyming letters (ب، ص، ط، ظ، ر، ز، د)<sup>9</sup> This, however,

<sup>3</sup> This sūra, like several other shorter ones, Muir assigns to his fourth stage, not the fifth stage. In Flügel’s edition of the Koran the verses 9 and 10 constitute one verse.

<sup>4</sup> All attempts at explanation by Muslim exegetes are futile as is the case in Muslim al-Qastallānī, vol. 2, p. 75 (*bāb al-isrā’*, *K. al-Īmān*, § 72) the لقاؤه refers to Moses. The true sense of these words in the original place becomes apparent from passages like 32:10 and 14, and 41:54.

<sup>5</sup> al-Wāḥidī; *al-Itqān*, pp. 34 and 19; ‘Alā’ al-Dīn (AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī).

<sup>6</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Nasafī; al-Wāḥidī; [ABŪ AL-QĀSIM] ‘Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ]; al-Zamakhsharī; *al-Itqān*, p. 19 sq.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 186; cf. Sprenger, *Das Leben*, vol. 2, second ed., p. 7 sq.; [*EL*]; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 460, 531; Wensinck, *Muḥammad and the Jews of Medina*, p. 111].

<sup>8</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 227 and Ibn Sa’d (*al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*): *Biographien der mekkanischen Kämpfer* (vol. 3, part 1), p. 192, presuppose that Ḥamza embraced Islam before ‘Umar did. Al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1189, explicitly says so. Ibn Sa’d, *ibid.*, p. 4, puts the conversion into year 6 of Muḥammad’s prophetic commission. Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, vol. 1, no. 1818; and ‘Izz al-Dīn IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Usd al-ghāba fī ma’rifat al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 2, p. 46, claim that this had taken place already in the second year after Muḥammad’s commission.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. below on sūra 40.

is no reason divide the sūra, particularly as verse 39 (rhyme with *īr*) belongs together with verses 34 and 38 (rhyme with *ūm*), while verse 44 seems to refer to the first verse.

According to al-Wāḥidī, sūra 45:13 was occasioned by a campaign against the Banū Muṣṭaliq, or some other event in Medina (cf. also *al-Itqān*, p. 35). ‘Umar, who plays a noteworthy role in this affair, appears also in traditions supporting the Meccan origin. That a man of the Banū Ghifār<sup>10</sup> appears in some of these traditions as ‘Umar’s opponent perhaps stems originally from that verse is containing the word *يغفروا*.

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In sūra 16 we find some verses that were not promulgated until Medina. Verse 43sq. could be taken to refer to the emigration to Abyssinia, but verse 111 clearly speaks of “those who have emigrated after persecution and then struggled” against the infidels. Since the two afore-mentioned verses bear a great resemblance to this one, we might assume an identical origin. Incidentally, this verse pertains here to emigrants in general and not to any particular band, as al-Wāqidi, p. 111, and al-Wāḥidī, s.v., report. Verses 115 to 118 could be considered Meccan if it were certain that sūra 6:119 referred to them.<sup>11</sup> In contrast, verse 119 must have originated at Medina if, as seems likely, it does have 6:147 in mind. The same applies to verse 120, which is connected with it and displays similarity to verse 111, as well as verse 125, which deals with the Jewish Sabbath. The Meccan origin of verse 124 is doubtful,<sup>12</sup> if only because most of the verses, like this one, consider Islam to be the religion of Abraham (*millat Ibrāhīm*).<sup>13</sup> Sūras 2:134 and 129, 3:89, 4:124, and 22:77 are surely Medinan on the basis of their context. This suspicion is strengthened by internal evidence. “In the beginning Muḥammad is convinced to bring to the Arabs what the Christians received from ‘Īsā (Ibn Maryam, Jesus), and the Jews from Mūsā (Ibn ‘Imrān, i.e., Moses) etc.; and in dealing with the pagans, he optimistically makes a reference to “the

<sup>10</sup> Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Zamakhsharī; ‘Alā’ al-Dīn (AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī).

<sup>11</sup> It is wrong to think it refers to 5:4, one of the latest verses of the entire Koran.

<sup>12</sup> The arguments for the following evidence I adopted from Snouck Hurgronje’s *Mekkaansche feest*, pp. 28–40. Also in his subsequent articles did this scholar quite rightly emphasize again and again the importance of Ibrāhīm for the development of the attitude vis-à-vis Muḥammad’s early revelations. Cf. his “De Islam,” tweede deel, pp. 460 and 466; and his review, “Une nouvelle biographie de Mohammed,” by H. Grimme, p. 64sqq.

<sup>13</sup> In other passages of the Koran *milla* refers to the religion of the Jews and Christians (once, 2:114) as well as pagans (four times; in 38:6 the meaning is ambiguous). Its origin from Aramaic is beyond doubt (*mellthā* “word”), but the Koranic meaning “religion” is not to be found there. However, it seems to me that the usage of this word among the Arabs is older than Islam.

enlightened" (sūras 16:45, and 21:7), who merely have to be asked to have the truth of his teaching confirmed. The disappointment comes at Medina, where the People of the Book refuse to recognize the Prophet. He is thus obliged to find for himself an instance that still does not contradict his early revelations. Given this situation, he reaches for the older prophets whose communities cannot cross him. In the final analysis, though, this tendency is only expressed in sūra 2:129. It comes as no surprise that Muḥammad later felt himself most closely related to Abraham, since this patriarch was for both Christians and Jews the perfect example of justice and obedience to the faith, the "Father"<sup>14</sup> of all pious men who "God took for a friend."<sup>15</sup> Muḥammad's preference for Abraham is closely connected with the idea of sūras 2:119 and 2:121, which present him as the founder of the Meccan sanctuary.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, Muḥammad might not even have adopted this view until Medina, for still in the late Meccan sūras he was of the opinion that no previous "warner" had come to his contemporaries from Allāh (sūras 32:2, 34:43, 36:5). One is tempted to assign the entire section from verses 111 to 125 to this period, since, besides verse 124, verses 111, 119, and 120 are definitely Medinan, as well as, possibly, verses 113 to 118.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, it is wrong to consider verses 96 (starting with *وتذوقوا*) to 98, or verses 97 to 99, to be Medinan<sup>18</sup> by interpreting *عهد الله* (verse 97) to refer to agreements concluded with various clans after the *hijra*. By the same token, the preceding verse might be assigned to after the *hijra*. Additionally, the division of verse 96 into two parts cannot be justified in any way. Weil<sup>19</sup> declares verses 103 to

<sup>14</sup> E.g. *Berēshūth Rabbā*, Par. 39, beginning; *Matthew* 3:9; *Luke* 16:24; *Romans* 4:1, 4:16, etc. This is presumably where also sūra 22:77 belongs. The idea that Abraham is the patriarch of the Arabs need not be the basis of this passage.

<sup>15</sup> In the Koran only sūra 4:124 (*khalīl*), but quite common in *ḥadīth*. The idea is expressed already in the Old Testament (*ōhēb*, *Isaiah* 4:8, II *Chronicles* 20:7). In later Hebrew writing Abraham is called *yedīd*, e.g., Talmud Babli, *Menāhōth* 53 b, and *Shabbāth* 137 b (other passages see B. Beer, *Das Leben Abrahams*, notes 427 and 950) or *reḥīm*, e.g., in an Aramaic synagogical liturgy for the "minor" Atonement Day. In early Christian literature it is called φιλός θεοῦ (Jacob. 2:23; Ep[istle of] Clem[ent] 10:1 and 17:2).

<sup>16</sup> This legend is perhaps not Muḥammad's invention, rather the product of Arab Jewish or Christian brains who did not want to renounce the religious celebration at the Ka'ba. Snouck Hurgronje in his *Mekkaansche feest*, p. 28, writes "that he [Muḥammad] shunned the *hajj* festivities because this included the presence of polytheists ... and that it is not unlikely, and considered a fact by tradition, that also Christians participated, which explains the swift riding through Wādī Muḥassir [Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 634] where in early days Christians observed the *wuqūf*" (cf. Muḥammad 'Ābid, *Hidāyat al-nāsik*, p. 112).

<sup>17</sup> Thus Grimme, *Mohammed*, vol. 2, p. 26, although without giving a reason.

<sup>18</sup> 'Umar b. Muḥammad IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ; 'Alā' al-Dīn (AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī).

<sup>19</sup> *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran*, 1st ed., p. 64, 2nd ed., p. 74.



105 to be Medinan, yet the assumption that Muḥammad did not abrogate or change verses before the *hijra* is wrong; one merely needs to recall what was said above regarding sūra 53.<sup>20</sup> Verse 105, in which it says that “only a mortal is teaching him,” as well as verse 103, according to which the unbelievers openly call him “a mere forger,” do not reflect the conditions after his emigration from his native town. Finally, the verses in question are, it seems, connected with their surroundings. Totally worthless is the argument that verse 105 points to the Persian Salmān, who did not embrace Islam until Medina.<sup>21</sup> It seems to have emanated from the inaccurate interpretation of *أعجمي*, a name which was later predominantly applied to Persians. Many traditions name other people, all obscure persons, slaves with names as well as unknown ones (e.g., *يسار*, *جبر*, *يعيش*, *بلعام*). Verse 108, according to a tradition of Abū l-Ḥajjāj MUJĀHID [Ibn Jabr al-Makkī<sup>22</sup>] refers to those believers who were afraid to follow the example of the Prophet and turn their back on their native town.<sup>23</sup> All other traditionists correctly apply the verse to Muslims without means or reputation who before the *hijra* were the object of much persecution on the part of the Meccans. The verses starting with 126 are Meccan in content as well as form.<sup>24</sup> Tradition throughout interprets them as prohibition against Muḥammad’s taking revenge on the Meccans for the death of Ḥamza in accordance with his vow.<sup>25</sup> Some writers add that these verses were not occasioned immediately after the Battle of Uḥud but only during the conquest of Mecca,<sup>26</sup> where Muḥammad was diplomatic enough not to act on the opportunity for vengeance. These inaccurate views might be based on the fact that the text of that earlier revelation was referred to by the Prophet during one of these occasions,<sup>27</sup> but, more likely, they are fabrications of the exegetes. Moreover, since the last half of sūra 16 contains

<sup>20</sup> See above, p. 82 sqq.

<sup>21</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 14, p. 111, l 5; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍawī; Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 369, note, Weil, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, 2nd ed., p. 74.

<sup>22</sup> *EF*; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 430–431; Sezgin, *GAS*, vols. 1, p. 29, vol. 6, p. 10, vol. 7, p. 365, vol. 8, p. 22.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. al-Wāḥidī; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*; ‘Alā’ al-Dīn (AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *هو أحسن* (verse 126) and *وإصبر* (v. 128); *بما يكرون* (v. 128); all indications are that the Prophet found himself in the situation of the underdog and could not even consider resistance, least of all open warfare.

<sup>25</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 584 sqq.; al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, vol. 1, p. 1420 sqq., and his *Tafsīr*; al-Wāḥidī, p. 283; al-Tirmidhī (*Tafsīr*); al-Ṭabarī (Persian), vol. 3, p. 38; al-Wāḥidī; (ABŪ AL-QĀSIM) ‘Umar b. Muḥammad IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ; *al-Aghānī*, vol. 14, p. 22 sqq.; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍawī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, pp. 19, 33, and 42; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*.

<sup>26</sup> al-Tirmidhī, loc. cit.; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 42; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Weil, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran*, 1st ed., p. 64, 2nd ed., p. 74.

several genuine or allegedly Medinan verses, some people take the easy way out and consider the verses 42 or 41 to the end,<sup>28</sup> or the entire sūra, to be completely Medinan.<sup>29</sup>

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The first verses of sūra 30 must have been promulgated after the Byzantines (*al-Rūm*) had fought the Persians with little fortune in a neighbouring country of Arabia.<sup>30</sup> It is very difficult, however, to determine which of the many Byzantine defeats dating until after the *hijra*<sup>31</sup> is meant, particularly as the early Muslim writers,<sup>32</sup> who supply confusing and incomplete accounts of these events, cannot be confirmed by Byzantine reports. The common view holds that this sūra concerns a Byzantine defeat at Adhru‘āt<sup>33</sup> and Buṣrā in Mesopotamia or in Palestine. The Persian translator of al-Ṭabarī (*Chronique*, Zotenberg, vol. 2, p. 306 sq.), who mentions in this context all sorts of confused details about the dethronement of Mauricius (مورق), etc., says that the Koran speaks of the capture of Jerusalem. It is difficult to deny that the sūra pertains to an important event that took place either in Palestine or its vicinity. Yet we cannot say for sure if that capture happened in June, AD 614,<sup>34</sup> in accord with the most reliable source (*Chron[icon] pasch[ale]*), or at a later date.<sup>35</sup> Perhaps Muḥammad had no single event in mind at all. Gustav Weil<sup>36</sup> is wrong to separate the first verses from the fol-

<sup>28</sup> (ABŪ AL-QĀSIM) ‘Umar b. Muḥammad IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ; Hibat Allāh.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> The readings غَلَبْت and سَيَغْلِبُونَ are, of course, old and already mentioned in al-Tirmidhī’s *Tafsīr* on sūra 30:1; but they are based on less reliable authorities than the common reading and must be rejected because they emanate only from the defeats later inflicted upon the Byzantines by the Muslims. This, however, Muḥammad cannot have anticipated at the time. Al-Ṭabarī says in his *Tafsīr*: فقرأته (غَلَبْت) عامة قراء الأماصار.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon*, p. 100.

<sup>32</sup> al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1003 sqq., and Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 297 sqq.; al-Wāḥidī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Qurṭubī; and al-Bayḍāwī.

<sup>33</sup> In this battle the Greek military leader was, according to al-Wāḥidī يَحْنَس (Yuhannis), about whom I have been unable to find anything. The Persian leader شهربراز, however, is also mentioned by the Byzantines (Σαγβαροζος etc), by the Armenians (after LeBeau, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*), and Bar Hebraeus ܫܗܪܒܪܐܝܝܡ. Cf. in particular Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 292.

<sup>34</sup> Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 297, and *Aufsätze zur persischen Geschichte*, p. 126.

<sup>35</sup> As far as this subject is concerned, the Meccans were rather indifferent regarding the defeat of either the Persians or the Byzantines, for the view that they as idolaters sympathized with the Persians as the Muslims relate is missing the point. But Muḥammad was indeed interested in the Christians, with whom at that time he nearly identified himself. For him the victory of the Byzantines over the Persians must have been equivalent to the victory of the monotheists over the disbelievers, and for this reason he enabled his opponents to reproach him because his friends had been defeated, and that his god had apparently been unable to help them.

<sup>36</sup> *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran*, 1st ed., p. 67, 2nd ed., p. 76.

lowing ones, with which they are closely connected. Verse 16 sq. is held by some to be Medinan on the grounds that they refer to liturgies which, naturally, had already been in service before the emigration.<sup>37</sup>

For no good reason whatsoever some people hold verse 5 of sūra 11<sup>38</sup> to have been promulgated at al-Ṭāʾif.<sup>39</sup> A different opinion, suspecting here a reference to the Hypocrites of Medina,<sup>40</sup> has already been rejected by al-Bayḍāwī. Verses 15,<sup>41</sup> 20<sup>42</sup> (because of its mentioning the Jews), and 116<sup>43</sup> (because it fixes the times for prayer) some hold to be Medinan. The individual parts of the sūra are generally coherent.<sup>44</sup> Still, some irregularities in the composition must be pointed out. In the stories of Nūḥ [Noah] (verse 27 sqq.), Hūd (verse 52 sqq.), Ṣāliḥ (verse 64 sqq.), and Shuʿayb (verse 85 sqq.),<sup>45</sup> verses 72 to 84 are divorced from the scheme adopted in the introduction. Verse 85 is more readily understood as a continuation of verse 71. Verses 112 to 123 unmistakably refer to afore-mentioned “generations” (11:118), “cities” (11:119), and “messengers” (11:121), although verses 102 to 111 certainly appear to be a concluding recapitulation. The mention of Moses in verse 112 is conspicuous in view of verse 99.

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<sup>37</sup> ʿUmar b. Muḥammad IBN ʿABD AL-KĀFĪ; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī. Even with a stretch of language you arrive at only four prayers; but the verses 16 and 17 are probably parallel. The five daily prayers are nowhere explicitly instituted in the Koran. Cf. above, p. 45.

<sup>38</sup> Verse 5 of Flügel's edition concludes with حِينَ, which is against its sense and all good traditions. Cf. thereon ʿUmar b. Muḥammad IBN ʿABD AL-KĀFĪ, and Abū Yahyā Zakariyyāʾ AL-ANṢĀRĪ al-Shāfiʿī [d. 926/1519], *K. al-Maqṣad*, s.v.

<sup>39</sup> al-Bayḍāwī, cf. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī).

<sup>40</sup> ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī), s.v.

<sup>41</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 32; ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī) in the introduction after Muqātil.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 12, p. 75; ʿUmar b. Muḥammad IBN ʿABD AL-KĀFĪ; al-Wāḥidī; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*; ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī) after Ibn ʿAbbās and Qatāda; al-Qaṣṭallānī to al-Bukhārī, *K. mawāqit al-ṣalāt*, § 4.

<sup>44</sup> Cf., for example, the omission of لقد أرسلنا, verses 52, 64, and 85, because the phrase had already been used in verse 27.

<sup>45</sup> For the first time, the people of Shuʿayb—a name still not properly identified, and previously always known by the genuine Arabic name al-Ayka—are here called Madyan, a name which can have reached Muḥammad only through Jewish channels. According to him, both names indicate an identity because (1) they have only one prophet, which never happens in the case of two peoples; (2) once the name Madyan is introduced it never reappears; (3) both peoples are accused of “filling up the balance” unjustly (sūras 26:181 sq., 7:83, and 11:86). For the reasons, both one and two, some Muslims presuppose the identity of both peoples (al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 795). It is, of course a different question whether the identity of Shuʿayb and the father-in-law of Moses, and the related problem of his people and Madyan is original. Cf. Nöldeke's article “Midian” in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. 3, col. 3080. [*EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 650, col. 2.]

[i/152] Sūra 14:33 and 34 several exegetes falsely consider to refer to the Quraysh fighting at Badr.<sup>46</sup> In verse 38 sqq., “Ibrāhīm [Abraham] asks his Lord to make the sacred territory of Mecca secure and keep his sons from serving idols; he then praises God for having given him two sons, Jacob and Ishmael, despite his old age.” For the same reasons explained above regarding sūra 16:124, as well as the arguments of Snouck Hurgronje,<sup>47</sup> these verses also ought to be considered Medinan. “From then on the patriarchs are no longer mentioned without including Ishmael between Abraham and Isaac.” At a later stage Ishmael advances to become a joint founder of the Ka‘ba ([“raised up the foundations of the House,]” sūra 2:121).

The entirety of sūra 12, with the exception of the final few verses, which are nevertheless still connected with the others,<sup>48</sup> is distinguished from all the other large sūras by its focusing on only one subject,<sup>49</sup> the life of Joseph.<sup>50</sup> We have it from two later writers<sup>51</sup> that Muḥammad dispatched this sūra with the first men from Yathrib converted near Mecca. Even supposing that this was entirely certain, it merely follows that the sūra dates from before this event, and not that this was the occasion of the revelation itself, as Weil seems to believe.<sup>52</sup> Regarding this point of view, which considers verses 1 to 3 to be Medinan,<sup>53</sup> al-Suyūṭī<sup>54</sup> correctly says that this is untenable and baseless. The same applies to the tradition that ascribes a Medinan origin to sūra 12, verse 7.<sup>55</sup>

[i/153] Sūra 40:58 sq. is unjustly considered to refer to the Jews and, thus, held to be Medinan.<sup>56</sup> The verses from 59 to the end (v. 87) stand out in so far as they all rhyme with *ūn* or *īn* while in the preceding rhymes an enormous diversity

<sup>46</sup> al-Wāqidi, p. 133; (ABŪ AL-QĀSIM) ‘Umar b. Muḥammad (IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ); al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 33; ‘Alā’ al-Dīn (AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī). The verses 11, 12, 13, 14 and 24, 25 of Flügel’s edition constitute only one verse each.

<sup>47</sup> Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche feest*, p. 40, 117–23. Cf. above, p. 119.

<sup>48</sup> See verse 109 sqq., but particularly verse 111.

<sup>49</sup> This also corresponds to the rhyme which throughout ends with *ūn*, *īm*, and *īn*, once each only with *īr* and *īl*. The rhymes with *ār* (v. 39) and *rā* (v. 96) are based on the inaccurate division of the verses.

<sup>50</sup> Regarding the Jewish sources of the Koranic version cf. Geiger, loc. cit., p. 139 sqq., as well as Israel Schapiro’s comprehensive thesis.

<sup>51</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 39; al-Diyārbakrī, Cairo ed., 1283, *juz’* 1, p. 13.

<sup>52</sup> *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 380.

<sup>53</sup> (ABŪ AL-QĀSIM) ‘Umar b. Muḥammad IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ.

<sup>54</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 32.

<sup>55</sup> (ABŪ AL-QĀSIM) ‘Umar b. Muḥammad IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*; ‘Alā’ al-Dīn (AL-KHĀZIN).

prevails.<sup>57</sup> Additionally, since the two parts of the sūra are incoherent internally, we may suspect different origins. Their combination possibly owes to the fact that the pet idiom of the first part, جادل في آيات الله (verses 4, 5, 37, and 58) appears also once in the second part of this sūra (verse 71).<sup>58</sup>

Sūra 28:52 is just as falsely considered to refer to the Christians who came to Muḥammad at Medina.<sup>59</sup> Among other reasons, how could Muḥammad still claim after his sad experiences with the Jews that those who had received the Scripture believed in the Koran. Verses 76 to 82 look like a segment inserted at the wrong place, since it is difficult to connect with either the preceding or the following text, particularly as 28:83 is more suitable to follow 28:75. Given the usual, frequently-jumping style of the Koran, however, this is not the issue. One can thus consider verse 83 as a contrast to the whole story of Qārūn [the Biblical Korah], who believes in his own strength and does not worry about God and the hereafter.<sup>60</sup> On account of a literal and, in this case, totally inappropriate interpretation<sup>61</sup> of the words لِرَادِّكَ إِلَىٰ مَعَادٍ, verse 85 is said to have originated during the emigration to Juhfa, a place between Mecca and Yathrib.<sup>62</sup> It is likely to be nothing but a misinterpretation that makes this a Medinan sūra<sup>63</sup> or considers the entire sūra to have been revealed between Mecca and Medina.<sup>64</sup>

Regarding sūra 39,<sup>65</sup> the verses 54, or 54 to 56, or 54 to 61, are supposed to have been sent from Mecca to Medina on account of Waḥshī or other

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<sup>57</sup> The principle rhyme is *ā* with following *b, d, r, q, l, ع, ل*, altogether forty-one times; *ī* with following *m, n, r, l, b*, twenty-one times; *ū* with following *d, n, r*, twenty-two times. The conspicuous rhyming word كَذَّبًا in verse 39 (Flügel's edition) is certainly occasioned by an inaccurate division of the verses.

<sup>58</sup> Given a different context, this evidence would opt for original uniformity.

<sup>59</sup> al-Ṭabarī in the *Tafsīr* after al-Ḍaḥḥāk; and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī after Muqātil b. Sulaymān; Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 34. According to 'Alā' al-Dīn (AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī) also the following eight verses are Medinan.

<sup>60</sup> Also in the diction of the verses 77 and 83 there are some points of contact, e.g., فساد الدار الآخرة.

<sup>61</sup> This is also Weil's view in *Historische-kritische Einleitung*, 1st ed., p. 66, 2nd ed., p. 76.

<sup>62</sup> Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*; 'Alā' al-Dīn (AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī). Cf. Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 373. There are, however, also different explanations of these words in the commentaries. For a strange interpretation see al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 2942, and Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, vol. 1, p. 174.

<sup>63</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 34.

<sup>64</sup> (ABŪ AL-QĀSIM) 'Umar b. Muḥammad IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ.

<sup>65</sup> The problems of the rhyme of this sūra display great similarity with those of sūra 41. Against Flügel the verses 3 and 4 are only one verse. The words in verse 9, ولا تتر وازرة ووزر which appear also in sūras 6:164, 17:16, 35:19, and with a slight change (الآ) also in 53:39, might be the result of interpolation.

noted criminals, with the result that the verses are largely considered to be Medinan.<sup>66</sup> Other writers also date verse 13<sup>67</sup> to the time after the *hijra*, probably by mistake, and likewise verse 24<sup>68</sup> for no good reason.

*Comments on Sūras 29, 31, 42, 10, 34, 35, 7, 46, 6, 13*

Sūra 29:1–10 many writers rightfully consider Medinan.<sup>69</sup> Verses 7 and 8 must be included, although the commentators, giving some other explanations, generally regard this passage, as well as sūras 31:13 and 46:14, as referring to Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqās,<sup>70</sup> one of the first believers. Yet these passages refer to those men of Medina who, obeying their parents’ wishes, declined to participate in the campaigns of the Prophet. These ten verses, however, must originate from the time after Muḥammad had already completed several campaigns, certainly after the Battle of Badr and probably after the Battle of Uḥud.<sup>71</sup> The explanations of these stories<sup>72</sup> produced by tradition are of little use. Verse 45 in its current form is certainly Medinan, since here the Muslims are permitted to deal with stubborn Jews otherwise than “the fairer manner,” i.e., not with words but with violence. Muḥammad could not use such expressions before the *hijra*. Furthermore, this is in contradiction to the Meccan verse 46, where it says that “those to whom We have given the Book believe in it; and some of these believe in it.”<sup>73</sup> However, the words لَا الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا مِنْهُمْ (otherwise only in sūra 2:145) look like a later insertion, as

<sup>66</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 320; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī on sūra 4:51; al-Wāhidī; al-Ṭabarī in his *Tafsīr*; ‘Umar b. Muḥammad IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; *al-Itqān*, pp. 20 and 35; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*; ‘Alā’ al-Dīn (AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī).

<sup>67</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 35; ‘Alā’ al-Dīn (AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī).

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. the Commentators; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*; al-Wāhidī. A misunderstanding reverses this and considers only the ten verses to be Meccan. (Hibat Allāh.)

<sup>70</sup> *EP*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, p. 171.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. the word المنافقون, verse 10, which is not yet found in sūra 2. H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, vol. 2, p. 26, and August Müller in his edition of Fr. Rückert’s translation of the Koran, p. 509 sq., also consider the verses 11 and 12 to belong to this context, while Weil, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, 2nd ed., p. 76, fixes only the verses 9 and 10—and with less certainty verse 5—to Medina. Sprenger, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 132 sq., is trying to establish the Meccan origin of the entire sūra, dating it at the time of the emigration to Abyssinia, a view which is shared by many of the early Muslim authorities. Hirschfeld (*New researches*, p. 144) concurs with him, with the exception that he assigns individual parts to different classes, verses 1 to 12 to the sixth class, 13 to 42 to the fourth, and 43 to 69 to the fifth.

<sup>72</sup> See the Commentators and al-Wāqidī, p. 68 (Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 55).

<sup>73</sup> Cf. above, p. 125, the comments on sūra 28:52, [“those to whom We have given the Book believe in it.”]

the subordinate clause starting with *وقولوا* does not presuppose them, and the double exception with *إلا* within the same sentence is not only awkward but also appears only here in the Koran. If this passage is omitted, verse 45 says that the People of the Book may only be opposed with words but not force. The provenance of the text thus shortened is unknown. In favour of its Medinan origin speaks the phrase, *ahl al-kitāb*, the People of the Book, which Meccan sūras do not contain, instead employing cumbersome paraphrases,<sup>74</sup> whereas all the other Koranic passages with the phrase *بالتي هي* (sūras 6:53, 16:126, and 23:98) are generally considered to be Meccan. In verse 56 it is suggested to the believers even to leave their country in the interest of the new religion. Yet this alone is no reason to conclude that these verses belong to the period shortly before the emigration to Yathrib. After all, we know that some Muslims, as well as even Muḥammad, had already left the city beforehand. Verse 69 might have been added at Medina, although it is also possible that *جاهد* here simply means “to bear misfortune or persecution courageously” rather than “to fight,” with the result that the verse also fits in with the Meccan circumstances.<sup>75</sup> Because of a legend, which we also have from al-Wāḥidī, verse 60 is also held to be Medinan.<sup>76</sup> Another opinion, based on the isolated Medinan verses, even applies this to the entire sūra, although there is unlikely to be yet another passage besides verse 67 that points more clearly to its origin in the inviolable territory of Mecca. As far as verses 18 to 22 are concerned, it might easily seem—particularly because of the word *qul*—that they are out of place here. All the same, we must not consider words like those in sūra 11:37 to be addressed to Muḥammad; rather it is the Prophet whose sermon is being communicated. Only the historical reference that God said *قل* to him needs to be added. It is not quite clear for what reason this sūra has been considered on more than one occasion to be the last one promulgated before the *hijra*;<sup>77</sup> perhaps it is because of verse 56. The verses have uniform rhymes (*īn, īm, īr, ūn*). The glaring exception in verse 51 (*ā*) is occasioned by an inaccurate division. Verses 51 and 52 in Flügel’s edition of the Koran ought to be combined.

Sūra 31:3 is considered by some to be Medinan because of the apparent reference to the community tax.<sup>78</sup> Verses 13 sq., dealing with foolish parents,

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<sup>74</sup> E.g. الذين آتيناهم الكتاب, verse 46.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Weil, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, 1st ed., p. 67, note; 2nd ed., p. 76, note.

<sup>76</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 34.

<sup>77</sup> See above the lists of the sūras and the introduction to al-Wāḥidī’s *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, p. 8; and al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rikh al-khamīs, juz’ 1*, p. 10.

<sup>78</sup> al-Bayḍāwī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 19.

are most likely not in the proper place; they might rather be located after verse 18 to serve as a contrast to Luqmān al-Ḥakīm's<sup>79</sup> wise sayings to his son. Still, like 29:7, they probably belong to the Medinan period (cf. above, s.v.) Before verse 15 something has most likely been omitted, since *لَا* can hardly do without the noun to which it refers. Similar cases are not infrequently the result of interpolations. Since verse 19 can more readily follow verse 10, the entire pericope of Luqmān might have been inserted later. Verses 16 to 18, like so many others, are said to be directed against the Jews of Medina and thus promulgated there.<sup>80</sup>

In sūra 42, too, several verses are declared to be Medinan for no apparent reason, namely verse 26,<sup>81</sup> or verse 22 b (starting with *قُلْ*) and 26,<sup>82</sup> or verse 22 (from the beginning) and 23,<sup>83</sup> or verses 22 b to 26,<sup>84</sup> or the verses 23 to 26,<sup>85</sup> and, finally, verse 35<sup>86</sup> or the verses from 37 to 39.<sup>87</sup>

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In sūra 10, we also find several verses erroneously considered to have been created at Medina, namely verse 41,<sup>88</sup> which writers take to refer to the local Jews, verse 59<sup>89</sup> and verse 94 or 94sq. or 94 to 96<sup>90</sup> or verses 59 and 60<sup>91</sup>—which, incidentally, are the oldest verses of the Koran according to Hibat Allāh (Ibn Salāma)—or verse 41 right to the end,<sup>92</sup> or even the entire sūra.<sup>93</sup> The same happens occasionally with sūra 34:6 because the Jews are mentioned.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Luqmān, *Fables de Loqman le Sage*, ed. J. Derenbourg, introduction; *Et*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Wāḥidī; 'Umar b. Muḥammad; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 35; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*; 'Alā' al-Dīn (AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī); al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī. Flügel's verses 32 and 33 constitute only one verse; this is in accordance with sound tradition because the rhyming word *شَيْئًا* is in this sūra impossible.

<sup>81</sup> Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Bayḍāwī.

<sup>82</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Wāḥidī.

<sup>83</sup> 'Alā' al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī.

<sup>84</sup> (ABŪ AL-QĀSIM) 'Umar b. Muḥammad; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*; 'Alā' al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī.

<sup>85</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 35.

<sup>86</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī. Flügel's verses 50 and 51 constitute only one verse.

<sup>87</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 35; 'Alā' al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī.

<sup>88</sup> 'Umar b. Muḥammad; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 32; 'Alā' al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī.

<sup>89</sup> 'Alā' al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. note 86. Hibat Allāh b. Salāma seems to mean these verses when he says that except for one or two verses this sūra is Meccan.

<sup>91</sup> al-Khāzin al-Baghdādī after Muqātil.

<sup>92</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, p. 32.

<sup>93</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, p. 26. Flügel's verses ten and eleven must be combined to one verse.

<sup>94</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, p. 35.



Sūra 35, verse 37 to the end (verse 45), have a common rhyme with *ā* that differs from the rest. This, however, is no reason to consider them late additions, particularly as verse 37 continues verse 33 quite well and the phraseology shows some other points of contact.<sup>95</sup>

Sūra 7 can be divided into five sections: verses 1 to 56 (the temptation of Adam and admonition addressed to the children of Adam), verses 57 to 100 (the sending of the ancient prophets, Nūḥ, Šāliḥ, and Shu‘ayb), verses 101 to 173<sup>96</sup> (Moses and the subsequent fate of the Jews), verses 174 to 185 (on an anonymous enemy of God), and, finally, verses 186<sup>97</sup> to 205 (on the Last Hour). Although there is no close relation between these sections it is still conceivable that Muḥammad himself made this combination. The first part probably dates from a pilgrimage celebration at Mecca, because it is an attack on the custom of circumambulating the Ka‘ba in the nude, and fasting during the time of the pilgrimage (verse 29). Verses 29 sq. (cf. verses 127 sq.) seem to indicate that shortly before this time there had been a scarcity of provisions at Mecca. Verse 163, to which some of the following verses are occasionally added, some writers consider Medinan,<sup>98</sup> probably because of a false inference from *واسألمهم* (verse 163), which was taken to refer to the Jews of Yathrib. It is rare that verse 198<sup>99</sup> or verse 203<sup>100</sup> are considered Medinan, although in verse 156 there are several indications that indeed betray a Medinan origin: *الأمم* is to be found only in Medinan passages, where it fits better, since the contrast between the prophets, who originated from pagans, and the People of the Book was of less importance at Mecca; the Torah and the Gospel are never mentioned in the Meccan sūras. And, finally,

<sup>95</sup> Cf. *يمسك* verse 2:39; *مكر*, verses 11 and 41; and *أجل مستقى*, verses 14 and 44. Verse 42 looks like a variant to the last five words of the preceding verse. According to sound tradition, there is no end of the verse after Flügel's *مستقى* (verse 44.)

<sup>96</sup> The verses 139, 140, 143, 144; 146, 147, and 157, 158 (Flügel's edition of the Koran) actually constitute one verse each as isolated rhymes with *ā* are inadmissible in this sūra.

F. Rückert in the notes to his translation of the Koran, p. 157 sq. considers the last sentence from verse 142 to verse 148 "an allusion to the content of verse 149, and whatever there is in between, to be false and, in any case, useless," but without supplying sufficient evidence.—In accordance with sound tradition, verse 166 ends after *خاستين*.

<sup>97</sup> Following the example of several passages (7:93, 12:107, 26:202, 29:53, 43:66), and in order to produce a rhyme, we must add in verse 186 after *بغنة* something like *وَأْتَمَّ لَا تَشْعُرُونَ*.—Verse 199 = sūra 41:36.

<sup>98</sup> ‘Umar b. Muḥammad; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, verse 163; Hibat Allāh, verses 163–166; ‘Alā’ al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī, verses 163–167; al-Zamakhsharī and al-Bayḍāwī in the introduction, al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 32; ‘Alā’ al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī, verses 163–170.

<sup>99</sup> al-Bayḍāwī in the introduction.

<sup>100</sup> al-Wāḥidī; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*.

عَزْرُوهُ وَنُصْرُوهُ unmistakably indicate the *anṣār*. We must therefore consider both this verse and the following verse, 157, i.e., verses 156 to 158,<sup>101</sup>—which also happen to interfere with the development of the subject—to be a Medinan appendix, possibly put here by Muḥammad himself. Tradition<sup>102</sup> usually considers verses 174 to 182 to refer either to the Biblical Balaam or to the aforementioned Umayya b. Abī l-Ṣalt. A more recent exegete,<sup>103</sup> however, believes they refer to the Jewish poet Ka'b b. al-Ashraf and therefore considers the section to be of Medinan origin.

[i/160] Sūra 46 is likewise considered to be Medinan because the Jews are mentioned.<sup>104</sup> Sunnites trace verse 14 back to Abū Bakr. It cannot be determined whether this tradition was fabricated to justify his caliphate or whether this was the result of less partisan motives. The text of the verses 14 to 16, however, has no particular person in mind,<sup>105</sup> instead emphasizing in a general sense that reverence for one's parents is among the signs of the true Muslim. Like the section from verses 14 to 16, verses 34 sq.,<sup>106</sup> which actually constitute only one verse, are also occasionally considered to be of Medinan origin for no apparent reason. Verses 20 to 31 certainly were not in this place originally, as they interrupt the continuity of verses 32 sq. and 19, although they do still belong to the same period. Even the earliest tradition attributes verse 28 to that same situation as sūra 72.<sup>107</sup> Even if this were not the case, it is certain that Muḥammad believed that he was in contact with the world of the *jinn*.

[i/161] In sūra 6 we find serious changes of subject after verses 45, 72, 90, 117, 134, 141, and 154. Still, the sūra displays an extraordinary stylistic as well as lexical uniformity.<sup>108</sup> This phenomenon can best be explained by the conjec-

<sup>101</sup> I have no idea why H. Hirschfeld in his *New researches*, pp. 132 and 145 considers also the remainder to verse 172 to be Medinan.

<sup>102</sup> The Commentators; al-Wāḥidī, etc.

<sup>103</sup> H. Hirschfeld, *New researches*, p. 95.

<sup>104</sup> The verse is thought to refer to 'Abd Allāh b. Salām ('Umar b. Muḥammad IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ); al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; 'Alā' al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 36; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, vol. 2, p. 782; 'Izz al-Dīn IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Uṣd al-ghāba fi ma'rīfat al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 3, p. 176, although certainly no single man is meant.

<sup>105</sup> 'Alā' al-Dīn (AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī) on verse 16: والقول الصحيح أنه ليس المراد من الآية شخص معين بل المراد كل شخص كان موصوفاً بهذه الصفة وهو كل من دعاه أبواه إلى الدين الصحيح.

<sup>106</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, 36; 'Alā' al-Dīn (AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī).

<sup>107</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 281; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1202; Ibn S'ad, *Biographie Muḥammads*, p. 142; al-Diyārbakrī, vol. 1, p. 303; and the Commentators. Cf. above, p. 108 sq.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. *خسر*, verse 12, 20, 31, and 141; *ومن أظلم ممن افترى على الله كذباً*, verses 21, 93, 145; *يفترون*, verses 24, 112, 138, 139; *نصرف الآيات*, verses 46, 65, 105; *صدف*, verses 46 and 158, three times, but nowhere else in the Koran; *كسب*, verses 3, 69, 120, and 129; *زم*, verses 22, 94, 137, and 139; *مست*, verses 17 and 49; *لبس*, verses 9, 65, 82, and 138; *هذا كتاب أنزلناه مبارك*, verses 92 and 156; *فضلنا الآيات*,

ture that the majority of the individual parts originate from a strictly limited period. Without sufficient grounds some writers consider verse 20 as Medinan,<sup>109</sup> presumably because of its reference to the People of the Book. We find this view<sup>110</sup> even more frequently applied to verse 93, because it is considered to refer to the false prophets (Musaylima, etc.) or to ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa’d b. Abī Sarḥ, [d. 57/676–677],<sup>111</sup> who is said to have falsified the revelations. A better case can be made about verse 91, whose date is fixed to after the emigration,<sup>112</sup> as the direct charge against the Jews of writing down their holy books (and thereby suppressing a great deal, including the passages referring to Muḥammad) is more likely to have been made at Medina than at Mecca. Since verse 93 was also considered Medinan, some writers simply give verses 92<sup>113</sup> and 94<sup>114</sup> the same dating. Verses 118 to 121 can hardly be in their proper place; instead, they must be seen as a fragment that naturally bears a great resemblance<sup>115</sup> to the section minutely discussing dietary laws and other prescriptions in verses 135 to 154. Verse 142, recommending alms,<sup>116</sup> and verses 152 to 154<sup>117</sup> are falsely considered Medinan. Before the section that starts with verse 155, something seems to have disappeared.

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verses 55, 97, 98, 119 and 126; حَاج and حِجَّة respectively, verses 80, 83 and 150; رَيْن, verses 43, 108, 122 and 138; يَا قَوْم, verses 78 and 135; اِنْس وِجْن, verses 112, 128 and 130; يَقْتَرُونَ, verses 113 and 120; لعب و لهو, verses 32 and 69.—The idiom هَادُوا الَّذِينَ, verse 147, which refers to the Jews is elsewhere found only in Medinan passages, sūras 2:59, 4:48 and 158, 5:45, 48, and 73, 16:119, 22:17, and 62:6.

<sup>109</sup> ‘Umar b. Muḥammad; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 31; al-Khāzin al-Baghdādī [*EP*].

<sup>110</sup> See above, p. 37 sq.

<sup>111</sup> al-Ṭabarī in his *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; ‘Alā’ al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Wāḥidī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 31; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl. EP*.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>113</sup> Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, p. 31.

<sup>114</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 31; ‘Alā’ al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī.

<sup>115</sup> Verse 119 refers either to sūra 16:116 or 6:146.

<sup>116</sup> ‘Umar b. Muḥammad IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; ‘Alā’ al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī.

<sup>117</sup> ‘Umar b. Muḥammad IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 31; AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī. Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 31 sq., and ‘Alā’ al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī in the introduction, who, among the writers accessible to me, supply the best information regarding the Medinan verses of this sūra, both hand down three different views each. Medinan are according to al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān* a: vv. 152–154, 93, 94, 20, and 114; according to al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān* b: v 91 sq.; according to *al-Itqān* c: vv. 152 and 153; according to ‘Alā’ al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī a: verses 152–154, 91, 93, and 94; according to ‘Alā’ al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN b: vv. 152–154, 91, 93, 94, 114, and 20; according to ‘Alā’ al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN c: vv. 91 and 142.

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According to common interpretation, sūra 13:13 and 14,<sup>118</sup> or verse 14 alone,<sup>119</sup> refer to ʿĀmir b. Ṭufayl and Arbad b. Qays,<sup>120</sup> heads of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿsaʿa, who apparently wanted to kill the Prophet in 9/630 or 10/631 and met an early death as punishment. For the same reason other verses connected with verse 13 sq., namely verses 11 and 12,<sup>121</sup> 11, 12 and 15,<sup>122</sup> or 9 to 12,<sup>123</sup> are inferred to be Medinan. The fact is that these men negotiated with Muḥammad in vain because of their association with the Medinan religious state, and shortly thereafter met a strange end: ʿĀmir from plague and Arbad by lightning strike.<sup>124</sup> Although the latter's cause of death is supported by an elegy of his stepbrother, the famous poet Labīd b. Rabīʿa,<sup>125</sup> it is improper to cite verses 13 and 14 in connection with this. They merely state the general idea that Allāh occasionally has people die from lightning. The simplest, and therefore likely the earliest, mention of Arbad<sup>126</sup> does not say anything of this revelation, nor do the many later accounts,<sup>127</sup> no matter how fancifully they might be presented. We find still other accounts explaining that verse, yet they too cannot be trusted. Verse 29 is dated 6/627, when the Meccans turned down the request of the Muslims to make *Bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm* the preamble of Pact of al-Ḥudaybiyya, as they did not know the word *al-Raḥmān*.<sup>128</sup> Other scholars just as erroneously think that verse 31 dates

<sup>118</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Wāḥidī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍawī; ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī.

<sup>119</sup> Ibn Qutayba, *Liber poësis*, p. 151, l 10; al-Bayḍawī.—Hibat Allāh [Ibn Salāma] tells the story without mentioning the verse.

<sup>120</sup> *EQ*.

<sup>121</sup> Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī.

<sup>122</sup> al-Wāḥidī.

<sup>123</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 940 (not from Ibn Ishāq); al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, vol. 1, p. 1745 sqq., Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Wāḥidī, Hibat Allāh, al-Maydānī, ed. G.W.F. Freytag, vol. 2, p. 172 sq.

<sup>124</sup> Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 256 sq.; Sprenger, *Das Leben*, vol. 3, p. 401. Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 2, part i, p. 90 sq., based on a comparison of the accounts by Ibn Saʿd (Wellhausen's *Medina vor dem Islam*, p. 152) and al-Wāqidi (Wellhausen's *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 306) dates the embassy of the Banū ʿĀmir before Jumādā II of 8AH.

<sup>125</sup> *Die Gedichte des Labīd ibn Rabīʿah*, ed. by Brockelmann and Huber, no. 25; Abū Tam-mām's *Ḥamāsa*, p. 468. Cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 941, l 9; Ibn Qutayba, *Liber poësis*, p. 151, l 9; *al-Aghānī*, vol. 15, p. 139, l 22. The scholiast is wrong when he thinks that the Arbad of the *Dīwān der Hudhailiten*, no. 106, verse 5 is Labīd's brother.

<sup>126</sup> Ibn Saʿd in Wellhausen's *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Heft 4, p. 151 sq., is the only source I know of that is so ignorant as not to know that the two chieftains went to Muḥammad to kill him.

<sup>127</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 940; al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, vol. 1, p. 1745 sq.; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Wāḥidī; Hibat Allāh [Ibn Salāma]; al-Maydānī in Georg W.F. Freytag's *Arabum proverbialia*, vol. 2, p. 172 sq.

<sup>128</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Wāḥidī; al-Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-khamīs, juzʾ*

from this period and apply it either to the Muslim force camping outside Mecca<sup>129</sup> or to Muḥammad's campaigns in general.<sup>130</sup> There is finally verse 43, which is occasionally considered to be Medinan because of the expression *shahīd*, since both here and elsewhere *shāhid* (sūra 46:9) is applied to the Jewish convert 'Abd Allāh b. Salām.<sup>131</sup>

The apparent Medinan origin of isolated verses has tempted some writers to apply this to the entire sūra.<sup>132</sup> In connection with this attitude verse 30 sq., or verse 31—which, as mentioned above, some authorities consider to be the sole Medinan verse in an otherwise totally Meccan sūra—is declared to be of Meccan origin.<sup>133</sup>

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1, p. 12, and following this, G. Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 375. In al-Wāḥidī we find still other explanations according to which the verse originates from Mecca.

<sup>129</sup> Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī, and less precise al-Zamakhsharī; and al-Bayḍāwī.

<sup>130</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; 'Alā' al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī.

<sup>131</sup> 'Umar b. Muḥammad IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; 'Alā' al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 26. In Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, this tradition is pronounced false.

<sup>132</sup> Apart from the lists of sūras (see above, p. 48 sq.), also 'Umar b. Muḥammad; Hibat Allāh [Ibn Salāma]; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 32 (Qatāda).

<sup>133</sup> 'Umar b. Muḥammad IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 32 (Qatāda); 'Alā' al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī. In al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, pp. 26 and 32, and in the introduction to 'Alā' al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī we find the following list of different views regarding sūra 13: First.—It is completely Meccan (al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 26, and 'Alā' al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī). Second.—Completely Medinan (*Itqān*, p. 26, al-Khāzin al-Baghdādī). Third.—Meccan except verses 9–14 (*al-Itqān*, p. 32). Fourth.—Meccan except verses 43 and 9–14 (*al-Itqān*, p. 26). Fifth.—Meccan except verses 13 and 14 ('Alā' al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī). Sixth.—Meccan except verses 31 and 43 ('Alā' al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī); Medinan except verse 31 (*al-Itqān*, p. 31). Seventh.—Medinan except verses 30 and 31 ('Alā' al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī).



## THE MEDINAN SŪRAS

### *General Comments*

Before starting with the discussion of these sūras it might be a good idea to review briefly the Prophet's circumstances before and after his emigration, as well as his political position in Medina *vis-à-vis* the various parties. The difference of those parts of the Koran that were revealed at Medina is occasioned by the change of historical reality. [i/164]

### *Political and Religious Conditions at Yathrib before the Hijra*

At Mecca Muḥammad played the unenviable role of a prophet who appealed to only few men, mainly from the lowest strata of society, and whom most people considered a fool or impostor, and who was protected against personal libel only by his relatives in deference to indivisible family ties. With his emigration he suddenly became a recognized spiritual and, soon thereafter, temporal leader of a large community. In spite of Julius Wellhausen's great studies on pre-Islamic Medina,<sup>1</sup> it is not quite clear what caused this remarkable change. For decades before the *hijra* Medina was the scene of violent feuds among the two great tribes, the Aws and Khazraj. The final great encounter in this struggle, the Battle of Bu'āth, failed to establish the supremacy of the victorious Aws and did not lead to an actual peace; on the contrary, the insecurity of the city became even greater than before, as the various blood-feuds were not officially settled and were left to personal vengeance. That the inhabitants of Yathrib later became so quickly accustomed to the supremacy of a stranger is certainly among the consequences of an anarchical situation that must have become increasingly unbearable as time went on. Nevertheless, contrary to what Leone Caetani argues,<sup>2</sup> this cannot lead to the conclusion that the men of Medina, who had established contacts with Muḥammad at Mecca, were politically motivated to pacify their city, even if it is quite possible that such matters had been discussed.

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<sup>1</sup> *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Heft 4, pp. 1–83; *Das arabischen Reich und sein Sturz*, pp. 1–15.

<sup>2</sup> *Annali dell'Islam*, vol. 1, p. 334.

Although tradition<sup>3</sup> explicitly maintains the latter point of view, it emphasizes above all the religious aspect, saying that Muḥammad had presented his ideas to a group of men from Medina who had come to visit the Ka'ba and had encountered receptive hearts. After their return to Medina, the men presented such a lively propaganda for Islam that within less than two years a respectable community had been formed that was prepared to offer the vindicated Prophet a new homeland.

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*The Unprecedented Success of Islamic Propaganda at Yathrib*

In order to explain the unprecedented success of Islam at Yathrib it has been pointed out that the Medinans must already have been familiar with the main tenets of Islam, thanks to the large number of Jews living in the city, as well as to the Christian Arab tribes residing in the vicinity, to whom they were related in part. It is even noted that religious reformers such as the Khazrajite<sup>4</sup> Aws b. 'Āmir al-Rāhib appeared among them and had followers.<sup>5</sup> This is undoubtedly correct. Even though similar people existed in Mecca, and the religions of the People of the Book were not unknown there,<sup>6</sup> nevertheless we must assume an incomparably stronger influx of Biblical ideas at Yathrib. The Medinan peasants could well have been more receptive to religion than the merchants of Mecca.

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Muslim tradition thus remains correct in its estimation that the religious atmosphere at Medina was the decisive moment for the acceptance of Muḥammad. In this case, the mutation from spiritual authority to political leadership was not a preconceived idea but rather a result of the prevailing conditions brought about by the clever manipulations of the Prophet, whose political ability achieved here its first success. Not even two years after his emigration he was able to dare to dictate a kind of constitution<sup>7</sup> to the inhabitants of Yathrib. What he seemed to have had in mind was a theocracy similar to that of Moses, where "Allāh and Muḥammad" were the last resort in all conflicts.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 287, l 1; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1210, l 6 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> It is no mere accident that the great majority of the first Medinan converts to Islam were members of the Khazraj tribe. At the second meeting in al-'Aqaba, fifty-eight participants are said to have been from the Khazraj, whereas only eight from the Aws were present. Cf. L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, vol. 1, p. 321 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Wellhausen, *Medina vor dem Islam*, pp. 15–17.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. above, pp. 6 and 13; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2nd ed., p. 238.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. A.J. Wellhausen's basic study, *Muḥammads Gemeindeordnung*, pp. 67–83, [and its translation in A.J. Wensinck, *Muhammad and the Jews of Medina*, pp. 128–138].



*The "Waverers" (munāfiqūn)*

Among the factions we assume were at Medina only the true Muslims were unconditionally allied with him. This group consisted primarily of the Meccan emigrants (*muhājirūn*) and a not insignificant number of the inhabitants of Yathrib, who had enthusiastically embraced Islam and distinguished themselves sufficiently to be named the Helpers (*aṣṣār*) of the Prophet.<sup>8</sup> Still, many inhabitants of Medina harboured less than friendly sentiments towards Muḥammad, neither recognizing him as a prophet nor being inclined to accept him as a ruler. Because of his great, enthusiastic following they did not dare to take position against him openly but rather met him with a passive resistance that more than once crossed his plans. Their influence was such that he had to treat them with respect and occasionally even give in. This party of the *munāfiqūn*, the Hypocrites and "waverers,"<sup>9</sup> was not particularly clearcut and simple. Even many who believed in Muḥammad remained far from strict obedience, as the bonds of blood and family, uniting its members and making them subservient to the authority of an innate or chosen head, were extremely strong among the contemporary Arabs as well as among all people under a patriarch. The reputation of 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl,<sup>10</sup> the most famous of the Khazraj, who outnumbered the Aws, especially counteracted this. Even after this man had lost his direct political power, his influence was still large enough that Muḥammad, who must have hated him dearly, was obliged until his death to treat him with consideration and nearly as an equal. Otherwise Muḥammad would easily have had the whole clan against him,<sup>11</sup> including the believers. The

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<sup>8</sup> The undeniable bravery displayed by the relatively small band of Muslims in their struggle becomes obvious when it is realized that the only choice the emigrants had was to win or to die, and that many of them, particularly the non-Quraysh, had an axe to grind, but that the Medinans, used to intestine warfare between the Aws and Khazraj, were accustomed to war and therefore more than a match for the Quraysh merchants in their safe sanctuary. Added to all this was the growing religious fanaticism as a powerful incentive.

<sup>9</sup> Regarding the meaning and etymology of *munāfiq* cf. above, p. 73.

<sup>10</sup> *EP*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 505, 506, 721.

<sup>11</sup> The best example of the semi-pagan, semi-Islamic mind of the new converts, torn between unconditional obedience and irresistible force of family ties and the related blood-feud is best demonstrated by the account of how, one day, the son of this 'Abd Allāh (Ibn Ubayy), a good Muslim, asked the Prophet for permission to kill his own father because of a dishonourable remark; "for," he said, "if another were to do this, I cannot guarantee that I might not be overcome by the 'bigotry of heathendom' and avenge my father's blood, be the former a believer and the latter a pagan." (Ibn Hishām, p. 727sq.; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1514sq.;

expression *munāfiq* is occasionally extended also to include true believers, if they became disobedient or lax in the performance of obligations for any reason. The word very likely also referred to the multitude of those who—the great rabble always does—supported the Prophet in his glory yet were inclined to desert him when things went wrong. The same must apply also to the Arab tribes who, since the Pact of Ḥudaybiyya, and particularly since the take-over of Mecca, went over to Muḥammad. Some of them became true believers, but the greater part, among them the heads of the Quraysh, particularly the entire Banū Umayya b. ‘Abd al-Shams,<sup>12</sup> accepted Islam only forcedly or for personal advantage, although all of them were recognized as Muslims for political reason only.

### *The Pagan Population and the Jewish Tribes*

[i/169] In their dealings with the Prophet, the energy displayed by the “waverers” [*munāfiqūn*] was far exceeded by that of the Jewish tribes living in Yathrib proper or in the nearby oases. In addition to their mental superiority over the Arabs, which they derived from an ancient literary tradition—regardless of how little one may value their scholarship<sup>13</sup>—there were also martial bravery and other qualities<sup>14</sup> that enabled them, in the wonderful way of all Jews, to become fully integrated without sacrificing their own identity. In the beginning, Muḥammad placed great hopes on them as a people who had already become familiar with the revelation. However, as they were not inclined to give up their established view for the sake of the new

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al-Wāqidi, ed. Wellhausen, p. 181sq.; [Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 3, p. 240, note †]; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on sūra 63, etc.). It is conceivable that initially ‘Abd Allāh did not stand up to the Prophet boldly enough or that he even supported him. An allusion to this are the words which he later used with reference to Muḥammad and his followers: ستن كلك يا كلك “fatten your dog and it will devour you.” (Ibn Hishām, p. 726; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1512; al-Wāqidi, ed. Wellhausen, p. 179sq.; and the Commentators on sūra 63. Cf. G. Freytag, *Arabum proverbialia*, vol. 1, p. 609). When his reputation then declined as the Prophet’s rose, and the members of his own clan went over to the Prophet, he lamented his sorrow with the beautiful verses which we find in Ibn Hishām, p. 413.

<sup>12</sup> These people were called المؤلفة قلوبهم “those whose hearts are brought together” (in the Koran only in 9:60, but frequently in traditions). Cf. also H. Lammens, *Mo’āwiya*, p. 222; *EF*.

<sup>13</sup> The Jews appear totally Arab in their poems, of which some—partly very beautiful fragments—can still be reconstructed from the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. Cf. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Poesie*, pp. 52–86. It may be mentioned in passing that a great many of these Jews were converted Arabs; cf. Wellhausen, *Medina vor dem Islam*, p. 15. Cf. also J.A. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, pp. 41–44, and its translation, *Muḥammad and the Jews of Medina*, pp. 29–31.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Wellhausen, *Medina vor dem Islam*, p. 12sq.

prophet,<sup>15</sup> whose great deviation from their own faith was for them far easier to discern than for him, the discord increased and did not cease until all the Jews were either killed, banned, or subjugated. The hostility of the Jews was all the more dangerous because they hurt Muḥammad not only by means of war and politics but also by mockery and biting interrogation about religious matters.<sup>16</sup> If their various tribes had not been divided into two parts by the fightings of the Aws and Khazraj, Muḥammad would have hardly been able to decimate them one after the other.

### *Content and Style of the Medinan Sūras*

The pagans, against whom open warfare raged during the Medinan period, are now only rarely the target of verbal attacks. The Christians too, who after all were living far from Yathrib, and with whom Muḥammad had hostile encounters only during his last years, he seldom mentions, although when he does it is rather congenially, accompanied merely by the disapproval of certain dogmas. Muḥammad's assaults upon the Jews, on the other hand, are quite violent. After the *hijra*, this takes the form of his endeavour to show that they had always been obstinate and are therefore damned by God. The "waverers" [*munāfiqūn*], too, are often severely reproved, although Muḥammad frequently had to be more considerate when dealing with them. In the Koran he gives free rein to his feelings, albeit without divulging names. Moreover, the Prophet addresses here almost exclusively the *munāfiqūn* of Medina. The other Arabs, who likewise had adopted Islam only superficially, he attempted to win over with kindness instead of discouraging them with strong measures and words.

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Finally, these sūras are directed at the Muslims, although seldom with a view towards lecturing on dogmatic or moral articles of faith, subjects they were sufficiently familiar with from the Meccan sūras. Instead, he speaks

<sup>15</sup> With the exception of some very few like 'Abd Allāh b. Salām—who must therefore serve Muslims in general as the example of a faithful Jew—like 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy—as the example of a Hypocrite [*munāfiq*],—or like Abū Jahl—as idolater—etc., and therefore often mentioned at the wrong place.

<sup>16</sup> They, for example, hurled interjections against the Prophet. ما نرى لهذا الرجل همّة إلا النساء والنكاح ولو كان نبياً كما زعم لشغله أمر النبوة عن النساء (al-Kalbī in al-Wāḥidī on sūra 13:38). (So they asked him: "God created the world; who, then, created the creator?") Of course, they themselves had a captious answer ready and only wanted to find out whether Muḥammad could match it. Muslims, however, see in such questions nothing but the disbelief and wickedness of the Jews. This question is typical and is put into the mouth of disbelievers and sceptics; cf. Abū Dāwūd (al-Sijistānī), *Sunan*, vol. 2, p. 178.

on home ground and as their leader in the field, rebuking or praising, as the case may be, particularly after victory or defeat, putting events in their proper perspective, planning the future or issuing orders and laws. These legal revelations are of particular importance. Some of them are intended for the moment, while others are for eternity. They settle civil and ritual matters without precisely defining them. Just as the Koran follows the dictates of the moment rather than a defined system, so also many of these laws evolve from decisions on contentious issues. Muḥammad often added to the verdicts further regulations regarding issues that could possibly arise. It is unlikely that such a statute-book<sup>17</sup> evolved totally without concrete and actual issues. Several laws and ordinances also refer to the domestic affairs of the Prophet.

[i/171] The new subjects which appeared on the Prophet's horizon, and which were dealt with in the sūras, would have had to entail—one would think—considerable deviations from the style of the last Meccan period. Nevertheless, this is generally not the case. New expressions and idioms were nearly never applied unless absolutely required by the subject. This is most evident in those laws in whose formulation all rhetorical embellishment is avoided. It is only the rhyme—consisting here often of totally superfluous additions, therefore at times annoying—to which Muḥammad remains enslaved. Since he seldom—as at Mecca—addresses the people in general but rather the respective parties separately, it is very rare here to find the address “O, you people!” In contrast, we frequently find “O, you believers!”, and less frequently “O, you Jews!”, “O, you ‘waverers’” [*munāfiqūn*], etc. Incidentally, we also find in these sūras the odd powerful and even poetic passage.<sup>18</sup> In general, the Medinan revelations—which consist of rather brief laws, addresses, orders, etc.—are originally of a smaller volume than the majority of those from the late Meccan period, which tend to be lengthy lectures. On the other hand, the uniformity of the content resulted in disproportionately many single, Medinan revelations being put together to produce a single, collective sūra, so that the current Medinan sūras became the longest in our Koran.

[i/172] The development of the linguistic parlance as it appears before the emigration can later be demonstrated only in isolated instances—if at all. However, this very unreliable device can easily be done away with, as content,

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<sup>17</sup> This origin explains on the one hand the simplicity and the common sense usually embedded in these laws and, on the other hand, the contradictions which, naturally, cannot be avoided in systematic codifications either.

<sup>18</sup> Cf., e.g., sūras 2:16 sqq., and 2:266 sqq.

steady reference to established events or circumstances, and close connection with the development of the new state supply much better guidance. Anyone studying the history of Muḥammad realizes immediately the difference between the transmission of events before and after the emigration. In the former case, only a few reliable memoirs from a small circle are available, with uncertain chronology and many legends, whereas in the latter case, pure history predominates, enabling us to trace the events from year to year. We can thus establish a chronology of the Medinan sūras with accurate details. Of course, much still remains uncertain; for many a period we have but approximate chronological limits of origin, and there remain still others where it can only be stated that they originate from the Medinan period.<sup>19</sup>

*Comments on Sūras 2, 98, 64, 62, 8, 47, 3, 61, 57, 4, 65, 59*

Even if it is conceivable that some passages revealed soon after the *hijra* [i/173] have later disappeared or were discarded by the Prophet himself, we must concur with Muslims that from among the remaining sūras the second sūra is the earliest of the Medinan sūras.<sup>20</sup> Its greater part originates from the second year after the *hijra*, i.e., from the period before the Battle of Badr. The first part, verses 1 to 19 (up to *قديم*) is the only one of all the Medinan revelations—similar to many a late Meccan sūra—that starts with the words *ذلك الكتاب*.<sup>21</sup> Muslims are divided as to whether or not these verses refer to the Jews or the *munāfiqūn*,<sup>22</sup> but that the latter are meant becomes evident from the verses 7sq. Yet as Muḥammad does not say

<sup>19</sup> Muir presented his view regarding the “Chronological order of the suras revealed at Medina” in his “Appendix” to vol. 3, pp. 311–313, which, however, is extremely brief and disregards details; he does not present anything new. He arranges the Medinan sūras as follows, without concealing the fact that this is only an approximate arrangement, and that some sūras contain sections originating from entirely different years: Sūra 98 (8 verses); sūra 2 (287 verses); 3 (200 verses); 8 (76 verses); 47 (28 verses); 62 (11 verses); 59 (24 verses); 4 (175 verses); 58 (22 verses); 65 (13 verses); 24 (65 verses); 63 (11 verses); 57 (29 verses); 61 (14 verses). He assigns only the following to the last five years: Sūra 48 (29 verses); 60 (13 verses); 66 (13 verses); 49 (18 verses); 9 (131 verses). Muir omitted sūra 33.—What needs to be said regarding the classifications of Grimme and Hirschfeld see above, p. 61sq.

<sup>20</sup> See above, p. 48, the list of sūras; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 56.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. sūras 7:1, 11:1, and 14:1.

<sup>22</sup> Particularly Muḥammad ibn al-Sā’ib al-Kalbī mentions the Jews in the individual verses. Cf. the Commentators, in particular Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī, and al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; less precise is Ms. Sprenger, no. 404 [= Ahlwardt, no. 732: ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās al-Hashimī, *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān*].

that they refused either to fight or pay the community tax<sup>23</sup>—generally the main complaint about them—it is probable that the verses originate, if not indeed from the very first period, still rather early, possibly the beginning of 2/623. The following part, verses 19 (starting with يا أيها الناس) to 37, shows no obvious traces of a Medinan origin; rather it contains indications of a Meccan origin. In the first verses the Prophet is speaking against the idolaters, which many Muslims also recognize.<sup>24</sup> The following verses deal with subjects that are frequently touched upon in the Meccan sūras but never appear in the Medinan sūras. This part, however—where, as frequently before the *hijra*, the story of creation and the fall of man are related—appears as the introduction to a larger Medinan piece that tries to demonstrate to the Jews their godlessness from time immemorial. Although this could only have originated some time after the *hijra*, when the ill will of the Jews had become apparent, there is nothing to indicate that Muḥammad had already fought against them. Some verses clearly point to the time when the direction of prayer was changed from Jerusalem to Mecca.<sup>25</sup> This is in agreement with

<sup>23</sup> Also here, as in the entire sūra, the word منافقون still has not yet appeared.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the Commentators, none of them directly claims that this verse is Meccan; all they say is that it is addressed to the Meccans (al-Wāḥidī).

<sup>25</sup> The information from the traditions about this event differ from one another by only one month. Many fix it as follows:

1. In the month of Rajab, 2/623 (Ibn Hishām, p. 381; Ibn Sa’d, cod. Gotha, I, 261 [sic]; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 2, p. 3; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; Hibat Allāh b. Salāma, *al-Nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh*, where he declares this date to be the common one; ‘Izz al-Dīn IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Usd al-ghāba fī ma’rifat al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 1, p. 22, between the months of Rajab and Sha’bān; al-Ḥalabī, Cairo ed., 1280, vol. 2, p. 297, variously between Rajab, Sha’bān, and Jumādā II), or
2. At the end of the 16th or beginning of the 17th month after Muḥammad’s arrival in Medina (al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1280, and his *Tafsīr*; Ibn Sa’d, cod. Gotha, vol. 1, 263, IX [sic]; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Ṣalāt*, § 31; Muslim, *K. al-Ṣalāt*, § 50; al-Nasā’ī, *K. al-Ṣalāt*, § 24, *K. al-Qibla*, § 1; *al-Muwaḥḥāt*, p. 68, with the addition “two months before the Battle of Badr,” thus, as above in Rajab, cf. also al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, loc. cit.), or
3. In the beginning of the 18th month (al-Azraqī, p. 265; Ms. Sprenger, 404; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 2, pp. 3 and 8; ‘Izz al-Dīn IBN AL-ATHĪR (*al-Kāmil*) vol. 2, p. 88, whereas Ibn Hishām, p. 427, l 12, al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1279sq., and al-Ya’qūbī, *Historiae*, vol. 2, p. 42, add the name of the month, Sha’bān. This month only is also given by al-Mas’ūdī, *K. al-Tanbīh wa-l-ashraf*, p. 237, l 1).
4. In the beginning of the 19th month (al-Mas’ūdī, *Les Prairies d’or*, vol. 4, p. 141; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 2, pp. 3 and 12; al-Ya’qūbī, loc. cit.; Hibat Allāh b. Salāma, Cairo ed., p. 40; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī).
5. Others vary between sixteen and seventeen months: (al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Ṣalāt*, § 31, and *K. al-Tafsīr*; Muslim, loc. cit.; al-Tirmidhī in *K. al-Tafsīr* and *K. al-Ṣalāt*, § 139; al-Nasā’ī, *K. al-Ṣalāt*, § 24; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī).

Only some isolated traditions fix the duration of the Jerusalem *qibla* at Medina:

the entire passage, and we may therefore fix it at the time when Muḥammad decided on the change, i.e., the first half of 2/623. Verse 59 expresses the idea that all depends on faith, in which respect a Jew is no better than a Nazarene or Sabian. Such a version fits well into the context. Yet those ideas are so vaguely expressed in the transmitted version that one is easily tempted to suspect an interpolation. This, however, is difficult to accept, as nearly the exact same verse is found in a conspicuously similar context in sūra 5:73.

Verses 2:70 to 76 are addressed to the Muslims, however with reference to the Jews. Verses 2:88 to 90, and 91 to 97, which aim at the “ungodly” sayings

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6. To fifteen months after the completion of the mosque (al-Ḥalabī, loc. cit.) and after the arrival in Medina (ʿIzz al-Dīn IBN AL-ATHĪR (*al-Kāmil*) vol. 2, p. 88) respectively, or
  7. To fourteen months (al-Ḥalabī), or
  8. To thirteen months (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 2, p. 3; Hibat Allāh b. Salāma, *al-Nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh*, Cairo ed., p. 40), or
  9. To nine or ten months (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, loc. cit.). This information is possibly based on an inaccurate text; or, finally,
  10. Totally general to “ten and some” months (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 2, p. 13, 19).

Here we cannot dwell on the genesis of these different calculations which occasionally include the date of the month and the day of the week. Suffice it to say that the number of sixteen or seventeen months is best documented.

The reason for the change of the Jerusalem direction of prayer is based on the new position regarding the earlier revealed religions, which Muḥammad gradually came to realize at Medina. Whereas he formerly felt closest related to Jews and Christians, the futility of the propaganda among them prompted him to look for another connection, which he finally discovered in the “religion of Ibrahim” whom a revelation associated with the Ka’ba (cf. above, p. 119). The pagan place of worship became the sacred Islamic territory and as such suitable for a direction of prayer, as Jerusalem was for the Jews. The Meccan *qibla*, which according to his theory of the religion of Ibrāhīm, Muḥammad must have considered to be the only correct direction, not only increased Muslim self-confidence by the erection of a new barrier against the anti-Islamic Jews, but it also facilitated propaganda among the pagan tribes.

According to a prevalent opinion—Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 90; Muir, vol. 3, p. 42 sqq.; Grimme, *Mohammed*, vol. 1, p. 71, and his *Mohammed, die welt-geschichtliche Bedeutung*, p. 64; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 466 sq.; Fr. Buhl, loc. cit., p. 212—the Jerusalem *qibla* was not instituted until Yathrib in order to win over the hearts of the numerous Jewish population (تأليف). Although the many quotations in the first part of the foot-note are unimportant for this question since nearly all of them are limited to the information from the Medinan period, we do find this tendency clearly expressed in the Commentators on sūra 2:136 sqq., and some historical works, e.g., al-Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, p. 367; al-Ḥalabī, vol. 2, p. 297 sqq.; al-Ṭabarī, *Chronique*, vol. 2, p. 477. These accounts, however, are not reliable because they contradict our oldest and best sources (Ibn Hishām, pp. 190, 228, 294 sq.; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1280; al-Azraqī, p. 273 according to al-Wāqidi; Ibn al-Athīr (*al-Kāmil*), vol. 2, p. 88) according to which Muḥammad had turned in prayer towards Jerusalem or Syria even before the *hijra*. The Koran is silent on the matter because the Meccan passage, sūra 10:87, proves only that

of individual Jews,<sup>26</sup> might also be attributed to the same time. Verses 2:98 to 115 probably date from the time shortly before the institution of the Meccan *qibla*, because 2:100 probably refers to the abrogation of previous legislation. Verse 2:108 refers to the Medinan opponents of the Prophet, who were disturbing the Muslims in the exercise of their ritual service, even attempting to demolish their meeting-places. Verse 109, which states how meaningless is the direction of prayer<sup>27</sup> for the believers, seems to attack the *qibla* of the Jews, yet verse 110 can only refer to Christians.<sup>28</sup> That the Ka'ba and the religion of Abraham is to be given much preference to Judaism<sup>29</sup> Muḥammad tries to prove in verses 116 to 135. What was more or less alluded to in these and the preceding verses Muḥammad finally says openly in verses 136 to 145, which prescribe to the Muslims turning the face during all prayers in the direction of the Ka'ba. At the same time, the Koran predicted that

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the concept of *qibla* had been known to Muḥammad at that time. But the credibility of those traditions is supported by internal evidence. Since Muḥammad derived not only the name for the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*) but also several of its formulae and rites from the older revealed religions, it would be a surprise if he had not followed their example and—concurrently, or certainly very soon thereafter—instituted a direction of prayer. Sprenger (*Leben*, vol. 3, p. 46 n. 2) and, more recently, Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, p. 108 [and its English translation, p. 78], concur with the conclusion that “Muḥammad had already adopted this custom at Mecca and completely followed the Jewish practise by using Jerusalem as the *qibla*.” We know that the Jews turned in prayer towards Jerusalem (IKings 8:44 and 48; Daniel 6:11; III Ezra 4:58; Mishna, *Berākhōt pereq*, § 5 and 6; Ibn Hishām, p. 381), the Christians of the first centuries, on the other hand, turned towards the east (cf. J. Bingham, vol. 5, pp. 275–280; H. Nissen, *Orientation*, vol. 2, pp. 110 sq. and 247 sq.). But this is not to say that the Jerusalem *qibla* was adopted by Muḥammad as a specific Jewish institution. It is conceivable that he encountered it also among the Arabian Christian communities who are known to have been under considerably Judaic influence.

During Muḥammad's Meccan period the Ka'ba can hardly have served as ritual direction of prayer since—as we have seen above—it did not become a recognized sanctuary of Islam until his Medinan period. Equally little convincing is the tradition, which looks like an attempted compromise, claiming that the Jerusalem *qibla* was observed only by those Medinans who had been converted shortly before the *hijra* (Ibn Sa'd, cod. Gotha, vol. 9 [sic], s.v. Ka'b b. Mālik; al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, p. 2; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. the Commentators.

<sup>27</sup> That verse 109 is aiming at the *qibla* is also maintained by many Muslims; cf. al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Tafsīr*; [ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās al-Hāshimī, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān*,] Ms. Sprenger, no. 404 [= Ahlwardt, no. 732]; Hibat Allāh b. Salāma; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Wāḥidī; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī. They all supply also all sorts of other explanations.

<sup>28</sup> Like all the passages dealing with Christians, the verses 107 and 110—against all probability—are brought in connection with the embassy to Najrān. (Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Wāḥidī; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī.)

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche feest*, p. 33 sqq., as well as the discussion above on sūra 16:124.



many people would object to this.<sup>30</sup> Verses 148 to 152 are of a later date. Some exegetes apply them to the believers<sup>31</sup> killed at Badr. Since it is indicated in verse 150, however, that the Muslims' fortune in war was low, this point of view is unlikely, and it is preferable to accept the view of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim, who thinks this refers to the casualties of the Battle at the Uḥud near Bi'r Ma'ūna.<sup>32</sup> Verses 154 to 157 can be connected with them, since those who persevere and receive God's blessings (verse 152) are compared with the disbelievers who are cursed by all (verses 154 and 156), both those who die in the way of truth, and those who wither away in their malice (verses 146 and 156). The detached verse 153 fits better after the pericope 2:185–199, concerned with the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. As it readily follows from the text, this refers to the Muslims' reservations about participating in the traditional run between the hills of Ṣafā and Marwa.<sup>33</sup> We, as well as tradition, cannot say on what occasion it was revealed, but there is something that would point to the minor *ḥajj* of 7/628. Verses 158 to 162 are of Meccan origin, probably from the opening of a sūra, with the result that only a few words or verses would be missing from the beginning. With them we might have to connect verses 196 (starting with (فمن الناس)) to 198, and 200 to 203,<sup>34</sup> which are frequently inaccurately interpreted by Muslims.<sup>35</sup> To the Meccan period also belong verses 2:163–166, which are directed against the idolaters who "follow such things as [they] found their fathers doing." This part precedes the Medinan verses 167 to 171, since both of them deal with prohibited food. These verses could possibly contain a veiled retaliation against the Jews, who demanded the observation of the Mosaic dietary prescriptions from the Muslims, and would thus, like many other parts of our sūra, fit well into the time when Muḥammad dismissed Jewish customs. Verse 172 is to suggest to those who object to the change of the direction of prayer that the outward demonstration of such habits is far less important than true piety; we must assume the verse to have

<sup>30</sup> Verse 2:136.—Regarding the connection of 2:118sq. with 2:136sq. cf. Snouck Hurgronje, loc. cit., p. 38sq.

<sup>31</sup> So Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī with reference to Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī, and [ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās al-Hāshimī, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān*], Ms. Sprenger, no. 404 [= Ahlwardt, no. 732]; cf. al-Bayḍāwī.

<sup>32</sup> Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī.

<sup>33</sup> al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Ḥajj*, § 80 and 162; Muslim, *K. al-Ḥajj*, § 39; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Wāhidī; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī, etc.; cf. Snouck Hurgronje, loc. cit., p. 117.

<sup>34</sup> Especially fitting is the expression ومن (فمن) الناس, verses 160, 196, and 200, also the rhyme.

<sup>35</sup> See Ibn Hishām, p. 642, and the Commentators.

been revealed shortly after this event. This is followed by three laws in verses 173 to 181, which are not only of the same length, i.e., three verses each, but also of the same beginning, i.e., the words *كُتِبَ عَلَيْكُم* so that we can hardly doubt their original homogeneity. Their origin must be fixed at the time immediately before Ramaḍān 2/623,<sup>36</sup> when the second law instituted fasting during this month for the first time,<sup>37</sup> i.e., essentially at the same time as the above-mentioned parts of the sūra. Verse 182 constitutes the end of these laws. Verse 183 must certainly belong to a later period, because not only is it far more precise than the rest of the laws but it mentions in particular that Muslims repeatedly exaggerated abstinence during the month of fasting. We must consequently consider this a later addition to that law. Verse 184 seems to be a fragment of a larger revelation. Verses 185

<sup>36</sup> Ibn Sa'd, cod. Gotha, I, p. 261 and 266 [sic]. The traditions supplied by al-Ṭabarī in his *Tafsīr* mention a general situation only. It is totally wrong in al-Ṭabarī's *Chronique*, vol. 3, p. 126, to fix verse 181 at the time of the conquest of Mecca, which happened in the month of Ramaḍān.

<sup>37</sup> According to the unanimous claim of tradition, the fasting during Ramaḍān replaced the 'Āshūrā' fasting. As far as the latter is concerned, the traditions are divided. Some people—(*Muwattā'*, p. 91; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Ṣawm*, beginning and end, *K. Bad' al-khalq*, § 157, *bāb ayyām al-jāhiliyya*, *K. al-Tafsīr*; al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Ṣawm*, § 47, *Shamā'il al-nabī*, § 43; the Commentators)—recognize it as an old Meccan festival, others see it as an innovation, which Muḥammad did not adopt from the Jews until his Medinan period (al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Ṣawm*, beginning and *passim*; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1281; Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, vol. 2, p. 88; al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rikh al-khamīs*, vol. 1, pp. 360 and 368; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt*, "*bāb ṣiyām taṭawwu'*," *faṣl* 3, beginning). In favour of the first view is the fact that Muḥarram is an old sacred month, during the first ten days of which still modern Muslims observe all sorts of superstitious customs. There is no reason to doubt the great age of this institution since also the first ten days of Dhū l-Ḥijja are known for their particular sacredness. On the other hand, it is extremely unlikely that already the pagan Meccans observed the fast of the Day of 'Āshūrā' as the above-mentioned traditions claim. This we learn particularly from the linguistic observation according to which the word *'āshūrā'* represents in Arabic an isolated nominal formation, corresponding exactly to the Jewish *'āsōr* "tenth day," with the Aramaic determinative ending *ā*. Quite rightly 'Āshūrā' is identified with the Jewish Day of Atonement on 10 Tishrī as the most sacred of days of fasting in this context. But since generally the first ten days of Tishrī are considered days of atonement for times immemorial, the above-mentioned sacredness of the corresponding days of the Islamic calendar might possibly be also of Jewish origin.

As European biographers of the Prophet suspect—Gustav Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 90; W. Muir, vol. 3, p. 47 sq.; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 3, p. 53 sq.; Fr. Buhl, *Muhammads Liv*, p. 212; H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, vol. 1, p. 55; L. Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 431 sq., and 470 sq.—when adopting the Jewish fasting as well as the *qibla*, Muḥammad was guided by the purpose of winning over the Jews to his religion. This is not improbable, but not necessarily dependent on the question whether this fasting was introduced already at the end of his Meccan period or only at the beginning of his Medinan period.

The idea to replace the fasting during Muḥarram by another one in Ramaḍān might be related to the well-known Night of Power (*laylat al-qadr*) of this month. But what made

to 199—with the exception of the possibly Meccan verses from 196 b *فن* الناس to the end of 198—constitute a conglomerate of ordinances, all relating to the sacred territory of Mecca. This puts their Medinan origin beyond doubt but does not say anything about their chronology. For the time being it can only be stated that, on the one hand, they belong to the period after passages like 16:124, and 2:119 and 121, where the basic position of Islam towards the Ka'ba is established. On the other hand, they can be seen as referring to the pilgrimages (*hajj*) and visits (*umra*) Muḥammad made in the years AH 6, 7 and 10. Verse 185 recalls an ancient custom observed during the *hajj*. If we disregard the origin of the actual context—in the case of this verse as well as the verses 193, 196b, and 199, which lack a contemporary reference—then we must abandon any attempt to fix a date for them.<sup>38</sup> Verses 186 to 189 recommend religious war and permit the believers to defend themselves with weapons against the Meccans, even in the sacred territory of the Ka'ba. Doubts arise as to whether this part belongs to the time shortly before the conquest of Mecca or to the campaign of al-Ḥudaybiyya, since during the preparations for the pilgrimage of 6/627 Muḥammad was ready for violent complications. However, according to Snouck Hurgronje's<sup>39</sup> keen

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Muḥammad replace a one-day fast with a fast lasting an entire month? This unbelievable extension, like the change of the *qibla*, cannot be regarded as either emanating from the basic Islamic tenets, or from pagan institutions, or as a free and arbitrary invention. Sprenger (*Das Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 3, p. 55) sees in it an approach to the Christian Quadragesima, cf. also L. Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 471). As far as the time is concerned, it pretty much coincides, provided the institution of the fast of Ramaḍān took place either in AD 624 or 625 (Sprenger, loc. cit.), but it does not, if this happened already in AD 623 as it would seem from a note in al-Wāqidi, p. 41 (J. Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 46, cf. G. Jacob, "Der muslimische Fastenmonat Ramadān," p. 5). This, of course, presupposes that the fast of Lent did indeed last forty days, but it is doubtful that this duration prevalent in the greater Church applied to the obscure sects of the Arabian Peninsula. There is a fundamental difference in the type of fasting. The Church requires only abstinence of certain food, whereas Islam prescribes absolute abstinence during the daytime but no fasting at night. This particular type, as far as I know, can be identified only among the Christian sect of the Manichaeans who—after Flügel's edition of *al-Fihrist*, p. 333 sqq., "when the new moon begins to shine, the sun is in the sign of Aquarius (about 20th of January), and eight days of the month have passed—fast for thirty days, however, breaking the fast daily at sunset;" (cf. Flügel, *Mani*, p. 97, and note, p. 245; K. Kessler, "Manichaeer," p. 213). Perhaps there were Christian sects in Arabia who observed the fast of Lent in the same way.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche feest*, pp. 49 sq., 80, and 135. Al-Azraqi, p. 124 and al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 2, p. 105, l 29 sqq., put verse 185 into the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya.

<sup>39</sup> Snouck Hurgronje, loc. cit., pp. 51 sqq., 115 sq., 14.—Verse 190 has been revealed according to Ibn Hishām, p. 789, l 2 (not from Ibn Ishāq) during the minor *hajj* 7/628 (called *عمرة القضاء*, *القضية* or *التصاص*). Verse 192—according to al-Wāqidi, edited by Wellhausen, p. 244; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Ḥajj*, § 179, *K. al-Maghāzī* § 27; al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Tafsīr*; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 2, p. 131, l 2; al-Wahīdī; Hibat Allāh b. Salāma—in the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya.

elaborations, it seems certain that the verses 190 and 192a belong to the period shortly before this campaign. As they primarily deal with the *hajj*, and as it is obvious from the mention of the sacrificial animals, a reference to the *ʿumra* of 7/628 is excluded. For good reason Chr. Snouck Hurgronje<sup>40</sup> holds verse 192b to be an addition from the time of the so-called Farewell Pilgrimage (10/631), when Muḥammad performed the *hajj* as well as the *ʿumra*, using the completion of the latter as a welcome chance to relinquish the state of ritual consecration (*iḥrām*) and satisfy his desire for a woman. The most respected of his companions, primarily ʿUmar, disapproved so violently that Allāh had to justify His Messenger with a new revelation.

[i/182]

Since verse 2:207 is explicitly presented as a question to be put to the “Children of Israel,” tradition applies verses 204sq. to Muslims wanting to observe Jewish laws.<sup>41</sup> This passage could thus be concurrent with verses 100 and 179sq., where Jewish customs are rejected. The text, however, speaks only in very general terms of the fall and temptation of Satan, whereas the allusion in 2:206 is unfortunately incomprehensible.<sup>42</sup> Verses 221 and 214–219 contain answers to all sorts of questions addressed to the Prophet. Of these, only verses 216 to 219 (Flügel) are certainly from the same time, since they actually constitute only one verse.<sup>43</sup> Verse 211, which starts with this very question with which verse 216 (Flügel) closes, must belong to a different period. It seems as if traditions properly apply verse 214 to ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh (of Banū Asad b. Khuzayna)<sup>44</sup> and his men, who on one of the last

<sup>40</sup> Loc. cit., pp. 49, 83–92. Cf. al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Hajj* § 34; Muslim al-Qaṣṭallānī, verses 274, 277, 281, 285, 288, 289 (*K. al-Hajj* § 16), and the other passages supplied by Snouck Hurgronje.

<sup>41</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Wāḥidī.

<sup>42</sup> For this reason Hirschfeld, *New researches*, p. 144, might be correct when he considers these verses to be Meccan.

<sup>43</sup> Verse 216 is generally held to be the oldest passage of the Koran that prohibits wine. Frowning upon the use of intoxicants is an ascetic and pietist disposition originating from the Christian environment (Severians, Manichaeans) and is also found in Musaylima (al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1916, bottom). The later unconditional prohibition, which is much stronger expressed in tradition than the Koran, has become an immense blessing for the Islamic world. In the afore-mentioned verse Muḥammad is still an opportunist, possibly even more than the present text permits, because كَيْتَرٌ is conspicuous in the context, and seems to have been inserted later. In any case, shortly after the Battle of Badr; but before the expulsion of the Banū Qaynuqāʾ, some Helpers [أَنْصَارٌ] came together for a cheerful drinking-bout in the house of the female singer (فَيْنَة) in the course of which the Prophet’s uncle, Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, got quite drunk and performed pranks (al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Maghāzī*, ī § 12; Ibn Badrūn, ed. Dozy, p. 139 sq.). As sūra 4:46 seems to indicate, the consumption of wine was originally prohibited only before a religious service, cf. below on sūra 4:46, and I. Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 1, p. 28sq.

<sup>44</sup> *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

days of the sacred month of Rajab ambushed a Qurayshite caravan near Nakhla and killed the leader.<sup>45</sup> Verse 222, formally related to those questions, now stands detached. According to tradition, it is also directed against a custom of the Jews, causing them finally to say: "This man really does not want us to keep any of our institutions; he objects to everything."<sup>46</sup> Not much attention needs to be paid to this, as the principles on menstruation developed in this verse are entirely identical with the Jewish counterparts. The introductory marital ordinances of verses 220 sq., 223 to 238, and 241 to 243, offer no references for chronological purposes. Verse 241 might have originated still before the Battle at the Uḥud (4/625) if it were certain that sūra 4:12 sqq. is an alteration of it. Yet perhaps this concerns only a special case that is not at all considered in sūra four.<sup>47</sup> Nothing can be said about verses 239 sq.; they probably originate from the time before the institution of the prayer of danger,<sup>48</sup> i.e., before 4/625. Verses 212 sqq., which according to sense and tradition constitute but one single verse, might possibly have to be connected with verses 245 sq. Thus, yet another law is created, consisting of three verses beginning with كُتِبَ عَلَيْكُمْ, which we may fix to the same time as verses 173 to 182 above.<sup>49</sup> The time shortly before the first battle is also quite suitable for verses that consist of the concise command to fight. Connected with this are certainly verses 244, and 247 to 257, which incite the Muslims to courage and obedience by way of examples from Israelite history. Obviously Muḥammad realized that open conflict with his countrymen could no longer be avoided. Possibly connected with this are the stories about verses 260 to 262, which, similarly to verse 244,<sup>50</sup> and with reference

<sup>45</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 423 sq.; al-Wāqidī, p. 8 sqq. (Wellhausen, p. 34 and *Vorbemerkungen*, p. 11 sq.); al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1272 sqq.; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, as well as other Commentators on this passage and on sūra 4:46; Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 98 sqq.; Sprenger, *Das Leben*, vol. 3, p. 105 sq.; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 463 sqq. The poem in Ibn Hishām, p. 427, l 5 sqq., is a poetical paraphrase of that verse (sūra 2:214).

<sup>46</sup> Muslim, *K. al-Ḥayd*, § 3; al-Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt, Bāb al-ḥayd*, beginning; al-Nasā'ī, *K. al-Ḥayd, bāb 4*. According to Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, vol. 1, no. 873, al-Wāhidī, etc., Thābit ibn Daḥḍāh, [Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 495, col. 1] who died either at the Uḥud or in 6/627, consulted the Prophet in this matter.

<sup>47</sup> This problem can only be clarified in connection with a detailed study in the marital regulations of the Koran. The most recent thesis on the subject (R. Roberts, *Familienrecht im Qoran*) ignored the subject.

<sup>48</sup> See below on sūra 4:102 sq.

<sup>49</sup> One might argue that the content of verse 246 is not closely enough related to that of verse 245 in order to reckon them to be one short law. However, the expenditure for war and the fight itself are often brought into closest connection with one another in the Koran. Both is *بِالنفس*, the former *بِالْمَال*, the latter *بِالنفس*.

<sup>50</sup> Worth noting is also *ألم تر*.

to God's resurrecting power, incite them to defy death. Verses 253sq. seem to complete that section. Verses 255 to 259<sup>51</sup> cannot easily be attributed to any specific situation, because the axiom that "there is no compulsion in religion" (2:257) could have been established in a state of psychological depression as well as in the expectation of greatest victory. Moreover, in the Medinan period such an utterance was practically of little importance, since in this case purely religious propaganda was subservient to politics aiming at the recognition of sovereignty. Equally vague remains the dating of verses 263 to 281, containing a request for alms and a prohibition of usury. Some traditions apply verses 278sq. to the outstanding debts of the inhabitants of al-Ṭā'if to some rich Quraysh; others hold verse 278 or 281 and verses 278 to 281<sup>52</sup> respectively for the last part of the entire Koran, revealed at the Farewell Pilgrimage,<sup>53</sup> because of the money 'Abbās (IBN 'ABD AL-MUṬṬALIB) and others had borrowed against the payment of interest. But all this lacks sufficient evidence. At best, one can agree that the verses were once applied to the respective cases. Verses 282 to 284, which deal in a very awkward way with the procedure of borrowing, can hardly originate from the early years of the *hijra*. Verses 285sq. might equally be of Meccan or Medinan origin.<sup>54</sup>

[i/185] Approximately concurrent with the greater part of this sūra might be a few short ones.

<sup>51</sup> Verse 256 is called *āyat al-kursī*, i.e., Verse of the Throne, and is held by Muslims to be the "Prince of the Koran." As far as its use in prayer is concerned we refer to the Commentators, E.W. Lane, *Manners and customs*, vol. 1, pp. 90–91, and [Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, p. 95]. Great magic power is imputed to this verse (al-Bukhārī, *K. Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, §10; al-Tirmidhī, loc. cit., §2, etc.). Of the nine short sentences that constitute this verse, the text of 1 (= sūra 3:1), 2, 3, and 9 is to be found literally in the Old Testament and in ancient Jewish literature. Cf. Targum to II *Samuel* 22:32, and *Psalms* 18:32, *Mekhiltha* on *Exodus* 15:26 and 16:18, Jac. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim*, s.v. כִּי; *Psalms* 121:3; I *Chronicles* 29:11; the Hebrew encyclopedias, s.v. עֲלִי and עֲצוּ. The phrases from 4 to 8 are entirely on the level with the Biblical linguistic usage, cf., for example, 7 to *Isaiah* 66:1. We are thus possibly dealing with nothing but an Arabic translation of a Jewish or Christian hymn.

<sup>52</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 3, p. 70.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 275sq.; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Buyū'*, §24; the Commentators; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt, Bāb al-ribā, faṣl* 3, §7; al-Wāḥidī, s.v., and in the introduction; al-Qurtubī, vol. 1, fol. 23<sup>v</sup>; al-Shūshāwī, cap. 1; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 59, etc. Tradition varies greatly as to the days left to the Prophet after the revelation of the verse: 81, twenty-one, and seven days respectively (al-Bayḍāwī, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Nasafī, *Madārik al-tanzīl*); nine days (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*); and even only three hours (al-Bayḍāwī, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Nasafī.)

<sup>54</sup> These two verses called *khawātīm al-baqara* were apparently revealed to the Prophet on his ascension (al-Nasā'ī, *K. al-Ṣalāt*, §1 end; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt, bāb al-mi'rāj* towards the end; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī).

Sūra 98<sup>55</sup> is held by most people to be of Medinan origin, less frequently to be Meccan,<sup>56</sup> probably because it is listed only among early Meccan sūras. In support of the former view, however, there is the fact that in the verses one and five the disbelievers among the People of the Book are mentioned in one breath with the idolaters. Wm. Muir (vol. 3, p. 31) lists the sūra among the Medinan ones, albeit conceding that an exact dating is impossible.

Sūra 64 is similar to the Meccan ones and is therefore occasionally counted among them;<sup>57</sup> yet verses 14 sq. are undoubtedly of Medinan<sup>58</sup> origin even though their date cannot definitely be determined. This is likely to apply also to verses 11 to 13.<sup>59</sup> For this reason several writers hold “the last verses” to be Medinan.<sup>60</sup> The opinion that the entire sūra might be Medinan<sup>61</sup> has something to be said for it. This probably applies generally to all the *musabbiḥāt*, i.e., the sūras 57, 59, 61, 62, and 64, beginning with *sabbaḥa* and *yusabbiḥu* respectively.

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The first part of sūra 62, aimed at the Jews, seems to originate from the same period as the majority of sūra 2. According to some exegetes,<sup>62</sup> the second part (verse 9 sq.) refers to Daḥya al-Kalbī who, before being converted, once entered Medina with a noisy mob during a Friday prayer. Even if this description is correct, it would not lead to a more accurate fixing of the date. All we know is that at the Battle of the Trench (end of 5/626) Daḥya (Ibn Khalifa al-Kalbī) had already become a Muslim, whereas some writers have him fight with the believers already at Uḥud.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>55</sup> The verses 7 and 8 (Flügel) constitute one verse only. On the other hand, verse 2 can be divided into two parts as it is the case in the best transmission.

<sup>56</sup> ‘Umar b. Muḥammad (IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ); al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, pp. 21 and 29 sq.; Hibat Allāh b. Salāma; Hirschfeld, *New researches*, p. 143; Grimme, *Mohammed*, part 2, p. 26, varies.

<sup>57</sup> al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; ‘Alā’ al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 28; *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*. This is also the opinion of Weil (*Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran*, 1st ed., p. 63, 2nd ed., p. 72); and Muir.

<sup>58</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* on 64:14 (vol. 28, p. 74); al-Wāḥidī.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. the idiom *أطيعوا الله وأطيعوا الرسول* which is otherwise found only in Medinan passages. Cf. in addition *مصيبة* verse 11. Starting with verse 11 the rhyme, too, begins to change slightly.

<sup>60</sup> *آيات في آخرها* ‘Umar b. Muḥammad [*GAS*, vol. 1, p. 16], al-Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, pp. 20 and 36.

<sup>61</sup> Hibat Allāh (b. Salāma); al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; ‘Alā’ al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī; al-Suyūṭī, *K. al-Nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh*; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 28; and the list of sūras. Particularly noteworthy is the beginning, which is frequently found in Medinan revelations but never in those from Mecca.

<sup>62</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; and al-Wāḥidī. The earliest exegetic tradition (al-Bukhārī and al-Tirmidhī in the *tafsīr*) also says that verse 10 refers to a trade caravan which once entered Medina on a Friday, but does not mention names. [Cf. M. Pickthall on vv 9–11.]

<sup>63</sup> Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, vol. 1, no. 2378; ‘Izz al-Dīn IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 2, p. 130.—Ibn Sa‘d, ed. Sachau (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 4, part 1): *Biographien der Muhāgīrūn und*

As an old tradition<sup>64</sup> maintains, not all of sūra 8 but the greater part of it refers directly to the victory at Badr. Since the historians report that it took about a month to distribute the spoils of war completely,<sup>65</sup> Muḥammad would have made public most of the sūra within this short time. The beginning seems to be somewhat earlier than verses 29 to 46;<sup>66</sup> it is beyond doubt that verse 42, which fixes the final<sup>67</sup> distribution of the spoils of war, is later than verse 1. Also, verse 27 contains a warning not to steal anything from the spoils of war. Some writers<sup>68</sup> see in it a reference to Abū Lubāba [Ibn ‘Abd al-Mundhir<sup>69</sup>], who had warned the Jewish Banū Qurayza by sign of the hand (in 5/626) that their life was at stake even if they surrendered to the Prophet. Verses 30 to 35,<sup>70</sup> or verse 30<sup>71</sup> alone, some incorrectly hold to be from the Meccan period; they merely aim to remind the triumphant Prophet and his believers how weak and helpless they had previously been at Mecca.<sup>72</sup> Some think that verse 36 was revealed on the Day of Uḥud.<sup>73</sup> Verses 47 to 64,

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*Anṣār*, p. 184 (= al-Nawawī, [*Tahdhīb al-asmā’*], p. 239), however, says (without *isnād*) that Daḥya had become a Muslim certainly at a very early time, but did not participate in the Battle of Badr; but such pre-dating of the conversion of people who did not become acquainted with the Prophet until Medina (like Abū Dharr [al-Ghifārī]) can be ignored. But it seems to be certain that Daḥya was a trader who had been in foreign countries. He presents Coptic garments to the Prophet (Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*), and wants to teach him mule breeding, which was certainly unknown to the Arabs (Ibn Ḥajar, loc. cit). Because of his familiarity with foreign countries Muḥammad appointed him envoy to the Byzantine Emperor (Ibn Hishām, p. 971; Ibn Sa’d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*), *ibid.*, vol. 4, part 1, p. 185; and Wellhausen, *Seine Schreiben, und die Gesandtschaften*, p. 98).

<sup>64</sup> بأسرها Ibn Ishāq in Ibn Hishām, p. 476, l 6 = al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1354, l 17; cf. Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 497.

<sup>65</sup> According to Ibn Hishām, p. 539, l 16 sq., and al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1363, l 10, Muḥammad did not finish settling these affairs until the last days of this month or even the following month; according to al-Ṭabarī, loc. cit., on the day before returning to Medina, which was the 25th or 26th of Ramaḍān.

<sup>66</sup> Flügel’s verses 43 and 44 constitute only one verse since مفعولاً, verse 43, represents a rhyme which occurs nowhere else in this sūra.

<sup>67</sup> Some writers consider this verse to refer to the spoils of war carried off about a month later from the Banū Qaynuqā’ (al-Ṭabarī, ed. Zotenberg, vol. 3, p. 4; and al-Zamakhsharī).

<sup>68</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 686 sq. (not according to Muḥammad IBN ISHĀQ [*IE*]; Juynboll, *Encyclopaedia*, pp. 419–423; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 288–290); al-Wāqidī (ed. Wellhausen), p. 213 sq.; al-Ṭabarī, ed. Zotenberg, vol. 3, p. 70; al-Wāhidī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍawī. Cf. Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 428; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l’histoire des Arabes*, vol. 4, p. 144; Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 3, p. 272.

<sup>69</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 603, col. 1.

<sup>70</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Umar b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Kāfi; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, who appropriately adds, والأصح أنها نزلت بالمدينة وإن كانت الواقعة بمكة; cf. also al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*.

<sup>71</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 32.

<sup>72</sup> Verse 31 is to be translated: “and when Our signs were being recited to them,” *qum* (= *quoties*) *legebantur*.

<sup>73</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*.



which require to fight all enemies most zealously, are a self-sufficient section<sup>74</sup> but belong to the same period (cf. verse 57 with verse 22). Occasionally, and for no reason, verses 60sq. are applied to the Banū Qaynuqā',<sup>75</sup> who were attacked soon after the Battle of Badr. Verse 65 is dated either after 'Umar's conversion<sup>76</sup> or, more likely, shortly before that attack.<sup>77</sup> Verse 66, in spite of its air of expectant victory, might have been revealed before the final outcome. Verse 67, certainly in its current form, is not the original continuation of verse 66, as it looks instead like a different recension or a qualifying postscript. According to Weil,<sup>78</sup> verse 68sq. was not revealed until after the defeat at Uḥud. This view, however, is erroneous the passage does not state that those who had spared the prisoners had now really<sup>79</sup> been punished. Rather, it states that God exempted them from punishment through revelation. Connected with this is verse 70, which deals with the spoils of war acquired at Badr. These verses, as also verses 71sq.—which, however, are not a continuation of the preceding—we must consider to be concurrent with the greater part of the sūra. Verse 75 and the following verses seem to be from about the same time. Yet when it is said in verse 76 that "those related by blood are nearer to one another," this refers to the bond which Muḥammad had established between the inhabitants of Yathrib and his men—who were largely destitute—but which he abrogated after the Battle.<sup>80</sup> It is false when exegetes see in verse 76 an abrogation of verse 73 because, even though this "compact" was annulled, according to verse 76 intimate friendship and mutual support should last forever.

<sup>74</sup> Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; verse 54 = sūra 3:9 (apart from some small differences). Verse 56 looks like a different recension of verse 54.

<sup>75</sup> al-Wāqidi, pp. 131, 178, 181; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1360; cf. L. Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 521. Others mention instead the Banū Qurayza and the Banū Naḍīr, who were attacked in 5/626 and 4/625 respectively (al-Wāqidi, p. 131 on verse 63; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Bayḍāwī). J. Wellhausen, "Muḥammad's constitution of Medina", in: Wensinck, *Muḥammad and the Jews of Medina*, p. 136 n. 4, establishes that these different accounts need not at all exclude one another as even after the destruction of the respective tribes "several Jews remained at Medina."

<sup>76</sup> al-Wāḥidi; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 32. For this reason, here and there the verse is held to be Meccan. Cf. 'Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ].

<sup>77</sup> al-Wāqidi, p. 131; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Wāḥidi; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī.

<sup>78</sup> *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, 1st ed., p. 72, 2nd ed., p. 82.

<sup>79</sup> As Weil thinks, by this defeat. Al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1355, l 17. Ibn al-Athīr (*al-Kāmil*), vol. 2, p. 105, however, considers the day of Uḥud as a punishment for that sparing of the prisoners.

<sup>80</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 344sq.; Ibn Sa'd, cod. Gotha, vol. 1, p. 257 [sic]; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Farā'id*, §16; al-Nasā'ī, *K. al-Nikāh*, towards the end, etc. Cf. Gustav Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 83sq.; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, vol. 3, p. 24sq.; Wm. Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 3, p. 17sq; Sprenger, *Leben*, vol. 3, p. 26.

Sūra 47 must have been revealed shortly after the Battle of Badr<sup>81</sup> because the second part attacks—apart from the Hypocrites [*munāfiqūn*] (verses 31 and 22)—the irresolute fellow combatants of the Prophet who, despite the victory (verse 37), wanted to make peace with the Meccans. Some attribute the sūra to the Meccan period, while others disagree.<sup>82</sup> A third group of exegetes considers verse 14 to have been revealed when the Prophet was emigrating and looked back crying over his native town.<sup>83</sup>

It is rather uncertain when the first part of sūra 3 (verses 1 to 86) was revealed. If it belongs to only one period, it must be later than the Battle of Badr, as verse 11 unmistakably refers to it. It is very dangerous to fix the lower limit of the composition to the year 6/627 or 7/628. Even if verse 57 is referred to in the Prophet's letters to the Emperor Heraclius<sup>84</sup> and the Coptic Patriarch of Egypt,<sup>85</sup> the authenticity of the text of these letters is open to most serious doubts.<sup>86</sup> The historical explanations of tradition regarding the indi-

<sup>81</sup> So also Weil, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, 1st ed., p. 72 sq., 2nd ed., p. 82.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. 'Umar b. Muḥammad (IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ); Hibat Allāh (b. Salāma); al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍawī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 27. Sprenger, *Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 2, p. 376, mentions Meccan fragments before verse 15, but without elaborating.

<sup>83</sup> 'Umar b. Muḥammad (IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ); al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 43. Quite different Wm. Muir, vol. 3, p. 308.—Of the forty verses of this sūra thirty-six rhyme with *um*—usually with preceding *ā* in the antepenult—a rhyme which is only sporadically encountered in other sūras (e.g. 79:33, 80:32, 88:26, 99:6, and 109:4). For other differences see Rudolf Geyer's review of K. Vollers *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*, p. 40 of the off-print. The conspicuous rhymes of the verses 4, 16, and 22 in Flügel's edition are definitely based on an inaccurate division; the incomplete rhymes in Flügel's verses 11, and 26, on the other hand, might be original.

<sup>84</sup> al-Bukhārī, *K. Bad' al-waḥy*, and *K. al-Tafsīr*; Muslim, *K. al-Jihād*, § 23 (al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 7, p. 380).

<sup>85</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥādara*, vol. 1, cap. 18, which is identical with the alleged original published by F.A. Belin in *Journal asiatique*, 1854 on p. 482. Missing from S[uyūṭī] are only the words *رسول الله* عبد الله ورسوله, and instead of *ما يفتح القبط* there is only *الله*.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Seine* [Muḥammads] *Schreiben und die Gesandtschaften an ihn*, p. 90; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 725 sq. An apparent original of the letter to the Muqawqis, written on parchment, was discovered in 1852 by the French archaeologist Étienne Barthélemy in a monastery not far from Akhmim, Upper Egypt, and in 1854 published by F.A. Belin. The original later came to Constantinople, and was added as a precious gem to the relics of the Prophet at the Old Serail. Recently Jurjī Zaydān published a photographic reproduction of the original in his *Hilāl* (vol. 13 no. 2, Cairo, November 1904, pp. 103 sq.). The document, however, is definitely a forgery. Official documents of the period probably consisted of far less Kūfīc characters. By the same token, instead of the signature a clay seal was used at the time, but not a coloured stamp. Finally, such an official document must not only mention the issuing secretary of the document, but also the accredited envoy must clearly be named.—Regarding the clumsy forgery of a letter from Muḥammad to the Persian governor of Bahrayn, al-Mundhir b. Sāwā, see H.L. Fleischer's devastating review, "Über einen angeblichen Brief"—The tradition (Commentators, al-Wāhidī, etc.) that the embassy of the Christians of Najrān occasioned

vidual verses are of little use to us. As is said by several writers,<sup>87</sup> only verse 10 refers to the Jewish Banū Qaynuqā'. This would establish a more solid date. Approximately to this time point also verses 58sq., which present *vis-à-vis* the "People of the Book" the religion of Ibrāhīm as the only true religion. After the exposition, above, p. 119 sq., this idea makes sense only under the precondition that the Prophet had already fallen out with the Jews, and had abandoned any hope of their voluntary conversion. Verses 25sq., which do not fit in with the rest, are panegyrics that, particularly in the second half, are unmistakably of Jewish origin in content and form. Their origin is commonly dated 5/626, when a trench was dug at Medina,<sup>88</sup> or, more seldom, after the conquest of Mecca<sup>89</sup> in 8/629; but such statements can be ignored. Verse 79 is considered to be late,<sup>90</sup> since in it all unbelievers are threatened with eternal torment. This, however, is no evidence because the term unbelievers does not necessarily have to apply to all non-Muslims. It is known to us that in the first years of his Medinan activity, Muḥammad reckoned true Christians among the believers.<sup>91</sup> We have several references for dating the verses 87–113, which, incidentally, have much in common with the first part. The unique esteem of the religion of Abraham (*millat Ibrāhīm*) in verse 89 and the inclusion of the pilgrimage to Mecca in the Islamic cult (verse 90sq.) certainly point to the time after the Battle of Badr, as has been demonstrated earlier. Verses 93sq. are generally applied to Sha's b. Qays, one of Banū Qaynuqā',<sup>92</sup> whose poetry tries to inflame again the old rivalry between the tribes of Yathrib, the Aws and Khazraj.<sup>93</sup> Since this Sha's appears

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the beginning of the sūra is without support. This event is not dated either in Ibn Hishām, p. 944sq. or in al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Īmān*, § 40, but for internal reasons it can belong only to Muḥammad's final years. How could he have possibly imposed conditions earlier on a tribe whose settlements were so far from Medina? Indeed Ibn Sa'd fixes it to this time, and Wellhausen (*Seine Schreiben*, p. 155sq.), Sprenger (*Das Leben*, vol. 3, p. 372sq.), and Caetani (vol. 2, part 1, p. 198sq.) follow suit, fixing the embassy to 8/629, while al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1736sq. as well as 'Alā' al-Dīn al-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī prefer 10/631, and Muir (vol. 4, p. 181), 9/630. The latter has the verses 52 to 57 revealed on this occasion (vol. 2, p. 302sq., vol. 3, p. 312), whereas Sprenger, vol. 3, p. 490sq., chooses still others (verses 30 to 51).

<sup>87</sup> Ibn Hishām, pp. 383 and 545; *Tafsīr* [sic]; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Zamakhsharī. Against all probability other writers mention Banū Naḍīr or Banū Qurayza. Cf. the Commentators.

<sup>88</sup> Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Wāḥidī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī.

<sup>89</sup> al-Zamakhsharī; al-Wāḥidī.

<sup>90</sup> Weil, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, 1st ed., p. 73sq., 2nd ed., p. 83.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. above, p. 119sq., and Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche feest*, p. 42sq.

<sup>92</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 352; R.A. Nicholson, *Literary history of the Arabs* (London, 1907), p. 125.

<sup>93</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 385sq.; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Wāḥidī, al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī.

in one of the poems of either Ka'b b. Mālik or 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa as one of the men who were hard hit by the defeat of Banū Naḍīr,<sup>94</sup> this event would have to have happened before I Rabi' 4/625. It was perhaps because the Jews had behaved so provocatively after the Battle of Uḥud, in which the Muslims suffered a severe defeat. This might explain verse 107, which mentions the insult (أذى) of the Jews who apparently could not be deterred from open war. This fits only too well into the picture when the believers, distressed by misfortune, were exposed to the malice of their enemies. These verses might therefore originate from the time shortly before the war with Banū Naḍīr. But since the text of verses 92sq. is quite general, suggesting a connection neither with the Jew Sha'b b. Qays nor any particular person in general, that story is probably not based on an old accompanying tradition but rather on scholastic interpretation of the scripture. Nevertheless, the general situation is likely to be accurately described. From about the same time originate verses 114sq., in which it says that the Jews make no bones about their enmity against the Muslims who are "smitten by evil" (verse 116). We can therefore connect this passage with the lost battle at Mount Uḥud (Shawwāl 3/624), which undoubtedly had not happened much earlier. Verse 123, according to many accounts, is an inspiration the Prophet received when he was lying wounded on the battlefield.<sup>95</sup> However, even if it is in fact possible that he had such thoughts in such a situation, the verse, which is connected with the rest of them, can have originated only later. Moreover, tradition knows of other events that prompted a revelation during or shortly after the battle.<sup>96</sup> Verses 125 to 130, which are of indeterminate provenance, separate this part from another one, 131–154, which refers to the same battle but belongs more to the time immediately thereafter. Verses 155 to 158 link a tradition with the statement that one day a precious garment from the booty of Badr

<sup>94</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 661.

<sup>95</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 571; al-Wāqidi, p. 242; Muslim, *K. al-Jihād*, § 32; al-Tirmidhi, *K. al-Tafsīr; al-Aghānī*, vol. 14, p. 18, l 22; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍawī. Similarly reported in al-Ṭabarī, *Chronique*, ed. Zotenberg, vol. 2, p. 505, that sūra 8:12 and other verses had been revealed in the Battle of Badr.

<sup>96</sup> al-Wāqidi, pp. 311 and 341; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Maghāzī*, § 22 etc.; Muslim, *K. al-Ṣalāt*, § 95 (al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 3, p. 363); al-Tirmidhi, *K. al-Tafsīr*; al-Nasā'ī, *K. al-Taḥbīq*, § 21; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt*, *K. al-Qunūt*, beginning; *Tafsīr* [sic]; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Wāḥidī; al-Zamakhsharī. According to a tradition in Muslim-al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 3, p. 364, and al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 6, p. 303sq., on al-Bukhārī, *al-Maghāzī*, § 22, the verse purports to apologize for the curse on the traitors of Bi'r Ma'ūna. Muḥammad's curse is certainly historical (cf. Muslim, loc. cit.; al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 3, p. 364sq.; al-Wāqidi, p. 341, etc.) but not the connection which the Koranic verse is associated with.

was missing, and Muḥammad was suspected of having kept it for himself.<sup>97</sup> At first sight, this conjecture leaves the impression of historical reliability, particularly because of its content which concerns the Prophet. Still, it seems to arouse suspicion, as it was too easy an interpretation to reach. Other writers<sup>98</sup> apply it to the archers who, fearing Muḥammad would deprive them of their share of the spoils of war, left their formation, thereby precipitating the defeat. We see how an event which is quite likely true can be artificially connected with this verse, and later even modified.<sup>99</sup> Connected with verse 154 are verses 159 to 176, in which Muḥammad remembers his faithful followers who, on the morning after the Battle, followed the Meccans to Ḥamrā' al-Asad.<sup>100</sup> Verses 177 to 181 are the replies to the mocking speeches of a Jew. There are variant accounts of the particular circumstances that cannot be ascertained.<sup>101</sup> The general situation might be identical with that of the following verses, 182 sq.,<sup>102</sup> which we might have to date to the time not long after the Battle of Uḥud. This would indicate the depressed mood of the Muslims when they were commanded patiently to suffer misfortune and insults (verses 200 and 183); also mentioned are the Muslims killed for their faith (verse 194) and the pagans' insolence after their victory (verse 196).

Sūra 61, like several of the shorter Medinan sūras, is occasionally attributed to the Meccan period.<sup>103</sup> According to Weil,<sup>104</sup> part of it belongs to

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<sup>97</sup> al-Wāqidi, pp. 97 and 316; al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Taḥṣīn*; al-Wāḥidī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 3, p. 128.

<sup>98</sup> Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Wāḥidī; al-Zamakhsharī, al-Bayḍāwī. Cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 570; al-Wāqidi, p. 226 sq.; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1440 sq., etc.

<sup>99</sup> The explanation that the "suppression" refers to the concealing of revelations (Ibn Hishām, p. 602, etc.) we cannot recognize as an authoritative explanation.

<sup>100</sup> Verse 166 sq. Cf. Ibn Hishām, pp. 588 sq. and 606; al-Wāqidi, p. 330; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Maghāzī* § 27; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1355, 1427 and in the *Tafsīr*, s.v.; *al-Aghānī*, vol. 14, p. 25; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī. Cf. Caussin de Perceval, vol. 3, p. 112; Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 130; Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 3, p. 193; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 3, p. 180; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 566 sq.; Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 169, attributes verse 166 sq. [and] al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, vol. 2, p. 69, verse 167 sq., to the campaign against Badr al-Maw'id in 4/625. Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 3, p. 222, attributes the verses 166 to 169 to the same campaign.

<sup>101</sup> Apart from the Commentators. Cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 388 sq.; Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 219.

<sup>102</sup> Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 3, p. 19, fixes verse 183 to the time shortly after the construction of the first mosque in Medina.

<sup>103</sup> 'Umar b. Muḥammad IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ; al-Bayḍāwī; 'Alā' al-Dīn (AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghḍādī).

<sup>104</sup> Weil, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, 1st ed., p. 76, 2nd ed., p. 86 sq.—Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 3, p. 313, in his "Chronological order of the sūras revealed at Medina" lists sūra 61 in the sixth last place.

the unfortunate pilgrimage to al-Ḥudaybiyya, particularly verse 13, which promises a speedy victory, and the first four verses that reproach the believers for not keeping their word, which probably refers to their staying behind on the march on Mecca. Tradition,<sup>105</sup> more accurately, is thinking of the Battle of Uḥud, where many had abandoned their positions and did not stand like a solid edifice. The victory mentioned in verse 13, which the Muslims were earnestly longing for, particularly as fortune had left them, is either none in particular or Muḥammad is already thinking of the attack on Banū Naḍīr. This certainly does not include a definite reference to the conquest of Mecca. Nothing definite can be said about verses 5 to 9. That they are of Medinan origin can be seen from verse 89, namely that before his emigration Muḥammad cannot easily have enunciated the idea of a final victory of Islam over all other religions with such conviction.<sup>106</sup>

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The entire<sup>107</sup> sūra 57, or at least its first<sup>108</sup> or last<sup>109</sup> part, is attributed to the Meccan period. The main theme, as is the case with many other sūras, consists of admonitions to contribute to the wars of religion, and complaints about the Hypocrites who refuse to contribute money. Verse 10 is often attributed to the conquest of Mecca,<sup>110</sup> yet this is not appropriate, since in the entire passage Muḥammad does not appear as confident as he actually was after this great success. If we are not all wrong, verse 22 sq.<sup>111</sup> would indicate that at the time of its composition, Muḥammad was afflicted by misfortune. We would therefore best date the sūra to the time between the Battle of Uḥud and the Battle of the Trench. The victory (*faṭḥ*), which verse 10 refers to, is likely the Battle of Badr.

The greater part of sūra 4 seems to belong to the time between the end of 3/624 and the end of 5/626.<sup>112</sup> This period is more or less clearly identified by

<sup>105</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Wāḥidī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī.

<sup>106</sup> We would have a clue to a more accurate fixing if we could show when the contemporary poets first used Aḥmad of verse 7 instead of Muḥammad; but the vague transmission of these poems, and the mass of the fictitious ones, where especially the name Aḥmad is particularly popular, will make verification extremely difficult.—Verses 8 and 9 = sūra 9:32 and 33; only verse 32 shows some differences. Verse 9 appears with a different final formula also in sūra 48:28. Verse 14 comes close to sūra 3:45.

<sup>107</sup> Hibat Allāh (b. Salāma); al-Bayḍāwī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 27; al-Nasāfī, *Madārik*.

<sup>108</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 27.

<sup>109</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 36.

<sup>110</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Bayḍāwī; so also Weil, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, 1st ed., p. 73, 2nd ed., p. 83.

<sup>111</sup> Compare, for example, 3:93 to sūra 3:147.

<sup>112</sup> Weil, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, 1st ed., p. 71, 2nd ed., p. 81 fixes this sūra to the early period after the emigration. That this is incorrect is quite obvious as a great part of it is directed against the Hypocrites. Already a tradition in al-Nasāfī, *K. al-Ṭalāq*, *bāb 'Iddat*

various passages in the sūra and fits with most of its parts. In the first part, verses 1 to 18,<sup>113</sup> the Muslims tell all sorts of stories, but those who try to fix chronology do so to the time soon after the Battle of Uḥud. Verses 8 and 12 respectively are said to refer to a woman who complained to the Prophet that, according to ancient Arab custom, she was excluded from inheritance. The name of the woman is either not mentioned at all, or she is named Umm Kuhḥa.<sup>114</sup> Her deceased husband is known by the following names in different reports:

1. Rifā'a,<sup>115</sup> without exact genealogy. His son is called Thābit.<sup>116</sup> Several of the Prophet's companions are called Rifā'a. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī says nowhere that one of them is meant. It could well be possible that it is Rifā'a b. ʿAmr<sup>117</sup> or Rifā'a b. Waqash,<sup>118</sup> both of whom were killed at Uḥud. [i/196]
2. Sa'd b. al-Rabī', who was killed at the Battle of<sup>119</sup> Uḥud.
3. Aws b. Thābit al-Anṣārī,<sup>120</sup> the brother of the poet Ḥassān b. Thābit, who died at that battle.<sup>121</sup> The possibility that this man is not meant [i/197]

*al-ḥāmil*, towards the end, more or less correctly fixes this sūra to a time later than sūra 2. [Pickthall, in his introduction to sūra 4, puts it between the end of the third year and the beginning of the fifth year.]

<sup>113</sup> Flügel's verses 5 to 7 and 13 to 16 constitute one verse each; this applies also to the verses 29 and 30. Cf. also Rudolf Geyer.

<sup>114</sup> So correctly in al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍawī; al-Wāḥidī; al-Jawharī, *Tāj al-luḡha wa-al-Sihāḥ* [GAS, viii, 215]; *Lisān al-ʿArab*; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, vol. 1, no. 315 end, and 921; against that Ibn Ḥajar has in vol. 4, p. 946, the explicit reading كجة (بضم الكاف وتشديد الجيم) next to the variant كلجة بعدها لام (يسكون المهملة بعدها لام) كجة is to be found also in Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba fī ma'rīfat al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 5, p. 611, vol. 3, p. 402, l 2, and al-Dhahabī, *Tajrīd asmā' al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 2, p. 349.

<sup>115</sup> al-Wāḥidī on verse 5; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī on v. 8; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on v. 5.

<sup>116</sup> Briefly mentioned in al-Wāḥidī; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, vol. 1, no. 877; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba fī ma'rīfat al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 1, p. 223, without date.

<sup>117</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 609; al-Wāqidi, p. 297; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, vol. 1, no. 2661; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, vol. 2, p. 184.

<sup>118</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 607; al-Wāqidi, pp. 230 and 293; Ibn Ḥajar, vol. 1, no. 2666; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, vol. 2, p. 185, where he mentions as his brother the above-cited Thābit.

<sup>119</sup> al-Wāqidi, p. 320, which undoubtedly indicates verse 12; al-Tirmidhī, *Farā'id*, § 3; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, vol. 1, no. 2734; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, vol. 2, p. 277 sq.; and al-Nawawī, [*Tahdhīb al-asmā'*] p. 271 sq., who all refer to verse 12; Ibn Hishām, p. 608; Ibn Ḥajar, vol. 4, p. 945, bottom.—Ibn Ḥajar, vol. 2, no. 4048, mentions verse 175 or verse 38, and as his wife, ʿAmra bint Ḥazm. On the other hand, the biographers of women (Ibn Sa'd (*al-Tabaqāt*): *Biographien der Frauen* (vol. 8), p. 328; Ibn Ḥajar, vol. 4, p. 704 sq.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, vol. 5, p. 509), do not record anything regarding revelations. [Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 483, col. 2.]

<sup>120</sup> Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on verse 8; Ibn Ḥajar, vol. 1, no. 315.

<sup>121</sup> This is ascertained by the testimony of his own brother ومناقتيل الشعب أوس بن ثابت (*Dirwān* Ḥassān b. Thābit, Tunis ed., p. 27; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, vol. 1, no. 315.) Cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 608.

here and that it is, instead, another man with the same name mentioned nowhere else, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī excludes for totally insufficient reasons.

4. Instead of Aws b. Thābit some mention ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Thābit,<sup>122</sup> another brother of the poet who, Ibn Ḥajar emphasizes, is otherwise unknown; still others call the person killed at Uḥud Aws b. Mālik.<sup>123</sup>
5. Thābit b. Qays [Ibn Shammās],<sup>124</sup> who is also said to have ended his life at Uḥud.<sup>125</sup>
6. Regarding verse 8, someone mentions Aws b. Suwayd,<sup>126</sup> about whom we know nothing more.

[i/198] Even if some of the names mentioned might be a confusion, there still remain three or certainly two names, as in options 4, 5, and 6 above. Yet given the well-known tendentiousness of the exegetic tradition, one cannot even rely on these names. Only one detail is credible, namely that it concerns men killed at Uḥud. In addition, it is quite likely that these minute laws regarding orphans, and the inheritance of deceased husbands, were promulgated when many heads of families had died at the same time; this, however, fits best with that great defeat. Verses 19 to 22, regarding the indecency of men and women, might also be fixed to this time. In any case, they are older than the passage 24:2, which seems to date from 6/627. Verses 23 to

<sup>122</sup> al-Ṭabarī in the *Tafsīr* on verse 12; Ibn Ḥajar, vol. 4, p. 946, vol. 2, no. 9459.

<sup>123</sup> Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, vol. 1, nos. 315 and 350 (vol. 4, p. 946). This name is not listed among the men killed, neither in al-Wāqidi nor in Ibn Hishām. al-Zamaksharī and al-Bayḍāwī have instead أوس بن الصامت. This man is quite a different *Anṣārī* who is said to have been the cause of the revelation of sūra 58, and who died a long time after the Prophet, probably under Caliph ʿUthmān (Ibn Saʿd, [*al-Ṭabaqāt*]: *Biographien der medinischen Kämpfer* (vol. 3, part 2), p. 93; Ibn Ḥajar, vol. 1, no. 338; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 1, p. 146sq.; al-Nawawī, [*Tahdhīb al-asmāʾ*] *Biographical dictionary*, p. 168sq. The confusion of the two brothers is also the basis of the inaccurate report that the former, Aws b. Thābit, survived the Prophet by many years (Ibn Saʿd, *ibid.*, vol. 3, part 2, p. 63; Ibn Ḥajar, vol. 1, no. 314, Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 1, p. 141, all according to al-Wāqidi).

<sup>124</sup> *Et*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 72, col. 2, p. 142, col. 2, p. 380, col. 1.

<sup>125</sup> So al-Wāḥidī on verse 12 in a cumbersome account; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, vol. 4, p. 946; Ibn Ḥajar, vol. 1, no. 984, does not approve of this, he is missing from the lists in al-Wāqidi and Ibn Hishām. The many men listed under this name by Ibn Ḥajar all died after Muḥammad except one, about whose death nothing is known (no. 900).

<sup>126</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, vol. 1, no. 336, vol. 4, p. 946, l 13, وأوس وثعلبة بن أوس وسويد is to be replaced by أوس وأوس وثعلبة, of whom the former was the husband of Umm Kuḥḥa, the latter his brother. Cf. also Ibn Ḥajar, vol. 1, no. 935; in no. 315 Suwayd appears in place of Khālīd or Qatāda as the brother of ʿUrfuṭa who, according to some writers, was the brother, according to others, the cousin of Aws ibn Thābit, cf. Ibn Ḥajar, vol. 1, no. 2140, vol. 2, no. 9877; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba fī maʾrifat al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 2, p. 85, vol. 3, p. 401sq., vol. 4, p. 194.



32 might be concurrent with the first verses, as verse 23 is of nearly identical content, leading Muslims to supply the same stories to explain it. The remainder of the verses, too, dealing with marital matters, fits well into this time period when there were a large number of widows. Verse 28 mentions *mut'a*, the temporary marriage, which was later abrogated during the siege of Khaybar (7/628).<sup>127</sup> Verses 33 to 45, in which Muḥammad begins to fight the Hypocrites (verse 40sq.), also belong roughly to this period (cf. 4:36sq.) It is difficult to express an opinion regarding the composition of verse 46. It is certain that this verse, which prohibits prayer under the influence of alcohol, must have been promulgated before the general prohibition of wine.<sup>128</sup> Since this prohibition was apparently<sup>129</sup> promulgated<sup>130</sup> during the campaign against Banū Naḍir in I Rabi' 4/625, this verse would have to

<sup>127</sup> *al-Muwattā'*, p. 196; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Nikāḥ*, § 31; Muslim, *K. al-Nikāḥ*, § 3, *K. al-Ṣayd*, § 4; al-Nasā'ī, *K. al-Nikāḥ*, § 61; al-Tirmidhī, *Nikāḥ*, § 27; Hibat Allāh (b. Salāma). From among the different traditions on the subject it seems to appear that shortly after the conquest of Mecca the *mut'a* was again permitted for a short time; cf. Muslim, *Nikāḥ*, § 3, note on Ibn Hishām, p. 758; Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, note on p. 357. According to Ibn Sa'd, *Biographien der Genossen*, ed. Julius Lippert, p. 68 bottom, the *mut'a* marriage was prohibited in the Farewell Pilgrimage, but it is not stated that it was the first time this happened. The editor of the Arabic text, J. Lippert, did not understand the meaning of *mut'a* as is evident from his note s.v. (p. xcix). After *استمتعتم به* Ibn 'Abbās is said to have added *إلى أجل مستقى* al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; *Lisān al-'Arab*, vol. 10, p. 205sq. Contrary to the Shī'a, all conservative authorities of the *sunna* reject the so-called temporary marriage; cf. al-Sha'rānī, *Mizān* (Cairo, 1317), vol. 2, p. 107; J. Wellhausen, "Die Ehe," p. 464sq.; Th.W. Juynboll, *Mohammedaansche Wet*, § 39.

<sup>128</sup> Muslims accurately supply the chronological order of the passages dealing with wine as follows: sūras 16:69 (Meccan); 2:216 (as we have been able to see above on page 127, shortly before the Battle of Badr); 4:46; 5:92 (al-Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, s.v.; al-Nasā'ī, *K. al-Ashriba*, beginning; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* on sūra 2:216 (vol. 2, p. 203sq., and 5:92 (vol. 7, p. 20sq.)); Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī on sūra 5:92; Hibat Allāh (b. Salāma); al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍawī on sūra 2:216; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 58). It is incomprehensible that Weil holds this prohibition to be later than sūra 5:92. If this had been the case, Muḥammad would have reacted quite differently against the ritual prayer under the influence of alcohol as in this instance. Then there is the added argument that the above-mentioned writers perhaps rightfully point out that this concerns 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, one of the earliest and most faithful of the Prophet's companions, who is unlikely to have done such a thing if there had been a previous general interdiction. [*EP*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 155, etc.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, p. 171, no. 5 (8).]

<sup>129</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 653; following this, also Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 139; Caussin de Perceval, vol. 3, p. 122; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 586.

<sup>130</sup> The above-mentioned authorities (page 148) relate that the consumption of wine was prohibited on occasion of a quarrel at a drinking-bout of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, [*EP*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 25sq.] but without reference to a military campaign. Al-Wāqidī, p. 261, last line (Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 125 = al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Maghāzī*, § 18, centre) presupposes that at the time of the Battle of Uḥud wine had not yet been prohibited.

be fixed to the time before that campaign. This is contradicted by traditions on the origin of the second half of the verse, however,<sup>131</sup> which permit, in case of need, “to have recourse to wholesome dust”<sup>132</sup> instead of water for the ritual ablution. Some attribute this promulgation to an unidentified campaign; the localities mentioned in this context are all in the vicinity of Medina, where Muḥammad’s forces were often in action, namely Dhāt al-Jaysh<sup>133</sup> or Ulāt al-Jaysh,<sup>134</sup> and al-Bayḍā’.<sup>135</sup> Al-Wāqidi<sup>136</sup> fixes the revelation to the campaign against Banū Muṣṭaliq which, according to him, occurred in Sha’bān 5/626, and, according to Ibn Ishāq,<sup>137</sup> in the same month but of the following year. Far less frequently this is attributed to the Dhāt al-Riqā’<sup>138</sup> campaign of Muḥarram 5/626. It is quite possible that verse 46 does not represent the original text of a uniform revelation but is rather the subsequent literary digest of two divine commands that “may have been revealed on entirely different occasions.”<sup>139</sup> Verses 47 to 60 can be attached to verse 45. Tradition applies verse 54 to the Jews, who incited the Quraysh to fight against the Prophet by derogating Islam as an innovation from the pagan cult of the ancient Arabs. If these verses, as some claim,<sup>140</sup> refer to Ka’b b. al-Ashraf, they would predate the Battle of Uḥud, as he was killed in I Rabi’ 3/624.<sup>141</sup> This is not very probable, however, as in this battle the Jews did not assist the

<sup>131</sup> The verse of *tayammum* is from *وَأَيْدِيكُمْ* to *وَأَنْ كَفْتُمْ* identical with sūra 5:9.

<sup>132</sup> This regulation is not at all an invention of the Prophet, rather it goes back first of all to Jewish (Talm., *Berākhot*, fol. 15a, top ובצרור ובקסמית ידיו בעפר ובצרור ובקסמית ידיו) and the resulting Christian ritual respectively.

<sup>133</sup> *al-Muwaṭṭa’*, p. 18 sq.; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Tayammum*, § 1; Muslim, *K. al-Hayḍ*, § 27; al-Nasā’ī, *K. al-Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 106; al-Wāḥidī. This entire tradition is in some aspects, including the locality, conspicuously similar to the infamous story of ‘Ā’isha’s lost necklace; see below on sūra 24. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 390.

<sup>134</sup> al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Qāmūs*; al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkh al-khamīs*, vol. 1, p. 473, bottom.

<sup>135</sup> See above, note 128.

<sup>136</sup> Translated by Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, pp. 184 and 188; al-Diyārbakrī, *ibid.*; the glosses on Mālik ibn Anas, *Muwaṭṭa’*, loc. cit.; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 41 sq. Cf. Weil, *Das Leben Mohammedi*, p. 159; Caussin de Perceval, vol. 3, p. 161; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 604.

<sup>137</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 725; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1510.

<sup>138</sup> The glosses on *Muwaṭṭa’*, *ibid.*; al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkh al-khamīs*, vol. 1, p. 464; cf. below on verse 102 sq. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 67 col. 2, 673, col. 1.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. Muir, vol. 3, p. 301; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 3, p. xxxi sq.

<sup>140</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Wāḥidī; al-Zamaksharī; al-Bayḍāwī. — Verse 50 al-Ṭabarī attributes in his *Tafsīr* to other Jews, Rifā’a b. Zayd b. Sā’ib (Tabūt), and Mālik b. Šayf, verse 47 to the former alone. This is the same person who in Ibn Hishām, p. 397, is connected with sūra 5:62 sq. Such associations are inconsequential.

<sup>141</sup> Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, pp. 184 and 188; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1368 sq.; Ibn Hishām, p. 548 sqq. This fact is supported by several poems on the war against Banū Naḍir, where Ka’b’s death is mentioned (Ibn Hishām, p. 656 sq.).

Quraysh. Instead, some of Banū Naḍīr are probably meant here,<sup>142</sup> who after losing their dwelling-places, formed a coalition of the Qurayṣa Jews with the Quraysh and their followers as well as the widely-dispersed Ghaṭafān, nearly bringing Muḥammad to destruction in 5/626.<sup>143</sup> Verses 62–72 must refer to a dispute which a Muslim did not want to be settled by the Prophet. The stories alluded to in verses 63 and 68, however, are neither sufficiently reliable nor conclusive for the chronology. As this section is similar in content and language to the previous one, they might both be from the same period. Verses 73–85 were undoubtedly revealed not very long after the great defeat, as they clearly indicate that at that time the pagans were considerably stronger than the Muslims. Verses 86–95 can have obviously been revealed only after the Muslims had already concluded pacts with various tribes (cf. verses 92 and 94). Verse 94 is held to refer to ‘Ayyāsh b. Abī Rabi‘a of the Makhzūm who, without being aware of the conversion of al-Ḥārith b. Yazīd (or Ibn Zayd) al-Ḥaḍramī,<sup>144</sup> slew him on account of an old quarrel. Following another tradition,<sup>145</sup> this happened after the Battle of Uḥud. Others have instead of Ḥārith an anonymous man, or they call the murderer Abū l-Dardā.<sup>146</sup> That verse 90 refers to those who deserted the Prophet at Uḥud<sup>147</sup> cannot be proven, since this verse deals only with the Hypocrites in general. Verses 96 to 105 have much in common with the preceding passages. Verses 102 sq. even mentions the so-called prayer of danger, *ṣalāt al-khawf*,<sup>148</sup> which according to some sources<sup>149</sup> refers to the campaign

<sup>142</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 669; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1464; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on sūra 33:9; al-Wāḥidī. That this happened after the Battle of Uḥud is also reported by al-Wāḥidī who, thus, is contradicting himself when he mentions Ka‘b who was killed before that battle. It must be added that this whole matter, though historically established, is marred by all sorts of silly additions.

<sup>143</sup> The common tradition regarding verse 56 has been correctly interpreted already by Weil (*Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, 1st ed., p. 72, note 2, 2nd ed., p. 81, note 8).

<sup>144</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Wāḥidī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍawī; F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 1, p. 342; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.v.

<sup>145</sup> Ibn Hajar, vol. 1, no. 1503, end.

<sup>146</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*.

<sup>147</sup> al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Maghāzī*, § 17, end, *K. al-Tafsīr*; Muslim, *K. al-Ṣifāt al-munāfiqīn*, § 1; al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Tafsīr*; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Wāḥidī; al-Bayḍawī. The Commentators offer still other explanations.

<sup>148</sup> Also this regulation (see above, page 161) is of Jewish origin. Mishna *Berākhot* 4:4 המהלך קצרה תהנה במקום סכנה מתפלל תפלה קצרה and Talmud Babli, *Berākhot*, fol. 29b המהלך [cf. Tosefta *Berākhot*, 3] תנה רבנן במקום גודדי חיה מתפלל תפלה קצרה.

<sup>149</sup> al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Maghāzī*, § 33; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1454; al-Mas‘ūdī, *Prairies d’or*, v. 4, p. 156 sq.; al-Wāḥidī translated by Wellhausen, *Muhammad in Medina*, p. 172. Some do not say it straight away that this then happened for the first time: *al-Muwatta‘a*, p. 64; Ibn Hishām,

“to disperse certain tribes of the Banī Ghaṭafān” (غزوة ذات الرقاع), i.e., in I Jumādā 4/625<sup>150</sup> or Muḥarram 5/626.<sup>151</sup> Verse 96, which is closely related to the latter, Muslims mostly take to refer to the murder of a man by Muḥammad’s favourite, Usāma b. Zayd,<sup>152</sup> during a campaign in 7/628. This cannot be trusted any more than other stories that, according to tradition,<sup>153</sup> occasioned this revelation. Verses 106 to 115 and 116 are generally applied to a man from Medina found guilty of theft whom Muḥammad nearly pardoned on behalf of the intercession of his clansmen, the Banū Ẓafar. In the various individual accounts<sup>154</sup> there are can be found some tendentious

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p. 662; Muslim, *K. al-Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān*, § 18; al-Nasā’ī, *K. Ṣalāt al-khawf*; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt*, ibid. Also other military campaigns and places are mentioned, where this prayer might have been observed without explicitly denying that it might have happened even earlier, namely ‘Uṣfān and Ḍanajān: (campaign of al-Ḥudaybiyya, 6/627); al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Taḥsīn*; al-Ṭabarī in *Tafsīr*, vol. 5, pp. 144 and 152; al-Wāḥidī; Dhū Qarad: al-Nasā’ī, loc. cit. (AH 6); against some of the Juhayna [Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 79 col. 1]; Muslim, loc. cit. That the verse was also revealed at ‘Uṣfān is to be found in al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 5, p. 145. Al-Wāḥidī; translated by Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 245; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 41. Cf. also Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 3, p. 224; and Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 596.

<sup>150</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 661; al-Mas‘ūdī, loc. cit.

<sup>151</sup> al-Wāḥidī, p. 4 and Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 172.

<sup>152</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Wāḥidī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī. Without mention of the verse, the story is related in Ibn Hishām, p. 984; Ibn Sa‘d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographien der Muhāğirun*, p. 48; J. Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 297 sq.; Muslim, *K. al-Īmān*, § 41; al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Taḥsīn*; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt*, k. *al-Qiṣās*, faṣl 1, § 5; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba fi ma‘rifat al-ṣahāba* in the article “Usāmah.” [E?]; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 25 sqq.]

<sup>153</sup> Thus have, e.g., Ibn Hishām, p. 987 (cf. the accompanying notes) and al-Wāḥidī, translated by Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 325, an event that is said to have occurred shortly before the fall of Mecca. Cf. Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 2 part 1, p. 116.

<sup>154</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 359; al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Taḥsīn*; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 5, pp. 157–160; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Wāḥidī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, vol. 2, p. 179 sq; Ibn Ḥajar, vol. 1, no. 2651; Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān*, Tunis edition, p. 64 sq., scholium according to which the thief stayed at Mecca with سعد بنت سعد. The name of the thief is given as أبو طعمة بن أبيرق [Abū Ṭu‘ma b. Ubayriq] (so al-Wāḥidī, a variant in Ibn Hishām, and the best tradition in Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī) or commonly (طعمة بن أبيرق) (Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, vol. 3, p. 52; Ibn Ḥajar, vol. 2, no. 8734) or أبو طعمة بشير بن أبيرق (Ibn Hishām; *Uṣd*, vol. 3, p. 52 [sic]) or بشير بن أبيرق (al-Tirmidhī). In Ḥassān [Ibn Thābit’s] verse he is simply called سارق الدرعين Sāriq al-Dir‘ayn, and in its accompanying historical explanation بشير بن أبيرق أبو طعمة الظفريّ. For Ṭu‘ma, the best ascertained form of the name—cf. also *Ḥamāsa*, p. 452; Ibn Khaṭīb al-Dahsha, *Tuḥfat dhawī l-Arab*—we occasionally find Ṭi‘ma (variants in Ibn Hishām and Fleischer’s al-Bayḍāwī). It is less certain whether to read Bashīr or Bushayr. Ibn Ḥajar, vol. 1, no. 686, varies, but the notes in Ibn Hishām, p. 359, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, vol. 1, p. 184, hold the diminutive to be correct. Totally incorrect is the distinction in cod. Sprenger, no. 282 (= Ahlwardt, no. 10169) between أبو طعمة الظفريّ and *Ṭa’i‘ma b. Ubayriq* (sic!).

traits,<sup>155</sup> apart from many harmless ingredients. Most sources lack the least chronological clue, while only a few state that the thief died in disbelief at Mecca.<sup>156</sup> Ibn al-Athīr's *Usd al-ghāba fī ma'rīfat al-ṣahāba*<sup>157</sup> has a note, which cannot be confirmed, saying the theft occurred before I Rabī' 4/625. The event itself is indeed quite credible, as its historicity is substantiated by a satirical poem of Ḥassān b. Thābit referring to it. Its connection with those verses of the sūra, however, is not supported by the text of the Koran and certainly belongs to the great realm of exegetic fancy. Verses 116–125, and the verses apparently connected with them, 130–133,<sup>158</sup> fight idolatry. The importance of the “religion of Abraham” (*millat Ibrāhīm*), which verse 122 expounds, would suggest that none of this be dated to before the Battle of Badr.<sup>159</sup> Verses 126–129 should very likely be interpreted as a supplement to the laws appearing at the beginning of the sūra. Verse 134 may be connected with verse 61. Verses 135–142, which apparently were revealed at the same time as verses 143–152, belong to the period after the Battle of Uḥud, as verses 136 and 146 show that the Muslims even at that time were battling with changing fortunes.<sup>160</sup> In verses 152 to 168 Muḥammad summarizes everything that he harbours against the Jewish people. These bitter sentiments can have hardly developed before he clashed openly with the Jews of Medina. Closely connected with this are the verses 4:169 to 174, where the Christians are also reproached with several false doctrines.<sup>161</sup> Tradition is divided as to the origin of verse 175 (law of inheritance). Some hold that it was revealed on a campaign,<sup>162</sup> whereas others say that this happened when the Prophet was once visiting Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh while ill.<sup>163</sup> Finally, some say that this verse originated from a response to a question from this same Jābir during the Farewell Pilgrimage,<sup>164</sup> and was the very last of the entire

<sup>155</sup> For example, when it is said that someone dealing in stolen goods, or even the thief himself, had been a Jew.

<sup>156</sup> al-Zamakhsharī; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*.

<sup>157</sup> Vol. 1, p. 184, s.v. بشر بن الحارث.

<sup>158</sup> Attention ought to be paid to *ولله ما في السماوات وما في الأرض* in the verses 125, 130 (twice) and 131.

<sup>159</sup> Cf. above, p. 155 sq. on sūra 3:89, and the comprehensive comments on sūra 16:124 on p. 119 sq.

<sup>160</sup> It is wrong that the Commentators attribute verse 135 sq. to the Jews instead of the Hypocrites.

<sup>161</sup> Cf. verse 168, which closes the first part, as well as does verse 174, the second one.

<sup>162</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 41.

<sup>163</sup> al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Farā'id*, § 1; al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Farā'id*, § 4; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; al-Wāḥidī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Nisābūrī; al-Nasafī.

<sup>164</sup> *في طريق مكة عام حجة الوداع*. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Khāzin al-Baghḍādī;

Koran.<sup>165</sup> Although this statement is old and quite common, it deserves as little confidence as all the rest, which—with the exception of one, and because of the impossibility of fixing its time—are rather useless and totally defy verification. Given that the Farewell Pilgrimage occurred in the beginning of March 632 AD, that tradition is in contradiction to yet another one, according to which the verse was revealed in summer.<sup>166</sup> Even this tradition, however, looking ostensibly unsuspecting, is deprived of all credibility when we realize that verse 15, with its slightly changed law of inheritance, was transposed by verse 175 to winter.<sup>167</sup> We must therefore be satisfied with the general conclusion that verse 175 was formulated some time after verse 15. When fixing the dates of Koranic legal passages one should always consider that many of them probably do not go back to particular cases, for as soon as Muḥammad was confronted at Medina with the task of leading and legislating, it must have been in his interest to recast particularly offensive and objectionable pagan institutions as quickly as possible and not anticipate the appearance of specific cases.

[i/205]

Because of its similar content we now turn our attention to sūra 65,<sup>168</sup> which complements sūra 2:225sq. If the first verse really refers to Ibn ʿUmar, who had divorced his wife “when she had her monthly courses upon her,”<sup>169</sup> the sūra could hardly be fixed before 8/629, as at that time he was only twenty years old. Yet this contradicts a tradition according to which, on this occasion, Muḥammad recited only this particular verse.<sup>170</sup> Moreover,

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al-Nisābūrī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 49. Also the regulation of other matters of inheritance tradition fixes to this time; cf. al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Maghāzī*, § 78 towards the end, J. Wellhausen, *Muḥammad in Medina*, p. 432sq.

<sup>165</sup> al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Farāʾid*, § 14, and *K. al-Taḥṣīn*; Muslim, *K. al-Farāʾid*; al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 7, p. 62; al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Taḥṣīn*; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Bayḍawī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Wāḥidī in the introduction, Cairo ed., p. 9, top; al-Qurṭubī, fol. 23v; ʿAbd al-Aḥad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarrānī, fourth last leaf; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 60; al-Shūshawī, chapter 1; ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī.

<sup>166</sup> *al-Muwattʿā*, p. 328; Muslim, *K. al-Ṣalāt*, § 65 towards the end, *K. al-Farāʾid* (al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 7, 59); al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Taḥṣīn*; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 4, p. 26; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, pp. 49, and 924; al-Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-khamīs*, vol. 1, p. 12; Hibat Allāh b. Salāma on sūra 4. It is precisely for this reason that the verse is called “the Verse of Summer” (آية الصيف). It is totally wrong when *al-Itqān*, p. 49, connects the two traditions and even claims that all the verses revealed during the Farewell Pilgrimage are summerly (صيفي).

<sup>167</sup> al-Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-khamīs*, vol. 1, p. 12.

<sup>168</sup> In Flügel’s verse 2 the end of the verse ought to be put after *مُحْرَجًا*, and the rest to be united with verse 3; the same applies to the verses 10 and 11.

<sup>169</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Wāḥidī; al-Bayḍawī; [Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 222, col. 1; G. Sale, sūra 65, foot-note].

<sup>170</sup> Muslim, *K. al-Ṭalāq*, § 1, towards the end al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 6, p. 257; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī;

different versions of the origin have been transmitted,<sup>171</sup> all of which are unreliable. One source attributes this sūra to the Meccan period,<sup>172</sup> possibly because of its ending, which resembles the style of the Meccan period.

Sūra 59 refers largely to the subjection and expulsion of the Jewish tribe Naḍīr in I Rabiʿ 4/625,<sup>173</sup> for which reason it is explicitly called the Sūra of the Naḍīr.<sup>174</sup> It is difficult to say anything definite about the time of verses 18sq.; there is nothing against the assumption that they were revealed concurrently with the first part, particularly as verse one reappears verbatim at the end of the sūra.

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*Comments on Sūras 33, 63, 24, 58, 22, 48, 66, 60, 110, 49, 9, 5*

Sūra 33 consists of several pieces. Verses 9–27 certainly originate from the end of 5/626,<sup>175</sup> after the powerful allies, the Quraysh, Ghaṭafān, and Qurayza, had abandoned the siege of Yathrib, which was defended by a trench (خندق),

in all the other recensions of this transmission—(Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, but particularly in Muslim as well as al-Bukhārī, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasafī, *al-Muwattaʿ*; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt*, at the beginning of *K. al-Ṭalāq*)—the Prophet's reply refers to this verse only.

<sup>171</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Wāḥidī; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*.

<sup>172</sup> In 'Umar b. Muḥammad (IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ).

<sup>173</sup> This is the general point of view (Ibn Hishām, p. 653; al-Wāqidī, vol. 4, p. 353; Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 163; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Maghāzī*, § 14, beginning; al-Balādhurī, ed. M.J. de Goeje, p. 18; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1448; al-Mas'ūdī, *Prairies d'or*, vol. 4, p. 157; the Commentators. Cf. G. Weil, *Das Leben*, p. 135sq.; Caussin de Perceval, vol. 3, p. 121; Muir, vol. 3, p. 215sq.; Sprenger, *Das Leben*, vol. 3, p. 160sq.; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 584). Totally isolated is Zuhri's tradition via al-Bukhārī, loc. cit., § 14, beginning; al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rikh al-khamīs*, vol. 1, p. 460 top; this event occurred six months after the Battle of Badr, i.e., also in I Rabiʿ, but in 3/624. There are still other accounts against this. The historians (Ibn Hishām, pp. 650 and 652; al-Wāqidī, p. 354; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, pp. 1444 and 1448) suggest as cause of the campaign against Banū Naḍīr an event which was precipitated by the conflict of Bi'r Ma'ūna in Safar 4/625. In addition, a poem of a Jew on the death of Ka'b b. al-Ashraf (in Ibn Hishām, p. 659) which cannot really have been composed after the expulsion of Banū Naḍīr, mentions the Battle of Uḥud:

كأ لاقيتم من بأس صخر \* بأحدٍ حيث ليس لكم نصير

"Like Sakhr's power (Abū Sufyān's) which you felt at the Uḥud where you did not have a saviour!"

<sup>174</sup> al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Maghāzī*, cap. 14, § 3; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Khāzin al-Baghdādī.

<sup>175</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 668sq, particularly p. 693sq.; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1463sq.; al-Ya'qūbī, vol. 2, p. 50 (fifty months after the *hijra*); al-Wāqidī, p. 4sq. and 157 (Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 210); al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 21, etc. The year seems certain and fits the course of events much better than the mere tradition that gives Ibn 'Umar's age as fourteen at the Battle of Uḥud, and fifteen at the time of the Battle of the Trench (al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Maghāzī*, § 31, beginning), assuming the encounter to have taken place in 4/625 (Ibn Qutayba, p. 80, al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rikh al-khamīs*, vol. 1, p. 479 bottom). Cf. al-Bukhārī, loc. cit.,

and the Jewish Banū Qurayẓa were shortly thereafter defeated by Muḥammad. Verses 36–40<sup>176</sup> belong to approximately the same time. They refer to Zaynab bt. Jahsh,<sup>177</sup> whom Muḥammad wanted to marry, and who was the divorced wife of Zayd,<sup>178</sup> a freedman and adopted son of the Prophet. This divorce is fixed to 5/626,<sup>179</sup> and it is precisely this date that the statement of this new marriage refers to as being before the campaign against the Banū Muṣṭaliq.<sup>180</sup>

Those verses can further be connected with: (1) verses 1 to 3, a kind of introduction; (2) verse 4sq., in which Muḥammad explains that adopted sons are not true sons in order to legitimate his marriage with the wife of his adopted son; (3) verses 6 to 8, regarding the relation of the Prophet and his wives to the believers; and, finally (4) verses 28 to 35, stipulations regarding Muḥammad's wives.<sup>181</sup>

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Verses 53 to 55 are commonly taken to refer to the guests at Zaynab's second wedding, where they stayed longer than the Prophet cared for.<sup>182</sup> Still, some sources<sup>183</sup> also list other reasons, and we must admit that there were occasions in the life of Muḥammad that might have prompted such a revelation. Verse 59, a regulation about women's dress, is perhaps a later addition, in any case before 8/629. In this year Muḥammad's daughter, Umm

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where in addition the month (Shawwāl) is supplied (cf. Muir, vol. 3, p. 156). This month, which agrees with Ibn Ishāq, is probably to be preferred to that of al-Wāqidi (Dhū l-Qa'da), adopted by Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 17sq., Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 611sq.; and F. Buhl, *Muhammets Liv*, p. 265.

<sup>176</sup> al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Ṭalāq*, § 8; al-Nasā'ī, *K. al-Nikāh*, § 25; the Commentators. Cf. also the following foot-notes numbers 179 and 180.

<sup>177</sup> *EF*<sup>2</sup>; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 155sq.

<sup>178</sup> *EF*<sup>2</sup>; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 452, col. 1.

<sup>179</sup> al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1460sq.; al-Mas'ūdi, *Prairies d'or*, vol. 4, p. 157; Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt: Biographien der Frauen*) (vol. 8, p. 81).—Also 3/624 is mentioned in Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba fi ma'rifat al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 5, p. 463; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, vol. 4, p. 600; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, p. 842; al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rikh al-khamis*, vol. 1, p. 500.

<sup>180</sup> This is evident from the role played by Zaynab—and even more so her sister—in the story of the libel against 'Ā'isha. See below, foot-note 195 for citations.

<sup>181</sup> With reference to verse 28sq., Muslims have much to say regarding the great dissention between Muḥammad and his wives, but generally without precise citation (آية التخيير) The adorned and legend-like story does not make it clear how the conflict originated. Cf. al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Ṭalāq*, § 5; Muslim, *K. al-Ṭalāq*, § 4; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; and the Commentators.

<sup>182</sup> al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Nikāh*, § 47, *K. al-Aṭ'ima*, end, *K. al-Istidhān*, § 10; Muslim, *K. al-Nikāh*, § 15; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Wāḥidī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. Cf. Weil, *Das Leben*, p. 229, foot-note; Caussin de Perceval, vol. 3, p. 151; Muir, vol. 3, p. 228sq.; Sprenger, *Das Leben*, vol. 1, p. 400sq.; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 610sq. Less specific al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Tafsīr*, etc. The so-called verse of *hijāb* of al-Nasā'ī, *K. al-Nikāh*, § 25, establishes a different relation to Zaynab.

<sup>183</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Wāḥidī.



Kulthūm,<sup>184</sup> died, leaving only Fāṭima, so that an address to his “daughters” (*banātika*), as in this verse, was no longer possible. For the definition of the period of verses 49 to 51, which granted the Prophet *inter alia* a slave concubine, it must be remembered that the first time he made use of this permission was the case of the slave girl Rayḥāna,<sup>185</sup> taken prisoner in the campaign against the Qurayza in 5/626. Verse 52 certainly belongs to the last years of Muḥammad’s life.<sup>186</sup> Verse 48 regarding a particular case of divorce is a complement to sūra 2:237 and seems to date from about the same time as the majority of the sūra. Verses 41–47, 56–58, and 60–73 deal with the Prophet’s relation to believers and unbelievers. Also, the language of these verses has something in common; cf. verse 42 with 56, and the word أَدَى in the verses 47, 57, 58, 59, and 69, which otherwise appears only in verse 53. The arrangement of the individual parts of this sūra is irrelevant because the manifold regulations of family and property law (verses 4–8, 28–40, 48, and 53–55) are carelessly interspersed with remarks on the Prophet and his contemporaries (41–47, 56–58, and 60–73), while the rambling address regarding the Battle of the Trench (verses 9–27) does not fit with any part of the sūra and merely results in the separation of identical subjects. Despite this confusion, the address vacillates regularly between يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا (verses 9, 41, 48, 53, and 69 (apart from the sole exception of verse 70)) and يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ (verses 1, 28, 44, 49, and 50). This cannot be an accident but must be the intention of either the writer or the editor. Since it would appear that most of the parts are close to one another in time, however, it is conceivable that the sūra received its present form from the Prophet himself.<sup>187</sup>

Sūra 63 is fixed to the time shortly after the campaign against Banū Muṣṭaliq, a branch of Banū Khuzā’a, and refers to the rebellious words that ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy used on this occasion.<sup>188</sup> Verses 9 to 11 might also belong to a different period, as they are not connected with the content of the rest.

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<sup>184</sup> Cf. Ibn Sa’d, *Biographien der Frauen* (vol. 8, p. 25); Ibn Qutayba, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 69 sq.; Ibn Hajar, vol. 4, p. 949, etc. [EQ; s.v.; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 427.]

<sup>185</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 963; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1497 sq.; Ibn Sa’d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographien der Frauen* (vol. 8) p. 92 sq.; Ibn Hajar, vol. 4, p. 591 sq. Cf. Weil, *Das Leben*, p. 170 sq.; Muir, vol. 3, p. 272; Sprenger, *Das Leben*, vol. 3, p. 77 sq.; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 634.

<sup>186</sup> Weil (*Das Leben*, p. 358 sq., and *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, 2nd ed., p. 86) presented evidence for this against the strange views of Muslims (cf. the Commentators.)

<sup>187</sup> Cf. thereon Sprenger’s remarkable exposition in his *Das Leben*, vol. 3, p. xxxii sq.

<sup>188</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 726 sq., and 360, where it says that the entire sūra (بِأَمْرِهَا) was revealed at that time. Muslim, *K. al-Ṣifāt al-munāfiqīn*, beginning; al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Tafsīr*; al-Bukhārī, *ibid.*; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1512 sq.; Ibn al-Athīr (*al-Kāmil*), vol. 2, p. 147; Wellhausen (*al-Wāqidi*),

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Sūra 24, verses 1 to 3 deal with the sin of prostitution as well as wedlock with prostitutes, verses 4 to 10 with fornication and the penalty for those who falsely accuse women of this offence. According to tradition, verses 6 to 9 go back to ‘Uwaymir b. Ḥārith<sup>189</sup> or Hilāl b. Umayya,<sup>190</sup> who suspected their wives of extramarital relations. The name of the guilty man, Sharīk b. al-Saḥmā,<sup>191</sup> is mentioned as frequently in connection with Hilāl as ‘Āsim b. ‘Adī is with his friend ‘Uwaymir. Nowhere in the older sources<sup>192</sup> does Sharīk appear as the seducer of the woman. By the same token, it is very late works that mention the name of the frivolous woman.<sup>193</sup> The date of the offence

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*Muhammed in Medina*, p. 179sq.; al-Ṭabarī in the *Tafsīr*; al-Wahīdī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī. Cf. Caussin de Perceval, vol. 3, p. 162sq.; Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, 148sq.; Muir, vol. 3, p. 240; Sprenger, *Das Leben*, vol. 3, p. 193; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 602sq. As far as the time of this war is concerned we can fix it to Sha‘bān 6/627: Ibn Hishām, p. 661 and 725; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Maghāzī*, § 34; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1520; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, vol. 1, p. 22; less accurately al-Ya‘qūbī, vol. 2, p. 53; al-Mas‘ūdī, *Prairies d’or*, vol. 4., p. 143. There is something to be said for this date as Muḥammad’s wives—who during the Battle of the Trench in 5/626 had not yet been living in retreat from the world—(Ibn Hishām, p. 687; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1489; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on sūra 33:9; al-Bukhārī, loc. cit., § 36) were totally segregated during this campaign—as is evident from the tradition on sūra 24 which is cited below. On the other hand, another tradition (al-Wāqidi, p. 4, and Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 175; Ibn Qutayba, p. 80; al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta‘rīkh al-khamīs*, vol. 1, p. 470)—which, incidentally, Weil, *Das Leben*, p. 143sq.; Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 3, pp. 233–237, and Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 600 follow—mentions the year 5/626. Al-Diyārbakrī adds that the campaign took place five months and three days after the one on Dūmat al-Jandal [Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 538, col. 1, n. 1]. However, Ibn Qutayba, who concurs with Ibn Ishāq and the other sources mentioned above in so far as he fixes the Battle of the Trench (according to him in 4/625) before our campaign. Dated back still one more year (4/625)[*sic*] is this event in the frequently cited (al-Bukhārī, loc. cit., § 34, beginning; al-Diyārbakrī, vol. 1, p. 470) *Maghāzī* of Mūsā b. ‘Uqba, [*EP*]; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 283, etc.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 286–287] on which perhaps also al-Mas‘ūdī, *Prairies d’or*, vol. 4, p. 157, is based, and which Sprenger (*Das Leben*, vol. 3, p. 192) is inclined to follow.

<sup>189</sup> *al-Muwattā’*, p. 206; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Ṭalāq*, § 4, *K. al-Tafsīr*; Muslim, *K. al-Li‘ān*, al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 6, p. 315sq.; al-Nasā‘ī, *K. al-Ṭalāq*, *Bāb* 28; Ibn Qutayba, p. 170; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt*, *Bāb al-li‘ān*, beginning; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, vol. 3, p. 88; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, vol. 4, p. 158sq.; al-Zamakhsharī; *EP*.

<sup>190</sup> Muslim, *K. al-Li‘ān*; al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 6, p. 326; al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Tafsīr*; al-Nasā‘ī, *K. al-Ṭalāq*, *Bāb* 30; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Wahīdī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Bayḍāwī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt*, loc. cit.; Ibn Ḥajar, vol. 3, p. 1250, and vol. 2, p. 414sq.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, vol. 2, p. 397sq., and vol. 5, p. 66; al-Nawawī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 609; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 182, col. 2.

<sup>191</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 182.

<sup>192</sup> Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, vol. 4, p. 158; al-Nawawī, p. 491.

<sup>193</sup> Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Zamakhsharī.—The name of the woman, Khawla, is probably derived from the traditions on sūra 58.

some writers<sup>194</sup> fix to Sha'bān 9/630, after Muḥammad had returned from Tabūk. Very little of this exegetic scholarship will pass critical examination. Even if in the family of 'Uwaymir or Hilāl [Ibn Umayya] such a case of fornication might have occurred, its connection with our Koranic passage is probably a fabrication.

Whereas the previous verses are presented in a general vein, verses 10 to 20 focus on an unmistakably specific event. The conspicuously uniform transmission interprets this to refer to 'Ā'isha's well-known adventure during the previous campaign against Banū Muṣṭaliq, and suspects her of having committed an offence with a strange man.<sup>195</sup> In this case there is no reason to challenge the reliability of the tradition. As it seems, this passage—revealed approximately one month<sup>196</sup> after the campaign—was inserted in the present context only later. The composition of the latter would therefore belong to an earlier time. Verses 27 to 33 and 57 to 61, although both containing regulations governing respect for decency and manners in house and family, are apparently of a different origin.<sup>197</sup> Inserted in between is now a piece of an entirely different character, belonging to the most lofty and poetical passages of the Medinan sūras, namely verses 34 to 44, which juxtapose Allāh, the Light of the World, and the darkness of unbelief; the same applies to verses 45 to 56, which have the identical beginning<sup>198</sup> but are composed in a more simple style. They take exception to the behaviour of the Hypocrites (verse 49) and the unreliable elements who, despite their sworn obedience, refuse to follow the Prophet loyally on his campaigns (verse 52). Such polemics must belong to a time when Muḥammad's fortune was at a low point, possibly in the period between the Battle of Uḥud and the end of the Battle of the Trench. The old tradition<sup>199</sup> that regards verses 62 to 64 as

<sup>194</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, vol. 4, p. 158; al-Nawawī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 491; al-Nawawī on Muslim al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 6, p. 316, all with reference to al-Ṭabarī, probably his *Annales*, vol. 1, p. 1705, but where it is merely stated that Hilāl remained back in Medina during the Tabūk campaign. Cf. also al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rikh al-khamis*, vol. 2, p. 133.

<sup>195</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 731sq.; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1517sq.; Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 184sq.; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Shahādāt*, § 15, *Maghāzī*, § 36, *Tafsīr*; Muslim, *K. al-Tawba*, § 11; al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Tafsīr*; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Wāhidī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. Cf. Weil, *Das Leben*, p. 151sq.; Caussin de Perceval, vol. 3, p. 164sq.; Sprenger, *Das Leben*, vol. 3, p. 63sq.; Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 3, p. 244sq.; Aug. Müller, *Der Islam*, vol. 1, p. 133sq.; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 604sq.; Buhl, *Muhammeds Liv*, p. 275sq.

<sup>196</sup> Cf. the sources cited in the previous note.

<sup>197</sup> Each part has a separate introduction, and verse 61 is parallel to verses 27–29.

<sup>198</sup> لقد أنزلنا (البيم) آيات مبینات

<sup>199</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 670; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1465sq.; al-Zamakhsharī.

referring to the digging of the entrenchment outside Medina might be correct, even though it is almost certainly based on exegetic conjecture alone.

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Sūra 58 deals with subjects similar to those in sūra 24. The text of the first verses (58:1–5) makes it clear that it is occasioned by a particular event. It is unanimously agreed that all details refer to Aws b. al-Šāmit, who had separated from one of his wives, called Khawla or Khuwayla,<sup>200</sup> with the pagan formula, “be as my mother’s back,”<sup>201</sup> but later regretted and wanted to resume his marital intercourse without further ceremony. Later sources<sup>202</sup> date this event shortly after the return from al-Ḥudaybiyya, i.e., at the end of 6/627 or the beginning of 7/628. Earlier sources, however, lack this information. The rules for due respect for the Prophet fit in with the period of sūra 24; they certainly do not originate from the first years after the *hijra*. Verses 6 to 9, and 15 sqq. are addressed to the Hypocrites. The separate parts (verses 1–5, 6–9, 10, 11, 12, 13 sq., and 15 sq.) belong chronologically close to one another, as is also evident from the phraseology.<sup>203</sup> Some regard verses 1 to 10<sup>204</sup> or 9 to 11<sup>205</sup> to be of Meccan origin for no good reason.

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Sūra 22, which is commonly regarded as Meccan but occasionally also as Medinan,<sup>206</sup> is primarily important for the Medinan parts which it contains, despite the fact that it was largely revealed during the third Meccan period before the *hijra*. Of Meccan origin are verses 1 to 24—of which verses 5 to 7 do not fit in with the context—and the verses 43 to 56, 60 to 65, and 67 to 75. Of these verses several are unjustly regarded as Medinan: verses 1 sqq. are said to have been revealed on the campaign against

<sup>200</sup> In Ibn al-Athīr’s *Usd al-ghāba fī ma’rifat al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 5, p. 417; Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī, vol. 1, no. 338, vol. 4, p. 503. In al-Nawawī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 839, we find the variant, *جميلة*, but this is most likely only an error. [G. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia of canonical ḥadīth*, p. 698.]—Behind *زورا*, verse 3, Flügel erroneously has the end of the verse.

<sup>201</sup> Ibn Qutayba, p. 131; Ibn Sa’d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographien der medinischen Kämpfer*, p. ٩٤, and his *Biographien der Frauen*, p. 274 sq.; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Tafsīr*; al-Wāḥidī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍawī; Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba fī ma’rifat al-ṣaḥāba*, and al-Nawawī under the relevant headings.

<sup>202</sup> al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-‘uyūn*, vol. 3, p. 140 sqq. Already al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rikh al-khamīs*, vol. 2, p. 25 sq., a work which is a bit older, mentions this, but without listing authorities. Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 184, and note on p. 280.

<sup>203</sup> Cf. *حدود الله* verse 5 to *يخاذون* verses 6, 21, and 22; verses 13 sq. deal with *نجوى* like verses 6 to 9; the beginning of verse 21 is identical with that of verse 6; *تر* verses 8, 9, and 15.

<sup>204</sup> al-Bayḍawī.

<sup>205</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 36.

<sup>206</sup> Cf. ‘Umar b. Muḥammad; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 26 sq., and the Commentators.

Banū Muṣṭaliq,<sup>207</sup> possibly because Muḥammad once recited them at that time; verses 11 sq. some people fix to after the emigration, because they were regarded as a reference to those Arab tribes who accepted Islam only later, or to things which happened after the *hijra*.<sup>208</sup> By the same token, in the case of verse 15, some commentators had Arab tribes in mind when they interpreted the word *yanṣuruh* (ينصره) as “rendering victorious.”<sup>209</sup> Quite common is the view that verses 20 to 22 or 20 to 23 or 20 to 24 refer to individual encounters of ‘Alī and some followers with prominent Quraysh in the Battle of Badr.<sup>210</sup> This explanation is based solely on the literal interpretation of the word *khaṣmān* (خصمان).<sup>211</sup> Verses 18 and 19 must have been originally out of context, as their rhyme does not agree with the other verses, and combining them with verse 20 is neither documented nor permissible. Verse 17 is obviously inserted later. For its Medinan origin speaks the expression *alladhīna hādū*, used by the Jews, which certainly does not occur in the older passages of the Koran.<sup>212</sup> Most of the remaining Medinan verses (25–38) seem to date from the period of the pilgrimage of 6/627 or 7/628, as they contain a guide for pilgrims. We cannot date them to the time after the conquest of Mecca because verse 25 reproves the disbelievers not only for insufficient upkeep of the Ka‘ba but also for barring believers “from God’s way and the Holy Mosque,” and verse 31 advises the believers to “eschew the abomination of idols”—all remarks which became superfluous after the occupation of the Holy City. Verse 66, which begins as does verse 35, must likely be attributed to the same period. If, as tradition has it,<sup>213</sup> verses 39–42 were the first to permit to Muslims open warfare with the enemies of the true religion, they would have to originate from the time before the Battle of Badr. On the other hand, this, Muḥammad’s permission to fight, cannot possibly have

<sup>207</sup> Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 43; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, only says that Muḥammad recited these verses *في بعض معازيه* or when he returned from غزوة العسرة (i.e. the campaign against Tabūk; cf. al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Maghāzī*, § 79).

<sup>208</sup> ‘Umar b. Muḥammad (IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ); al-Wāḥidī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*.

<sup>209</sup> Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī.

<sup>210</sup> al-Wāqidi, p. 64; Muslim in the very inadequate *K. al-Tafsīr* at the end; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍawī; ‘Umar b. Muḥammad (IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ); al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 19.

<sup>211</sup> However, the Commentators supply also different interpretations of the passage.

<sup>212</sup> References to this phrase: sūras 2:59, 4:48 and 158, 5:45, 48 and 73, 6:147, 16:119, 62:6; all are Medinan. Cf. also Hirschfeld, *New researches*, p. 125.

<sup>213</sup> al-Ya‘qūbī, *Historiae*, vol. 2, p. 44; al-Nasā‘ī, *K. al-Jihād*, beginning; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Wāḥidī; al-Zamakhsharī, al-Bayḍawī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 58; G. Weil, *Leben Mohammeds*, p. 94; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 3, p. 100.

been issued before the *hijra*.<sup>214</sup> Verse 51 is regularly<sup>215</sup> applied to the Meccan goddesses, al-Lāt, al-‘Uzzā, and Manāt, whose veneration the Prophet was inclined to tolerate at a weak moment. This explanation, however, is based on the conjecture that the words *tamannā* and *umniyya* meant *qara’ā* “to recite,” *qirā’a* “recitation.”<sup>216</sup> The verse could actually very well be Meccan if it were not connected with verse 52, which among the enemies clearly emphasizes the Hypocrites.<sup>217</sup> Verses 57 to 59 must be later than the Battle of Badr, as they already mention believers who had been killed in the war.<sup>218</sup> Furthermore, an old exegete justifiably regards verse 76 sqq. as Medinan.<sup>219</sup> Because of the call for “holy war,” their composition must be dated to before the Battle of Badr at the earliest,<sup>220</sup> and because of the mention of the “religion of Abraham,” near the time of the first wars against the Jews.<sup>221</sup>

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Sūra 48 must be fixed at the time after the Pact of al-Ḥudaybiyya (in Dhū l-Qa‘da 6/627), although verses 1 to 17 alone date from shortly after its conclusion, most likely still before Muḥammad’s return to Medina,<sup>222</sup> a date which

<sup>214</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 313; cf. cod. Sprenger, no. 207.

<sup>215</sup> See the references to sūra 53, above, p. 82 sq.

<sup>216</sup> This meaning is unknown to the Koran, although some want to find them also in other Koranic passages, e.g., Ibn Hishām, p. 370, from Abū ‘Ubayda in أمانيّ, sūra 2:105; they also do not seem to occur in ancient poets. Muslims, of course, cite the following reference:

تمتّى كتاب الله بالليل خاليًا \* تمتّى داود الزبور على رسل

(Ibn Hishām, p. 370; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 22:51; cf. *Sharḥ al-shawāhid*, s.v.; al-Bayḏāwī on sūra 2:73, 22:51, and *Lisān*, vol. 20, p. 164 have أول ليله, a confusion with the following verse, of which only half is cited in al-Zamakhsharī), and

تمتّى كتاب الله أول ليله \* وآخره لاقى حمام المقادر

(Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 2:73; Majd al-Dīn IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*, vol. 4, p. 111; *Lisān al-Arab*, loc. cit.; Ibn Hishām, p. 371, with a variant reading لاقى instead of لاقى), the latter verse is said to refer to the death of ‘Uthmān (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Zamakhsharī; *Lisān* and *Nihāya*, ibid.; *Sharḥ shawāhid*). In any case, it is likely that the present unique meaning of تمتّى is derived from that misinterpreted Koranic passage.

<sup>217</sup> “Those in whose hearts is sickness;” this, according to standard Koranic usage, refers to the *munāfiqūn*.

<sup>218</sup> Even if من قتل was passive (*man qutila*) “who is being killed” or “when someone is being killed,” these verses might still have been revealed before the actual battle, but الذين قتلوا shows, excluding conditional meaning, the completed fact, “those who have been killed.”

<sup>219</sup> ‘Umar b. Muḥammad (IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ).—Flügel’s verses 77 and 78, for syntactical reasons, can constitute only one verse, a fact which is confirmed by tradition.

<sup>220</sup> Cf. above on verse 39 sqq.

<sup>221</sup> Cf. above, p. 119 sqq. on sūra 16:124.

<sup>222</sup> See verses 11 and 15: Those “who were left behind will say to thee” (after your return). Cf. Muir, *The Life of Mahomet*, vol. 4, p. 30 sqq.

many hold for the entire sūra.<sup>223</sup> These verses demonstrate more clearly than the accounts of historians that Muḥammad was planning to attack Mecca already at that time but that the Bedouins who were allied with him disappointed him. Nevertheless, on account of their large number and with their help two years later, he was able to take the city nearly without a blow. For this reason he abandoned his plan to force his entry into the Holy City, and came to a compromise with the Quraysh, which, apart from other advantages, guaranteed him an unmolested pilgrimage in the following year. That this armistice was a masterpiece of his politics and a true victory<sup>224</sup> is best demonstrated by its result. Verses 18sq. originate from the time of the submission of the Jews of Khaybar and its vicinity (beginning 7/628), whose wealth Muḥammad had promised his followers after returning from al-Ḥudaybiyya.<sup>225</sup> Verses 19, 20, and 27 cannot be explained otherwise. After this success, he was entitled to regard the result of al-Ḥudaybiyya in retrospective; this is why also in these sections he speaks much about it, most clearly in verse 23, where he tries to convince the Muslims that God supported him there as much as He did at Khaybar. It is wrong of tradition to fix verse 27 after the pilgrimage of 7/628.<sup>226</sup>

Tradition connects the first verses of sūra 66 with a scandal in the house of the Prophet.<sup>227</sup> It once happened that Muḥammad was using the room of his wife Ḥaḥṣa [Bint ʿUmar] for a rendezvous with the Coptic slave Mary(am). This not only constituted an offence against good manners but was also a

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<sup>223</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 749sq.; al-Wāqidi (Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 260); al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Maghāzī*, § 37, and *K. al-Taḥsīn*; al-Wāḥidī, al-Bayḍāwī. Less explicitly *al-Muwattāʾ*, p. 71. One tradition in Muslim (*K. al-Jihād*, § 29, al-Qaṣṣallānī, vol. 7, p. 424sq.) says this only with regard to the first five verses. Cf. Muir, *The Life*, vol. 4, p. 36sq.; Sprenger, *Das Leben*, vol. 3, p. 251sq.; Buhl, *Muhammeds Liv*, p. 285; Aug. Müller in Fr. Rückert's translation of the Koran.—Hirschfeld, *New researches*, p. 127, regards the verses 1 to 17 as referring to the period after the conquest of Mecca. That this follows from verse 12, as he claims, is hard to believe.

<sup>224</sup> Thus, verse 1 is easily explained (cf. the Commentators), so that we need not put the first verses after the campaign against Khaybar.

<sup>225</sup> Vv. 15 and 20. As regards the large spoils of war cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 773sq.; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1588sq.; al-Wāqidi (Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 284sq.); al-Balādhurī, p. 25sq.; Caussin de Perceval, vol. 3, p. 202; Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 4, p. 73sq.; Sprenger, *Das Leben*, vol. 3, p. 274sq.; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 38sq.

<sup>226</sup> al-Ṭabarī, ed. Zotenberg, vol. 3, p. 111.—That the words “You shall enter [the Holy Mosque,] if God wills” can refer only to the future and need no additional evidence.

<sup>227</sup> al-Nasāʾī, *K. Ishrat al-nisāʾ*, § 4 (only a brief reference); Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Wāḥidī; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī. Cf. Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 274sq.; Caussin de Perceval, vol. 3, p. 268; Sprenger, *Das Leben*, vol. 3, p. 85sq.; Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 4, p. 160sq.; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 236sq.

serious trespass. Ḥafṣa,<sup>228</sup> returning home unexpectedly, surprised the two and, reproaching the Prophet bitterly, incited ʿĀ'isha and the other wives against him. The mistake of their leader must have caused the gravest anxiety, or he would not have considered it prudent to be exculpated by a special revelation. This tradition bears the guarantee of its historicity in itself. An episode showing Muḥammad's character in such an unfavourable light Muslims can have neither fabricated nor derived from the rumors of the unbelievers. Another tradition has it that because of fondness for Ḥafṣa, who during the Prophet's visits regularly treated him to honey, he had neglected his other wives for some time.<sup>229</sup> Because of its harmlessness, this silly account is often referred to as an explanation of the first verse of this sūra, although it could not displace the other interpretations. All that can be said regarding the period is that it probably happened before the birth of Ibrāhīm (Ibn Muḥammad). If this had not been the case, Mary(am)'s merit for having borne the Prophet his first child after twenty-five years, and a son at that, would not have remained unmentioned in the accounts of this scene of jealousy.<sup>230</sup> Verses 6 to 8, which alternatively are addressed to believers and unbelievers, as well as verses 8 to 12, which describe models of believing and unbelieving women, defy close identification on account of their general content. Verse 9, which alone in this sūra makes particular mention of the Hypocrites (*munāfiqūn*), is identical with 9:74. Since the verse is necessarily before 9:75, it seems to have its original place in sūra 9 but not sūra 66:10.

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The beginning of sūra 60 (verses 1 to 9) warns Muslims not to be friends with people who at that time had driven Muḥammad and his followers into emigration, although leaving open the possibility of a later reconciliation

<sup>228</sup> Juyboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 155, 162, 183, 184, 197, 232 etc.

<sup>229</sup> Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographien der Frauen*, ed. by Brockelmann, p. 76; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Ṭalāq*, § 8, *K. al-Aymān*, § 23; Muslim, *K. al-Ṭalāq*, § 3; al-Nasā'ī, *K. al-Ṭalāq*, *bāb* 10, *K. al-Aymān*, § 20, *K. Ishrat al-nisā'*, § 4; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt*, *bāb al-Ṭalāq*, *faṣl* 1, § 5; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Wāḥidī; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* (brief allusion only); al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī.

<sup>230</sup> Muir, loc. cit., and Caetani, loc. cit., both fix the time of this event between Ibrāhīm (Ibn Muḥammad's) birth and the campaign against Tabūk. According to Weil, *Das Leben*, p. 274sqq., and *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, 1st ed., p. 78, it is even still later, which in its 2nd ed., p. 88, is founded on the fact that the verses 6 to 8 refer to those who remained behind during this campaign, and that there is no reason also to fix the first verses in this time. But this apparent relation is by no means clear. The slave girl Mary(am) is assumed to have been part of the presents which the ruler at Alexandria sent to the Prophet in response to his embassy. (al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1561; Ibn Sa'd, Wellhausen, *Seine Schreiben und seine Gesandtschaften*, p. 99sq.) Unfortunately the year of the embassy cannot be determined. Cf. Wellhausen, loc. cit., and Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 730 sq.—Verse 5, which has a rhyme (*arā*) totally different from the other verses, seems to have lost its original end.



(verse 7). Tradition fixes this passage to the time shortly before the conquest of Mecca in Ramaḍān 8/629 and attributes it to the secret message from Ḥaṭīb b. Abī Balta‘a<sup>231</sup> to the Quraysh, informing them of Muḥammad’s imminent assault on Mecca.<sup>232</sup> This conjecture might be correct but no evidence can be procured. The only thing certain is that the passage belongs to the time before that conquest.<sup>233</sup> Verse 10sq. must originate from the time shortly after the Pact of al-Ḥudaybiyya<sup>234</sup> and not, as tradition will have it,<sup>235</sup> still at al-Ḥudaybiyya itself. It is inconceivable that after the conclusion of the Pact the Prophet would have handed over the men who sought his protection while he would have given his protection to the women who were more firmly tied to their families by tribal law (than the men). Verse 12 can easily be connected with this. The view that it originates from the time of the conquest of Mecca cannot be substantiated; it is to be found in very late writers only.<sup>236</sup> Verse 13, it seems, relates to the same subject as the first verses and might have been revealed at the same time.

Sūra 110, which looks like a fragment, is found in the Koran among all sorts of Meccan sūras, and for this reason it is frequently reckoned to be among them.<sup>237</sup> However, the optimistic idea that people would flock to the

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<sup>231</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 271, 599.

<sup>232</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 809sq.; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1627; al-Wāqidi in Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 325; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Maghāzī*, § 48, *K. al-Taḥṣīn*; Muslim, *K. al-Faḍā’il* § 71; al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Taḥṣīn*; Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt, Bāb al-jāmi’ al-manāqib, faṣl 1*, § 27; al-Wāḥidī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba fī ma’rifat al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 1, p. 361; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, vol. 1, no. 1532. Cf. Weil, *Das Leben*, p. 209sq.; Caussin de Perceval, vol. 3, p. 221sq.; Muir, vol. 4, p. 113sq.; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 117.

<sup>233</sup> Cf. also Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 4, p. 114, n. 1.

<sup>234</sup> This assumption corresponds well to the following reports: Ibn Hishām, p. 754; al-Wāqidi (Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 263); al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1552sq.; Ibn Sa’d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographie der Frauen*, p. 168; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, vol. 4, p. 953; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba fī ma’rifat al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 5, p. 614.

<sup>235</sup> al-Bukhārī; *K. al-Shurūṭ*, § 15; Hibat Allāh b. Salāma; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt, Bāb al-ṣulḥ, faṣl 1* § 1, 1; al-Wāḥidī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on sūras 48 and 60; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*. Cf. Weil, *Das Leben*, p. 183; Muir, *Life*, vol. 4, p. 44sq.; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 723.

<sup>236</sup> The verse, of course, occurs in many traditions, mentioning the homage paid to the women after the assault of Mecca—al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt, bāb al-ṣulḥ, faṣl 1*, § 4; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Aḥkām*, § 49; al-Nasā’ī, *K. al-Bay’a*, § 18; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī; al-Nasāfi; al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*—but it is seldom that we find an indication that it was revealed on this occasion, e.g., in al-Bayḍāwī, and in the Persian al-Ṭabarī, ed. Zotenberg, vol. 3, p. 138; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī is rather vague.

<sup>237</sup> ‘Umar b. Muḥammad (IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ); Hibat Allāh b. Salāma; Muir, vol. 2, p. 319; Sprenger, *Das Leben*, vol. 1, p. 560, was tempted to this view by a certain relationship of the beginning of the sūra with sūras 26:118 and 32:28.

true religion (*al-dīn*) speaks rather in favour of the later Medinan period. On the other hand, it is doubtful that the words *al-naṣr wa-l-faṭḥ* (verse 1) need to be interpreted as applying to the conquest of Mecca<sup>238</sup> and, therefore, in agreement with most traditions, be dated to the time around this event.<sup>239</sup> Others go still further and have the sūra predict the approaching death of the Prophet, even considering it outright as the very latest revelation.<sup>240</sup>

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Sūra 49 consists of several parts. Nearly all commentators regard verses 1 to 5 as referring to the deputation of the Banū Tamīm,<sup>241</sup> who arrived in Medina in 9/630 or 10/631<sup>242</sup> to negotiate the release of prisoners; when Muḥammad did not meet them immediately, they became noisy and provoking. This agrees only too well with the text of verses 2 to 5, and we would have to regard this tradition as absolutely reliable if it were certain that its form was not influenced by the Koran. Less obvious is the situation on which verses 6 to 8 are founded. We are told that they refer to the Umayyad Walīd b. ‘Uqba b. Abī Mu‘ayt,<sup>243</sup> who at the same time had set out to collect taxes from Banū Muṣṭaliq but returned empty-handed, falsely accusing the tribe of having refused to pay the tax and of having made a personal assault on his life.<sup>244</sup> Although the text of the revelation can be interpreted this way, the tradition is suspect, particularly because it concerns a man who

<sup>238</sup> Cf. above on sūra 61:13.

<sup>239</sup> Muslim, *K. al-Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān* § 2, says that Muḥammad recited (*qara’a*) the sūra in the year or even on the very day of the conquest of Mecca. Al-Wāḥidī has it revealed (*nazala*) on the return from the Battle of Ḥunayn.

<sup>240</sup> al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Tafsīr*; Muslim, *K. al-Tafsīr* (al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 10, p. 487); al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Tafsīr* on sūra 5 at the end, and on sūra 100, etc.; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Ibn Hishām, p. 933, note; *al-Itqān*, pp. 45 and 61; Leiden Cod. 653 Warner, fol. 275<sup>v</sup>; Ibn Qutayba, p. 82.

<sup>241</sup> Explicitly referring to the verses 1 to 5 only in al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Maghāzī*, § 68, *K. al-Tafsīr*; W. [unidentified abbreviation of the German authors]; and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; less explicitly in al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Tafsīr*; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī, and al-Bayḍāwī; only verse 2 mentioned in: Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān*, ed. Tunis, p. 113, and al-Wāqidi (Wellhausen, *Muḥammad in Medina*, p. 386); only verse 4 in: Ibn Hishām, p. 939. l 4; Ibn Sa’d (Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Heft 4, no. 78); al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1717; *al-Aghānī*, vol. 4, p. 9. However, verses 2 to 5 are closely related, whereas this is doubtful in the case of verse 1. Cf. Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, p. 244 sqq.; Caussin de Perceval, vol. 3, p. 271; W. Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 4, p. 171 sq.; Sprenger, *Das Leben*, vol. 3, p. 366 sq.; Caetani, vol. 2, part 1, pp. 219 sq. and 449 sq.

<sup>242</sup> Ibn Sa’d (Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Heft 4, p. 137 sqq.) and *al-Aghānī*, vol. 4, p. 8, do not supply a year. The general heading in Ibn Hishām, p. 933, indicates that 9/630 is meant. Al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1710, mentions 9/630; less explicitly, al-Wāqidi (Wellhausen, *Muḥammad in Medina*, p. 386).

<sup>243</sup> *EP*<sup>2</sup>; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*.

<sup>244</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 730 sq.; Ibn Qutayba, p. 162 sq.; al-Wāḥidī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, al-Nawawī, ed. Wüstenfeld, s.v. Walid was the brother of the future Caliph ‘Uthmān.

later became a notorious Muslim. The nickname, *al-fāsiq* “the evil-doer,” by which he is often known, naturally goes back to the exegetic tradition. Verses 9 and 10 speak of the fight among the Muslim clans; verses 11 and 12 prohibit backbiting and nicknames. The question of whether these two parts were connected from the beginning with each other as well as with verse 6 sqq. cannot be determined.<sup>245</sup> Verse 13 develops the idea that in Islam “the noblest among you in the sight of God is the most godfearing of you.” Tradition, which considers it a reference to the arrogance of the Quraysh after the occupation of Mecca,<sup>246</sup> is remarkable, as the verse can be applied to many other circumstances.<sup>247</sup> The verse has no connection with the previous one, although also originally not with the following one either. Verses 14 to 17 properly characterize the Bedouins who accepted Islam outwardly because “belief had not yet entered their hearts.” This part is commonly held to refer to the Banū Asad b. Khuzayma,<sup>248</sup> who, during the famine of 9/630,<sup>249</sup> appeared in Medina and, by pointing out their voluntary acceptance of Islam, demanded food. Another tradition<sup>250</sup> applies the verses to the Bedouin tribes who did not follow Muḥammad to al-Ḥudaybiyya. But since these verses—merely served to demonstrate the main characteristics of all Bedouins—proud and arrogant character next to superficial conversion—and since any particular allusion is wanting, none of those traditions can be verified; both of them are probably based on conjectures.

The most important verses of sūra 9 are those which the Prophet asked ‘Alī to recite before the assembled Arabs at the *ḥajj* celebration of 9/630 at Mecca. The traditions regarding the scope of this proclamation vary considerably.<sup>251</sup> With some degree of certainty only verses 1 to 12 might belong

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<sup>245</sup> The repetition of *fusūq* in the verses 7 (cf. verse 6), and 11 does not prove anything as these facts might only have given rise to the editorial combination.

<sup>246</sup> Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzi; al-Wāḥidi; al-Zamakhshari; and al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, consider it to have been revealed on this occasion. According to Ibn Hishām, p. 821, and al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1642, Muḥammad merely recited (لَبَّيْ) it at that time; cf. L. Caetani, vol. 2, part 1, p. 130.

<sup>247</sup> al-Wāḥidi; Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzi.

<sup>248</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 343, col. 2.

<sup>249</sup> Ibn Sa‘d (Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Heft 4, no. 77); al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1637, and in the *Tafsīr*; al-Wāḥidi; Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzi; al-Zamakhshari; al-Bayḍāwī. Cf. Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 227.

<sup>250</sup> Ibn Sa‘d (Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Heft 4, no. 77); al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1687. Regarding the famine of 9/630 we have information also in Ibn Hishām, p. 894, and al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1693.

<sup>251</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 921; and al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Tafsīr*; present the beginning of the sūra without further ado. Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta‘rīkh al-khamīs*, vol. 1, p. 11, mentions twenty-eight verses; Mujāhid in al-Zamakhshari, thirteen, al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1720sq., and in the *Tafsīr*

to this: there the Muslims are ordered to attack all idolaters after the holy months, unless there was a definite agreement for a limited time. The very first words,<sup>252</sup> “an acquittal, from God and His Messenger unto the idolaters with whom you made a covenant,” set the stage for the entire content. Verse 28 belongs evidently to the same time, even though it was never part of this “acquittal.” Far less certain is the date of verses 36 and 37, which now appear completely detached and out of context, since they deal with the basic rule of the Islamic calendar, the number of months, and the prohibition of their change.<sup>253</sup> Verses 13 to 16 are probably best dated to before the conquest of Mecca, for it is not far-fetched—as a wide-spread tradition has it—to attribute the breach of treaty to the violation of the Pact of al-Ḥudaybiyya on the part of the Quraysh. In this case, however, the expression *hammū* does not merely indicate the intention of the enemies, which is not followed by action, but rather the bigotry which preceded the real act. This estimation<sup>254</sup> also fits in with the content of the verses 17 to 22, which do not readily lend themselves to being separated from the preceding one, in which the idolaters are repeatedly referred to as the sustainers of the Ka’ba.<sup>255</sup> The larger part of the sūra deals with the campaign of Rajab

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(vol. 10), p. 41, forty, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Bayḍāwī, thirty or forty verses. The sūra is simply mentioned vaguely, as e.g. al-Mas’ūdī, *Prairies*, vol. 9, p. 54; al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Tafsīr* § 4; cf. Caetani, vol. 2, part 1, p. 294; Muir, vol. 4, p. 208 sq., mentions the verses 1 to 7, p. 28; Sprenger, vol. 3, p. 478 sqq.; verses 1 to 28 in Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche feest*, pp. 63–65, “v. 1–12, 28 and most likely also v. 36 sq.”—Grimme, *Mohammed*, vol. 1, p. 128 sqq., vol. 2, p. 29, attributes the verses 1 to 24 to the campaign against Mecca in 8/629, but this opinion is doomed by the expression *al-hajj* in the third verse. This expedition might have been called a *‘umra*, but not a *hajj*. Cf. Nöldeke, [Review] “H. Grimme, *Mohammed*.”

<sup>252</sup> When a person’s protection was revoked (جوار، ولاية، جوار) people first publicly announced at the Meccan Ka’ba: إني بريء من فلان (cf. Joshua 2:19, 20: 20) or something similar, renouncing liability for protection and blood-feud. Cf. Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 1, pp. 69–70, and *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, vol. 1, p. 32 sq.; O. Procksch, *Über die Bluttrache*, p. 34; Ḥatīm Tā’ī, *Dīwān*, ed. and transl. F. Schultheß, p. 63, foot-note 2.

Like many other sūras also this one is named after the initial words, *barā’* (برآءة). Its alternative name, *al-Tawba*, is related to the frequently occurring verb *tāba*, to repent, and its derivations (vv. 3, 5, 11, 15, 27, 103, 105, 107, 113, 118, 119, 127). As regards the many other names of the sūra see al-Zamakhsharī, and al-Bayḍāwī at the beginning.

<sup>253</sup> It is completely unimportant that these verses appear in an address by Muḥammad on the occasion of his Farewell Pilgrimage in 10/631 (Ibn Hishām, p. 968; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1754; al-Wāqidī (Wellhausen), *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 431), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī).

<sup>254</sup> As Snouck Hurgronje rightfully points out in *Het Mekkaansche feest*, p. 50 n. 1, the reason that the pieces, verses 1 to 12, and 13 sqq., are merged must be that both are dealing with the fight against the unbelievers. Outwardly, perhaps, also the phrase نكثوا أيمانهم, occurring in both, verse 12 and verse 13, might have been of importance.

<sup>255</sup> There are the most divergent traditions regarding verse 19; see Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Wāhidī; and the Commentators.

9/630 against the Byzantines and their Arab allies on the Syrian frontier, in which many Medinans and Bedouins did not participate. Muḥammad uses this opportunity to reproach strongly the Hypocrites and the lukewarm Muslims. The verses, however, were not revealed in one piece; instead, this happened either before the departure or during the campaign itself or after the return home. The following verses can be placed before the beginning of the campaign:<sup>256</sup> verses 23 and 24, which denounce the excuses of those Muslims who stayed behind; verses 25 to 27, which serve to demonstrate with the help of the Day of Ḥunayn (Shawwāl 8/629) that only Allāh's help guarantees victory; and verses 28 to 35, which enjoin fighting the Christians until they pay fealty. This fits in with the same period, particularly as even earlier, in I Jumādā 8/629 at Mu'ta, the Muslims had come to blows with Christian troops. To this time belong also verses 38 to 41, of which verse 41, according to the note in Ibn Hishām, p. 924, is the earliest of the entire sūra; this applies also to verses 49 to 57, which becomes particularly apparent from verse 49. On the other hand, verses 58 to 73—in which Muḥammad rejects the accusation of unfair distribution of alms (*ṣadaqāt*) as well as other reproaches of the Hypocrites—have no obvious relation to that campaign. During the campaign, verses 42 to 48 and 82 to 97 were promulgated, of which verse 85—if it is really referring to the death of 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy<sup>257</sup>—must have been added later. Verses 74 to 81, and 98 to 107, can be attributed to the time after the return. Verses 103 and 107 mention those Muslims who repented having stayed behind<sup>258</sup> as well as some others<sup>259</sup> who

<sup>256</sup> Here we disregard the many legends which the commentators cite in support of the particular verses, for example, the persecution of the Hypocrites, etc. Nothing of this is to be found in Ibn Hishām. But it remains an enigma that so disproportionately many legends could be attached to this and some other sketches. Cf. Ibn Hishām, al-Wāqidi, Wellhausen, etc.

<sup>257</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 927; al-Wāqidi (Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 414); al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Taḥṣīn* and *K. al-Kuṣūf*, § 203; Muslim, *K. Ṣiḥāb al-munāfiqīn*, § 1; al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Taḥṣīn*; al-Nasā'ī, *K. al-Janā'iz*, § 67; al-Wāḥidī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī. Cf. Weil, *Das Leben*, p. 433, note, and p. 429.

<sup>258</sup> As it is reported about them—similar to Abū Lubāba (cf. the references on sūra 8:27)—that they had tied themselves to a column until God forgave them, this passage is also considered to refer to him, or says that he belonged to these people, that is to say that in 9/630 he did what he had already done in 5/626. Cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 687; al-Wāqidi (Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 416); al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; al-Wāḥidī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. In al-Zamakhsharī we even find the remark that it was a formal custom of penitents to tie themselves to columns. Cf. Goldziher, "Säulenmänner," p. 505, note 4.

<sup>259</sup> With reference to Ka'b b. Mālik, Hilāl b. Umayya, and Murāra b. al-Rabi' tradition connects the verses 107 and 119. Cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 907sq. (tradition of Ka'b b. Mālik); al-Wāqidi (Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, pp. 411sq. and 416); al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1705

“are deferred to God’s commandment.” The verses from 108 to 111 are said to have been revealed shortly before Muḥammad returned to Medina. They are aimed at members of Banū Sālim, who were secret followers of the *ḥanīf* Abū ‘Āmir and had built a mosque not far from Medina.<sup>260</sup> Connected with this might be verses 112 sq., which describe the image of true Muslims, as well as verses 114 to 117, which alleviate Muslims from the duty “to ask pardon for the idolaters,” even if they are next of kin. Tradition attributes this portion either to the death of Abū Ṭālib (IBN ‘ABD AL-MUṬṬALIB)<sup>261</sup> still before the *hijra*, or to Muḥammad’s visit to his mother Āmina<sup>262</sup> (Bint Wahb)’s grave in al-Abwā’,<sup>263</sup> where Allāh is said to have prohibited him to pray for her. The first interpretation is impossible, if only for chronological reasons, while the second one could be considered if the passage were aimed generally at one particular instance. However, since it expresses only a general idea that, particularly because of its generality, fits well into the Medinan situation, both views are nothing but untenable exegetic fancy.<sup>264</sup> In verses 118 and 119, three of the men “who were left behind” are pardoned.<sup>265</sup> Verses 120 to 123 reprove those of the Medinans who stayed behind as well as “the Bedouins who dwell around them,” although with an important exception to this general reproach, namely that not all Muslims necessarily had to “go forth totally,” for Allāh would have been pleased if only some (*firqā*) of every group (*tā’ifa*) had participated. Verses 124 to 127 require the Muslims mercilessly to “fight the unbelievers who are near to” them. The revelation is certainly of late Medinan origin, and because of its position in the Koran probably

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sq.; al-Bukhārī in *K. al-Taḥsīn* and *al-Maghāzī*; Muslim, *K. al-Tawba*, § 10; the Commentators; Ibn Hajar; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, under the relevant names. Cf. Weil, *Das Leben*, p. 414, note; Caussin de Perceval, vol. 3, p. 287; Muir, vol. 4, p. 197.

<sup>260</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 906 sq.; al-Wāqidī (Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 410 sq.); al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1704, and in his *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; al-Wāḥidī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. Cf. Weil, *Das Leben*, p. 267; Muir, vol. 4, p. 198 sq.; Sprenger, *Das Leben*, vol. 3, p. 33 sq.; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 271 sqq.

<sup>261</sup> Ibn Sa’d (*Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, pt. 1): *Biographie Muḥammads bis zur Flucht* p. 78; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Taḥsīn*, and *K. Bad’ al-khalq*, § 171; Muslim, *K. al-Īmān*, § 9; al-Wāḥidī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 32; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; Ibn Hajar, vol. 4, p. 214.

<sup>262</sup> *EP*: Āmina bt. Wahb b. ‘Abd Manāf, *umm* Muḥammad.

<sup>263</sup> Cf. the Commentators. This happened in 6/627. See Ibn Sa’d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographie Muḥammads bis zur Flucht*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 74, where the opinion is refuted that this happened after the fall of Mecca. In al-Azraqī, p. 433, it is reported as if the Prophet had the tradition of the Meccans in view, according to which Āmina was buried in Mecca itself (see Burchardt, *Travels in Arabia*, p. 173; Burton, *Personal narrative of a pilgrimage*, vol. 3, p. 352; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, vol. 2, p. 66). But al-Azraqī correctly writes al-Abwā’.

<sup>264</sup> These verses might be seen as an allusion to the death of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy, directed to his son, if it were not inadmissible to call the former an “idolater” (*mushrik*, verse 114).

<sup>265</sup> See above on verse 107.

dates from the same time as the previous one. Verse 128 has the same beginning as verse 125,<sup>266</sup> although this is no evidence of their original literary homogeneity. Verse 129 sq. some regard as Meccan.<sup>267</sup> It is obvious to interpret the expression *min anfusikum* in this passage, “now there has come to you a Messenger *from among yourselves*,” as referring to the Quraysh. But if in this case the Prophet was only thinking of his Arab origin in general, there would be nothing to prevent the two verses from being regarded as Medinan and connected with the preceding text. That others regard them to be the very latest verses<sup>268</sup> is connected with a tradition about the collection of the Koran,<sup>269</sup> which we will discuss below (under Uncanonical Promulgations, see page 189). The composition of sūra nine—as also in other cases—is obscure.<sup>270</sup> The numerous, conspicuous lexical and phraseological contacts between their various parts<sup>271</sup> readily lead one to imagine that their dates of composition could not have been far apart.

Although a great many regard sūra nine as the last one,<sup>272</sup> there are others who consider sūra 5 to be still later,<sup>273</sup> probably because a few of its important verses were revealed later than all the others.

Among these, tradition explicitly counts only verse 5,<sup>274</sup> claiming that Muḥammad recited it to the believers during the so-called Farewell Pilgrimage in 10/631, only a few months before his death. Yet we may add

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<sup>266</sup> The words *وَإِذَا مَا أَنْزَلْتُ سُوْرَةَ* are also found in verse 87.

<sup>267</sup> al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 32; ‘Alā’ al-Dīn (AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghḍādī), al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkh al-khamīs*, vol. 1, p. 13, as also the Commentators indicate, the predicates *رُوِيَ* and *رَحِمَ* are normally used only by Allāh. For this reason something must have been lost after *بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ* of verse 129; cf. verse 118.

<sup>268</sup> al-Wāḥidī in the introduction to the Cairo edition, p. 8; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 32; al-Shūshāwī, chapter 1.

<sup>269</sup> Cf., for example, al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Tafsīr* on sūra 9 at the end.

<sup>270</sup> A suspicion relating to this context has been mentioned above on verse 13.

<sup>271</sup> Cf. *تَابَ* verses 3, 5, 11, 15, 27, 103, 105, 107, 113, 118, 119, 127; *وَعَدَ* verses 69, 73, 78, 112, 115; *فَسَقَ* verses 8, 24, 53, 54, 68, 81, 85, 97; *حَلَفَ* verses 42, 56, 63, 65, 75, 96, 97, 108 (otherwise only five times more in the Koran); *عَذَبَ* verses 3, 14, 26, 34, 39, 55, 62, 67, 69, 75, 80, 86, 91, 102, 107; *صَدَقَ* verses 58, 60, 80, 104, 105; *لَمْ* verses 58, 80 (otherwise only two more in the Koran); *لَقَدْ* verses 25, 48, 75, 118, 129; *سُوْرَةَ* *وَإِذَا مَا أَنْزَلْتُ سُوْرَةَ* verses 87, 125, 128.

<sup>272</sup> al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Maghāzī*, § 67, *K. al-Tafsīr*; Muslim, *K. al-Farā’id*; al-Ṭabarī in the introduction to the *Tafsīr*, Cairo edition, vol. 1, p. 34; Cod. Lugd. 653 Warner, fol. 6b; al-Bayḍāwī; *al-ān*, p. 55 sq. Cf. the list of sūras, above, p. 48 sqq.

<sup>273</sup> al-Timidhī, *K. al-Tafsīr* on the sūra, at the end; al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 9:2; al-Shūshāwī, chapter 1. Cf. the list of sūras above, p. 48 sqq.

<sup>274</sup> al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Īmān*, § 33, *K. al-Tafsīr*; Muslim, *K. al-Tafsīr* at the beginning; al-Timidhī, *K. al-Tafsīr*; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; al-Wāḥidī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; in Cod. Lugd. 653, third last leaf; and al-Ya’qūbī, ed. Houtsma, vol. 2, p. 43 sq., verse 5 is called the very last revelation.

to our count also verses 1, 4, and 7,<sup>275</sup> because they appropriately complement that verse in content and are stylistically related. The time of transmission mentioned is quite plausible; the emphatically repeated “today” (*al-yawma*, verses 4, 5, and 7) betrays a particularly important situation, and the Prophet’s rapturous emotions with respect to the success of his mission, as expressed in the beginning of the fifth verse,<sup>276</sup> correspond perfectly with his last year of life. All transmissions are agreed that verse 6 is a reply to the question of two respected Ṭayyī’,<sup>277</sup> ‘Adī b. Ḥātim (al-Ṭā’ī)<sup>278</sup> or Zayd al-Khayl,<sup>279</sup> who were not converted until Muḥammad’s last years. Zayd<sup>280</sup> headed a delegation from his tribe to the Prophet; the other man,<sup>281</sup> also a leader of a tribe, plays a role in ‘Alī’s expedition during which the idol of Fuls (Fals) was destroyed. Ibn Sa’d<sup>282</sup> mentions in this connection an inquiry addressed to Muḥammad regarding venison—the inquirer is here called ‘Amr b. al-Musabbih—but the reply (كُلْ مَا أَصْمَيْتَ وَدَعْ مَا أَمْنَيْتَ) is unrelated to anything in the Koran. The possibility thus cannot be excluded that this episode was only later brought in connection with verse 6, and that the little known ‘Amr—regardless of what kind of great Nimrod he might have been—is replaced by a greater name. In such circumstances, no fair judgement can be passed on verse 6. According to tradition, verse 2 was revealed either during the pilgrimage of 7/628<sup>283</sup> or the abortive one of 6/627

<sup>275</sup> Verse 1 (Flügel’s edition) Muslims—with the exception of Kufans—divide into two parts. Flügel, against all traditions, makes an incision.

The order of the verses belonging to that revelation might have originally been more or less as follows: verse 1, verse 4 up to فسق, verse 5, starting with فمن اضطر, verse 7, and verse 4 from دينا to اليوم.

<sup>276</sup> “Today I have perfected your religion for you, and I have completed My blessing upon you and I have approved Islam for your religion.”

<sup>277</sup> al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Ṣayd*, § 7; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Wāḥidī; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, vol. 1, no. 2421.—Muslim, *K. al-Ṣayd*, § 1; al-Nasā’ī, *K. al-Ṣayd*, § 1sq.; al-Bukhārī, loc. cit., § 8, relates the affair without specifically mentioning the verse. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, and al-Wāḥidī supply also other reasons.

<sup>278</sup> *Et*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*.

<sup>279</sup> *Et*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 223–225.

<sup>280</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 946 sq.; Ibn Sa’d (Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Heft 4, no. 103). Al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1747 sq.; *al-Aghānī*, vol. 16, p. 48 sq.

<sup>281</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 947 sq.; al-Wāqidi (Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 390 sq.); Ibn Sa’d, loc. cit.; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1706 sq.; *al-Aghānī*, vol. 16, p. 97; Sprenger, *Das Leben*, vol. 3, p. 386 sq.

<sup>282</sup> Loc. cit. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, vol. 3, p. 2362; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, vol. 4, p. 131.

<sup>283</sup> al-Wāḥidī; Hibat Allāh (b. Salāma).—Other works (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; ‘Alā’ al-Dīn (AL-KHAṬĪB al-Baghdādī), al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*), although reporting the same story, do not indicate the year of the Medinan period.



(al-Ḥudaybiyya).<sup>284</sup> Since the closely<sup>285</sup> related verse 3 is always fixed in the year 6/627,<sup>286</sup> however, the latter date is apparently better documented. For traditional criticism everything revolves around the interpretation of the words (*āmmīn al-bayt*) of the second verse. If this refers to pagan pilgrims, then the verses belong to the period before 9/630, when Muḥammad permanently cut off relations with the idolaters.<sup>287</sup> Yet if those words refer to Muslims, little can be said against a later composition. Verses 11 to 13 probably belong to the same period.<sup>288</sup> It is nearly impossible to determine the date of verse 14,<sup>289</sup> as it mentions a danger for the Muslims<sup>290</sup> only in very general terms. The tales of Muḥammad's problems in private life, which tradition brings forward,<sup>291</sup> are useless. As far as the time of verses 15 to 38<sup>292</sup> is concerned, the only clue that might serve as a guide is verse 37, which unmistakably preaches open and merciless war. Since the wording of the passage indicates that the fight had started earlier, the pericope falls in the time after the expulsion of Banū Qaynuqā' in Shawwāl 2/623, and naturally before the final assault against the power of Arabian Jewry, the occupation of Khaybar in I Jumādā 7/628. Presumably they are pretty close to the latter date, since most parts of sūra 5 apparently belong to 6/627 and 7/628. Verses 39 to 44, similar in style with the preceding verses,<sup>293</sup> must in any case be dated before the occupation of Mecca if it is true that on the way there Muḥammad punished<sup>294</sup> a female thief by cutting off her hand in accordance with verse 41,

<sup>284</sup> al-Wāḥidī.

<sup>285</sup> Flügel's verses 2 and 3 actually constitute a single verse.

<sup>286</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Abū Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Zamakhsharī, al-Bayḍāwī; 'Alā' al-Dīn (AL-KHAṬĪB al-Baghdādī); al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*.

<sup>287</sup> Cf. the beginning of sūra 9.

<sup>288</sup> The idiom *ولا يجرمكم شئان قوم* is to be found only in the verses three and eleven.

<sup>289</sup> Observe the phrase *اذكروا نعمة الله* verses 10, 14, and 23.

<sup>290</sup> "... when a certain people purposed to stretch against you their hands ..."

<sup>291</sup> Ibn Hishām, pp. 392 and 663; al-Wāqidi; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1456; al-Ḥalabī, vol. 2, p. 403; al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rikh al-khamīs*, vol. 1, p. 415; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Wāḥidī; the Commentators. Cf. Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, pp. 538 and 596.

<sup>292</sup> We can disregard the tradition which has verse 27 cited in an address delivered before the Battle of Badr (Ibn Hishām, p. 434; al-Wāqidi, p. 43; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1300). No one would want to attach documentary relevance to such talk. Hirschfeld, *New researches*, p. 71, allots verses 23 to 38 to the Meccan period, which cannot apply after what has been said above.

<sup>293</sup> Cf. *تقبل* verse 40, and three times verse 30; *فانقطع أيديهم* verse 37, and *فاقطعوا أيديها* verse 42.

<sup>294</sup> al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Ḥudūd*, §13; Muslim, *K. al-Ḥudūd*, §2; al-Nasā'ī, *K. Qat' al-sāriq*, §6. In all these passages the woman is generally identified as a member of the Makhzūm. al-Bayhaqī, *al-Mahāsīn*, p. 395, she is called the daughter of Sufyān b. 'Abd al-Asad. In *awā'il* literature (e.g. Ibn Qutayba, p. 273; Ibn Rustah, *al-A'lāq al-nafīsa*, p. 191; al-Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif*; p. 8) it is claimed that Walīd b. al-Mughīra introduced the penalty for theft by

and that this penalty was the first of its kind and not based on ancient Arab common law. To the same period might belong also the tradition<sup>295</sup> that this refers to Abū Ṭu‘ma b. Ubayriq, although the name is somewhat suspicious, as the man already served as model of a thief.<sup>296</sup> What caused Weil to allot the verse to the last pilgrimage<sup>297</sup> is beyond anyone. Verses 45 to 55 deal with a controversy among Jews that we have in quite different versions.<sup>298</sup> If there is the least truth to it, the verses must be older than the extermination of Banū Qurayza, since this clan is mentioned in some traditions. Sometimes the accused is a Qurazī and sometimes it is the judge, so that basically everything remains uncertain and unreliable.<sup>299</sup> Verses 56 to 63 would date from 3/624 if indeed they were to refer to ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy, who, upon his pleading, secured permission for the captured Banū Qaynuqā’ to emigrate.<sup>300</sup> Upon closer examination we see that the text reveals an unfortunate time when some men suggested a pact with the Jews (verse 56) for fear of the enemies but received the Prophet’s response that Allāh might send them victory or some other favourable change of fortune. These circumstances do not at all fit in with a time when, in short succession, the Meccans as well as the Jews suffered defeat. Another tradition attributes verse 56 sq.—and thus the entire passage—to the advice given to the Prophet after the Battle

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cutting off the hand for this delict in the time of the Jāhiliyya. Also other considerations opt for the assumption that this is indeed an innovation on Arab soil, at least as far as freedmen are concerned. In the case of slaves this might have always been permitted. Otherwise one might think of a borrowing from Abyssinia, where this barbarian custom is still in use, while it is foreign to Jewish as well as Greco-Roman law. On its spread in the Occident throughout the Middle Ages see L. Günther, *Die Idee der Wiedervergeltung*, vol. 1, pp. 200, 253, and 294.

<sup>295</sup> Abū Layth al-Samarqandī, and al-Wāḥidī.

<sup>296</sup> Cf. above, p. 164, on sūra 4:106.

<sup>297</sup> *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, 1st ed., p. 79 sq., 2nd ed., p. 90.

<sup>298</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 393 sqq.; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Wāḥidī.—*al-Muwattaʿa*, p. 347, and *Mishkāt*, K. al-*Hudūd*, *faṣl* 1 § 4, without referring to this verse in particular. Cf. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, vol. 3, p. 37 sqq.

<sup>299</sup> Others interpret verse 46 or verse 45 as a dispute of Banū Qurayza and Banū Naḍīr (Ibn Hishām, p. 395; al-Nasāʿī, K. al-*Buyūʿ*, § 11; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī). A tradition in al-Wāḥidī (Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 215); al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 6, p. 134, attributes verse 45 to the clemency for Abū Lubāba, cf. Caetani, vol. 1, p. 629 sq.—Let us mention the following lexical and factual points of contact of the verses 45 to 55 and other parts of the sūra: *يُحْزِنُونَ* verses 45 and 16; *وَأَخْشُونَ* verses 48 and 18; *يَسْأَلُونَ* verses 48 and 4; *يَسْأَلُونَ فِي* verses 45 and 57, 67; the last words of verse 45 pretty much similar to those of verse 37; *عِيسَى ابْنُ مَرْيَمَ* verses 50 and 82, 109, 112, 116, and in a different form, *الْمَسِيحِ ابْنِ مَرْيَمَ* verses 19, 76, and 79; there is no sūra which mentions the name Jesus so frequently.

<sup>300</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 546; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī, al-Bayḍāwī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Wāḥidī. Cf. Weil, *Das Leben*, p. 159, foot-note; Caussin de Perceval, vol. 3, p. 81 sq.

of Uḥud that he try to obtain help from the Jews against the pagans.<sup>301</sup> This explanation is much more plausible, yet it still does not deserve particular credibility, as it is likely nothing more than exegetic speculation.<sup>302</sup> Verses 64 to 88 presuppose that several wars had already been waged. When, based on the passage, it is concluded<sup>303</sup> that the battles of Mu'ta and Tabūk had not yet taken place, this is by no means beyond doubt. The friendly opinion of Christians, particularly their priests and monks in verses 73 and 85, is purely theoretical and fundamental and need not necessarily refer to those skirmishes. We would of course arrive at a different conclusion if Muḥammad's instruction to the Mu'ta warriors to slaughter the parsons and leave the hermits in peace<sup>304</sup> was indeed historical. Unimportant for us are the interpretations of verse 71, e.g., that it is one of the earliest Meccan verses.<sup>305</sup> Verses 89 to 91 must date from 7/628 at the latest, since already sūra 66:2 clearly refers to it. They might possibly originate from the same time as verses 92 to 94, where permissible and prohibited matters are juxtaposed. We have already been able to see on p. 144 that the period of these verses cannot be determined with any degree of accuracy, and that they might belong to the year 4/625, and certainly not after 6/627. Verses 95 to 97 are occasionally fixed to the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya;<sup>306</sup> verses 98 to 100, dealing with the Meccan sanctuaries, would fit very well into this time. According to some informants, verse 101 refers to a man who, when the order for the pilgrimage was issued, asked whether people were expected to participate every year; he received Muḥammad's irritated reply: "If I were to affirm this question, you would have to obey, but since you would not be able to do so, you would again become an unbeliever; so stop asking questions!"<sup>307</sup> Others connect the verse with matters that the Prophet was either unfamiliar with or that he disdained.<sup>308</sup> Closer is the connection with the immediately

<sup>301</sup> Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī.

<sup>302</sup> Here Hirschfeld, *New researches*, p. 119, is thinking of the expulsion of the Jewish Banū Naḍīr and the pact with Banū Qurayza. But also this situation does not really fit.

<sup>303</sup> Weil, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung*, 1st ed., p. 80, 2nd ed., p. 90.

<sup>304</sup> al-Wāqidi (Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 310).

<sup>305</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*. More explicitly al-Wāḥidī and al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl* (في سبب نزولها) (من غريب ما ورد).

<sup>306</sup> al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī.

<sup>307</sup> al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt*, K. *al-Manāsik*, faṣl 1, § 1 and 15; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍāwī; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Wāḥidī. Cf. Muslim, K. *al-Ḥajj*, § 30. Traditions are not totally agreed regarding names and circumstances.

<sup>308</sup> For example, many wanted to know where they would find their camel which went astray; still others, who had been unknown to the Prophet, asked him for the name of their father. Al-Bukhārī, K. *al-I'tiṣām*, § 4, K. *al-Tafsīr*; Muslim, K. *al-Aqḍīya*, § 5, K. *al-Faḍā'il*, § 30;

following verses 102 and 103, which are directed against all sorts of pagan superstitions yet cannot be fixed chronologically. Verse 104 fits better into the preceding verse than the following. Verses 105 sqq. are not concurrent with sūra 2:176 but were revealed quite some time later in order to elaborate on this short law. The verses are generally assumed to refer to two Muslims who embezzled a golden beaker from the property of their travel companion.<sup>309</sup> If this was an historical event, it must have happened after the occupation of Mecca, as people and families of the Quraysh, who had only then accepted Islam, are mentioned. These problematic verses, however, cannot be explained in a satisfactory way from the situation, nor do they look like a revelation for any particular occasion.<sup>310</sup> The literal content of tradition and these verses is of no importance. The period of verses 108 sqq.<sup>311</sup> likewise cannot be determined. This narrative passage, with interesting details from the legend of Jesus (miracles of birds and the table) has probably been placed here because the sūra had frequently mentioned the “Son of Mary(am)” (verses 19, 50, 76, 79, and 82). It is difficult to believe that the other parts should have been put together by sheer accident as well. Verses 1 to 7 and 89 sqq. are of related content insofar as they both treat prohibited food, hunting, and the sanctity of Mecca. Scattered within the section from verse 15 to verse 58 we find discourses on the People of the Book (verses 15 to 38, 45 to 56, and 64 to 88), two admonitions to the believers (verses 39 to 44), and the Hypocrites (verses 56 to 63).

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al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Taḥṣīn*; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Wāḥidī. This is the context of traditions according to which Muḥammad considers the endless questions (كثرة السؤال) to the things Allāh hates most: *al-Muwatṭāʾ*, p. 388; Muslim, *K. al-Aḥdīya*, § 5; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt, Bāb al-birr wa-l-ṣīla, faṣl 1*, § 5. Cf. also Goldziher’s review of A. de Vlieger, *Kitāb al Qadr*, p. 393.

Even if all the traditions regarding verse 101 are fabrications, they still emanate from a correct general point of view. This applies particularly to the sound tradition in the previous note 307, which unsurpassably depicts a man driven to despair over importunate questions.

<sup>309</sup> al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Waṣāyā*, § 36; al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Taḥṣīn*; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Bayḍawī; Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī; al-Wāḥidī; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, vol. 1, nos. 608 and 832; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, vol. 1, p. 169, and vol. 3, p. 390.

<sup>310</sup> See above, p. 166.

<sup>311</sup> In verse 109, Flügel’s edition erroneously has an incision after كَيْلًا. Such a rhyme is found only in verse 2 (cf. thereon, above, p. 185, n. 285). The verses 19, 35, and 52, however, are based everywhere on the confusion of pause and end of verse. In spite of all individual variety, the rest of the verses in this sūra consist of a closed syllable with long vowel as rhyme. Cf. also Rudolf Geyer’s review of *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*, by Karl Vollers, p. 275 sqq., of the off-print. The words *وتكلم الناس في المهدي كَيْلًا* are nearly repeated literally in sūra 3:41.

## MUḤAMMAD'S UNCANONICAL PROMULGATIONS

The revelations, which up to this point we have traced back to their origin, have been taken without exception from the Koran. Tradition, however, knows of still other revelations of the Prophet. [i/234]

In the first instance, we are concerned with those revelations that have been preserved in their literal form and that tradition explicitly considers to be part of the original Holy Book.<sup>1</sup>

There is a very frequently<sup>2</sup> mentioned passage that varies so much in different recensions that we must list the most important versions individually:

(a) al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Manāqib*, s.v., Ubayy b. Ka'b according to Ubayy, al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 525 (c)<sup>3</sup> from Abū Wāqid al-Laythī, Hibat Allāh [Ibn Salāma] (in the introduction of the Cairo edition, 1315/1897, p. 11), Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Muḥammad IBN ḤAZM (*K. al-Nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh*, in the margin of *Jalālayn* of the Cairo edition, 1311/1893, vol. 2, p. 148), according to Anas b. Mālik:

لو أنّ لابن آدم وادياً<sup>5</sup> من مال لا يتغى<sup>7</sup> إليه<sup>8</sup> ثانياً<sup>9</sup> ولو أنّ له<sup>10</sup> ثانياً<sup>11</sup> لا يتغى<sup>12</sup> إليه ثالثاً<sup>13</sup> ولا بملاً جوف ابن آدم إلا التراب ويتوب الله على من تاب.

<sup>1</sup> This is according to Hibat Allāh (Ibn Salāma, Cairo edition, p. 9) the first class of the *mansūkh* or the "abrogated passages", ما نُسَخَ خطّه وحكمه.

<sup>2</sup> The traditions we quote are based on the following authorities: Ubayy b. Ka'b, Anas b. Mālik, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, Abū Wāqid al-Laythī [Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 377], Ibn 'Abbās and Ibn Zubayr. In addition al-Tirmidhī mentions in his *Abwāb al-zuhd*, *bāb*, 20, Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī [Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*], 'Ā'isha, Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, and Abū Hurayra.

<sup>3</sup> The different recensions are here designated according to the arrangement in al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, as a, b, and c.

<sup>4</sup> كان, Ibn Ḥazm.

<sup>5</sup> واديين, Ibn Ḥazm; واديان, Hibat Allāh (Ibn Salāma), Cairo edition, 1315/1897.

<sup>6</sup> من مال, Hibat Allāh (Ibn Salāma); al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, omits مال.

<sup>7</sup> لا يتغى أن يكون, al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*.

<sup>8</sup> إليه, Hibat Allāh (Ibn Salāma) and Ibn Ḥazm.

<sup>9</sup> ثالثاً, Hibat Allāh (Ibn Salāma) and Ibn Ḥazm; الثاني in *al-Itqān*.

<sup>10</sup> كان (إليه الثاني), كان (له ثانياً), al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān* (إليه الثاني).

<sup>11</sup> ثالثاً, Hibat Allāh and Ibn Ḥazm; الثاني, al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*.

<sup>12</sup> لا يتغى أن يكون, *al-Itqān*.

<sup>13</sup> رابعاً, Hibat Allāh (Ibn Salāma) and Ibn Ḥazm; إليها الثالث in al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*.

"If man (literally "son of Adam," cf. below, p. 194 n. 62) had a vale of treasures he would want an additional second one, and if he had a second one, he would want an additional third one; but only dust will fill man's belly, Allāh, however, turns to those who turn to Him."

[i/235]

In *Itqān* these words are preceded by: *إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَقُولُ إِنَّا أَنْزَلْنَا الْمَالَ لِإِقَامِ الصَّلَاةِ وَإِيْتَاءِ الزَّكَاةِ (وَلَوْ إِخْلَجَ)*<sup>14</sup> "Allāh says: Truly, We sent down treasures to perform the prayer and give alms, and would have, etc."

(b) Not much different from this is the form that (according to al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (c),<sup>15</sup> and *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*, vol. iv, Berlin Ms., I Wetzstein, no. 103, fol. 34<sup>v</sup>) Ibn Zubayr recited:

لَوْ أَنَّ ابْنَ آدَمَ أَعْطِيَ وَاوَدِيًّا مَلَأً<sup>16</sup> مِنْ ذَهَبٍ أَحَبَّ<sup>17</sup> إِلَيْهِ ثَانِيًا وَلَوْ أَعْطِيَ ثَانِيًا أَحَبَّ<sup>18</sup> إِلَيْهِ ثَالِثًا وَلَا يَسُدُّ<sup>19</sup> جَوْفَ ابْنِ آدَمَ إِلَّا الْإِخْلَجُ.<sup>20</sup>

(c) In addition those which *al-Itqān*, p. 525 (b), from Ubayy b. Ka'b, and *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*, part iv, fol. 36<sup>v</sup> sqq. from Ikrima:

لَوْ أَنَّ ابْنَ آدَمَ سَأَلَ وَاوَدِيًّا مِنْ مَالٍ فَأَعْطِيهِ<sup>21</sup> سَأَلَ<sup>22</sup> ثَانِيًا وَإِنْ سَأَلَ<sup>23</sup> ثَانِيًا فَأَعْطِيهِ<sup>25</sup> سَأَلَ<sup>26</sup> ثَالِثًا وَلَا يَمْلَأُ جَوْفَ ابْنِ آدَمَ إِلَّا الْإِخْلَجُ.

(d) Those listed from Ubayy (Ibn Ka'b) in *al-Mabānī*, part iv, fol. 34<sup>v</sup>:

إِنَّ ابْنَ آدَمَ لَوْ أَعْطِيَ وَاوَدِيًّا مِنْ مَالٍ لَلْتَمَسَ ثَانِيًا وَلَوْ أَعْطِيَ وَاوَدِيَيْنِ مِنْ مَالٍ لَلْتَمَسَ ثَالِثًا وَلَا يَمْلَأُ جَوْفَ ابْنِ آدَمَ إِلَّا الْإِخْلَجُ.

(e) *Kanz al-ʿummāl fi sunan al-aqwāl wa-l-afʿāl* of 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Ḥusām (al-MUTTAQĪ) al-Hindī (died 975/1567), Hyderabad, 1312/1894–1315/1897, vol. 1, no. 4750, from Ubayy (ibn Ka'b):

لَوْ كَانَ لابْنِ آدَمَ وَاوَدٌ لَابْتَغَى إِلَيْهِ ثَانِيًا وَلَوْ أَعْطِيَ إِلَيْهِ ثَانِيًا لَابْتَغَى إِلَيْهِ ثَالِثًا وَلَا يَمْلَأُ جَوْفَ ابْنِ آدَمَ إِلَّا الْإِخْلَجُ.

<sup>14</sup> Another introductory formula to a variant text has been listed below, p. 192.

<sup>15</sup> All of al-Bukhārī's versions of this passage are to be found in *K. al-Riqāq*, cap. 10; we designate them according to their sequence as a, b, c, d.

<sup>16</sup> لأحب, *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*.

<sup>17</sup> *al-Mabānī* (with following ذهبا); marginal reading in the Leiden Ms. no. 356 with a صح, and al-Qasṭallānī, vol. 9, p. 250 from Abū Dharr [al-Ghifārī].

<sup>18</sup> ولو, *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*.

<sup>19</sup> يملأ, *al-Mabānī*.

<sup>20</sup> Unless indicated, the ending after إلا is everywhere the same as in (a).

<sup>21</sup> وأعطى, *al-Mabānī*.

<sup>22</sup> لسأل, *al-Mabānī*.

<sup>23</sup> ولو, *al-Mabānī*.

<sup>24</sup> أعطى, *al-Mabānī*.

<sup>25</sup> Missing from *al-Mabānī*.

<sup>26</sup> لسأل, *al-Mabānī*.

The following versions are shorter:

(f) al-Bukhārī (d), Muslim, *K. al-Zakāt* § 26 (b),<sup>27</sup> al-Tirmidhī, *Abwāb al-zuhd*, *bāb* 20, all from Anas b. Mālik, al-Suhaylī's commentary on Ibn Hishām (note to p. 650) without reference to an authority:<sup>28</sup>

لو أن لادين آدم وادياً<sup>30</sup> من ذهب لأحب<sup>32</sup> أن يكون<sup>33</sup> له<sup>34</sup> واديان<sup>35</sup> ولن يملاً فاه<sup>37</sup> إلا الخ.

(g) 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāh al-Qurashī, from Ibn 'Abbās in al-Bukhārī (b) and Muslim (c): لو أن لادين آدم مثل<sup>38</sup> وادٍ مألأ لأحب<sup>39</sup> أن إليه مثله ولا يملؤ عين<sup>40</sup> ابن آدم: الخ.

(h) al-Bukhārī is a hybrid text, consisting of d, e, and f: لو ابن آدم أعطِي وادياً This ملأ من ذهب أحب إليه ثابتاً ولو أعطِي ثابتاً أحب إليه ثالثاً ولا يسد جوف ابن آدم الخ

<sup>27</sup> The different recensions we designate according to their arrangement in Muslim (Ibn al-Ḥajjāj) as a, b, c, and d.

<sup>28</sup> This is the version of the verse already used by George Sale in *The Koran, commonly called the Alkoran of Mohammed*, preliminary discourse, section iii.

<sup>29</sup> كان, al-Tirmidhī and Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj.

<sup>30</sup> وادٍ, Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj.

<sup>31</sup> al-Suhaylī points out that other scholars read مال. This reading must be considered older and better because in the parallel text from the Syriac Ahīkar story it reads *ܚܡܫܗ* “treasures.” See below, note 40.

<sup>32</sup> أحب, Muslim and al-Bukhārī; but in the margin of the Leiden cod. 356 of al-Bukhārī as well as in al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 9, p. 221, according to Abū Dharr, لأحب.

<sup>33</sup> Missing from Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj.

<sup>34</sup> له—لأحب, al-Suhaylī.

<sup>35</sup> واديان, Muslim; وادياً both, al-Tirmidhī and al-Suhaylī.

<sup>36</sup> ولا, in the margin of the Leiden cod. 356, al-Tirmidhī, and al-Suhaylī.

<sup>37</sup> جوف ابن آدم, al-Suhaylī, adding that sometimes عيني is read (cf. the “g” recensions below), sometimes ف. Muslim here has الخ والله يتوب الخ.

<sup>38</sup> ملء [mil'u], marginal reading in both, Leiden cod., 356, and Muslim.

<sup>39</sup> يكون, Muslim.

<sup>40</sup> نفس, Muslim who also here has الخ والله يتوب الخ—“eye” (cf. note 37) is undoubtedly the more meaningful reading. But that this is also the earlier one is evident from the use of the phrase in *The Story of Ahīkar* which, regardless of what one thinks of its date of composition, is in any case many centuries older than our Arabic sources. Cf. the relevant text according to the best recension in Ahīkar, *The Story of Ahīkar from the Syriac*, p. 34 (40), *ܥܝܢܗ ܕܝܢܝܘܨܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܡܪܝܩܐ ܕܥܝܢܗ ܕܡܪܝܩܐ ܕܥܝܢܗ ܕܡܪܝܩܐ ܕܥܝܢܗ ܕܡܪܝܩܐ ܕܥܝܢܗ ܕܡܪܝܩܐ ܕܥܝܢܗ ܕܡܪܝܩܐ* “Man's eye is like a fountain-head, it is not satiated by treasures until it is filled with earth.” Apart from the Syriac version, this dictum is extant only in a Slavic version. The reading عين is also known from Arabic literature, e.g. Qūṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī, *Geschichte*, p. 302, where the words from عين and ولا يملؤ عين are interwoven in the story of an avaricious grand vezir. The same recension is also the basis of *Le Synaxaire arabe-jacobite*, p. 542 [466]: *مال هذا العالم بأمره ولا يملؤ عينيه لأن آدم هو تراب وما يملؤ عينيه غير*: التراب. Finally, we must mention the modern Meccan proverb collected by Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter*, no. 46: *ما يملئ عين بني آدم غير التراب*.

tradition traced back to Ibn Zubayr does not purport to be a revelation but a *ḥadīth*. Cf. below, p. 194.

(i) Ibn ‘Abbās in al-Bukhārī (a), and al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt, bāb al-amal wa-l-ḥiṣṣ, faṣl 1 § 5*, Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī in Muslim (d), al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* on sūra 2:100 (vol. 1, p. 361), *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*, part iv, fol. 39<sup>f</sup>, 40<sup>f</sup>, *al-Itqān*, p. 525sq. (c), Ubayy (Ibn Ka‘b) in *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*, part ii, fol. 15<sup>r</sup>, Anas (Ibn Mālīk) in Muslim (a): *لو كان<sup>41</sup> لابن آدم واديان<sup>42</sup> من مال لا يتنقى<sup>43</sup> واديًا<sup>44</sup> ثالثًا<sup>45</sup> ولا يملؤ جوف ابن آدم الخ<sup>47</sup>*

In al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, and *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*, part iv, fol. 39<sup>f</sup>, the beginning according to Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī reads as follows: *إن الله<sup>48</sup> يؤيد منا الدين بقوم لا خلاق<sup>49</sup> لهم<sup>50</sup> ولو الخ*

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Amid this plethora of variants it is hardly possible to identify any particular form as being older or more original than the rest, as through reminiscences they are constantly interwoven and thus create new forms. By comparison with the Syriac Ahiqar story, on the other hand, we are able to determine that the readings “treasure” and “eye” are to be preferred to other variants.<sup>51</sup>

Just as different as the texts are the particulars regarding their divine origin and their original place in the Koran. In Hibat Allāh b. Salāma it reads: *كنا نقرأ على عهد رسول الله صلعم سورة نعدلها<sup>52</sup> بسورة التوبة ما أحفظ منها غير آية وهي<sup>53</sup> لو*

<sup>41</sup> *إن* *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*; *Tafsīr*.

<sup>42</sup> *واديين*, *al-Mabānī*, *al-Itqān*, *Tafsīr*.

<sup>43</sup> *ذهب*, *al-Mabānī*, part ii, and al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-‘ummāl*, vol. 1, no. 4755.

<sup>44</sup> *لعمري*, *al-Itqān*; *al-Mabānī*, parts ii and iv, fol. 40<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> Missing from al-Tirmidhī., al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *al-Mishcāt*, *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*, fol. 39a—*واديًا* instead *إلهما*—*الـ*, *al-Mabānī*, part ii—*لها*, al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*.

<sup>46</sup> *ثالثًا*, *al-Mabānī*, part ii—al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-‘ummāl*, vol. 1, no. 4755 reads instead *الثالث* *واديًا* only *الثالث*. From *لا* to the end everything is missing from al-Tirmidhī.

<sup>47</sup> *و يتوب الخ* from Muslim from Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī.

<sup>48</sup> *سيؤيد*, *al-Itqān*.

<sup>49</sup> *al-Itqān* has falsely, *خلاف*, cf also sūra 3:71.

<sup>50</sup> These are the men—as shall be explained below—who fought for Muḥammad without believing and therefore do not share Paradise. The words are quite common as a *ḥadīth*. Al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Jihād* §18, has them in a slightly different form: *إن الله ليؤيد هذا الدين بالرجل الفاجر*, al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Maghāzī*, cap. 39 (*ghazwat Khaybar*) § 8 with the variant, *يؤيد*.

<sup>51</sup> See p. 170 n. 31 and p. 171 n. 40.

<sup>52</sup> Thus, i.e. *نعدلها* (“we compared them”) as read both the Leiden Ms. 411 as well as the Berlin Ms. Sprenger 397 [Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 419]. Thus also the *بعد لها* of the Leipzig Ms. of Hibat Allāh (Ibn Salāma) undoubtedly ought to be changed against H.L. Fleischer’s *يعدلها* in the *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca civitatis Lipsiensis asservantur*. The Cairo edition, p. 10, reads *تعديلها*.

<sup>53</sup> Thus in the Berlin Mss.; the Cairene edition reads *آية واحدة ولو*.



الح. A tradition from Abū Mūsā AL-ASH'ARĪ [*EP*; *EQ*; G. Juynboll; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 61, etc.] in Muslim (Ibn al-Ḥajjāj), loc. cit., which is nearly identical with this one, adds by way of an explanation *كنا نشبهها في الطول والشدة*, of which only *في الطول* corresponds to the original meaning. Also in *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*, and al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, Abū Mūsā AL-ASH'ARĪ says the same with less words; they had read a sūra, *مثل سورة براءة* or *نحو براءة*, only that also in this case an inaccurate *tamyīz*, *تغليظاً ونشديداً*, is added.

In al-Suhaylī this reads completely differently: *وكانت هذه الآية أعني قوله لو أن لابن آدم في سورة يونس بعد قوله كأن لم تغر بالأمس كذلك نُفصل الآيات لقوم يتفكرون* [i/240] *كذلك قال ابن سلام<sup>54</sup> وهو في مصحف أبي بن كعب*, i.e. this verse is said to have been placed originally behind sūra 10:25. In this instance, however, its meaning might tolerate such an addition, if need be, yet since the rhyme with *āb* is unthinkable in sūra 10,<sup>55</sup> and most authorities refer to entirely different sūras, this statement of al-Suhaylī is not reliable.

In *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*, part iv, fol. 34<sup>v</sup>, 'Ikrima says *قرأ علي عاصم* *فقرأ عليه لم يكن الذين كفروا* *وقرأ فيها إن الدين لله* *وقرأ عليه لو أن إلح*. Thus also Ubayy b. Ka'b in *al-Itqān*, p. 525, regards this verse to be a portion (من بقيةها) of sūra 98. The earliest source for this information is the following *ḥadīth* in al-Tirmidhī.<sup>56</sup> *وقرأ فيها إن الدين لله* *وقرأ عليه لو أن إلح*.

"And he (the Prophet) recited before him (Ubayy) sūra 98, and therein (the verse): 'Verily, the religion, etc.', and he recited before him, 'If he had, etc.'" Although it is not said here directly that this verse belongs to sūra 98, the words probably have to be interpreted this way.<sup>58</sup>

That Ubayy considered this verse to be part of the Koran is also demonstrated in *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*, parts 2 and 4. Abū Wāqid (al-Laythī) does not say this quite as clearly (*al-Itqān*, p. 525) with the following words: "The Prophet said: *إن الله يقول إنا أنزلنا المال إلح*" It so happens that occasionally *ḥadīths* are also indicated like this, which the Prophet attributed to God's own words.<sup>59</sup> Ibn 'Abbās in al-Bukhārī and in Muslim (ibn al-Ḥajjāj) as well as Anas (Ibn Mālik) in Muslim (ibn al-Ḥajjāj) express their doubt that this

<sup>54</sup> I.e. Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 222/836); cf. thereon the chapter below, Fr. Schwally, "The Collecting and Editing of the Koran." [*EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 3, p. 367, and vol. 9, pp. 70–72, d. 224/839].

<sup>55</sup> Since the last words of the alleged fragment of the Koran are identical in all recensions, they must not be changed.

<sup>56</sup> *Kitāb al-Taḥsīn* on sūra 98.

<sup>57</sup> Here follows the verse quoted in section 2 on p. 172.

<sup>58</sup> The order in al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, is reversed so that the first passage here cited is assumed to come from sūra 98, and the other passage is mentioned afterwards.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. below, p. 204 sq.

passage belongs to the Koran: For example, فلا أدري شيء أنزل أم شيء كان يقوله, but their conclusion is wrong, because sūra 102 must be much earlier than this verse, and also the Medinan Anas b. Mālik cannot have been present when sūra 102 was promulgated.

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In many instances these words are simply presented as a *ḥadīth* from the Prophet, such as, for example:<sup>60</sup>

عن عباس بن سهل بن سعد قال سمعتُ ابن الزبير على المنبر بمكة في خطبته يقول يا أيها الناس إن النبي صلعم كان يقول لو إلخ.

There is no ready answer to the important question of the reliability of these traditions. Since the Prophet's words in this case operate on the level of Koranic thinking and expression,<sup>61</sup> they might well belong to a long lost revelation. The passage might have remained in the memory of particular contemporaries because the Prophet frequently referred to it. The considerable differences of the recensions as well as the variations of tradition regarding the origin would thus become quite plausible. The available facts, however, lend themselves with equal probability to the opposite conclusion as well, namely that those words are an original *ḥadīth* that, because of its resemblance to Koranic diction, might have been considered a revelation. Indeed, it cannot be ruled out that even the *ḥadīth* is spurious. Above all, there is the fact that the idiom *ibn ādam*, "man,"<sup>62</sup> is foreign to the language of the Koran and would thus argue against Muḥammad's authorship.

(2) al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Tafsīr*, on sūra 98; *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*, part iv, fol. 37<sup>r</sup>; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 525. Ubayy b. Ka'b read in sūra 98:

إن الدين عند الله الحنيفية السمحة<sup>64</sup> لا<sup>65</sup> اليهودية<sup>66</sup> ولا النصرانية<sup>67</sup> ومن<sup>68</sup> يفعل<sup>69</sup> خيرا فلن يكفره.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>60</sup> al-Bukhārī; cf. above p. 169sq. under (h); *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*.

<sup>61</sup> Cf., for example, the words تراب جوف ابغى.

<sup>62</sup> It corresponds to the Aramaic ܒܢ ܐܕܡ, but more particularly to the Hebrew בן אדם which first appears in Ezekiel. The Koran always uses *insān* instead. Only the plural, *banū ādam*, occurs a few times, sūra 7:25, 26, 29, 33, 171; and sūras 17:72; and 36:60. But that the singular, *ibn ādam*, was not foreign to contemporary literature seems to be evident, e.g., Labīd b. Rabī'a, *Gedichte* (1891), no. 32, verse 10.

<sup>63</sup> *al-Itqān* and al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 1, no. 4750 add ذات.

<sup>64</sup> Missing from *al-Itqān*, and *Kanz al-'ummāl*; المسلمة, al-Tirmidhī.

<sup>65</sup> المشركة, *al-Itqān*.—*Kanz al-'ummāl* inserts ولا.

<sup>66</sup> *al-Mabānī* without article which is here indispensable.

<sup>67</sup> The same. Al-Tirmidhī adds ولا المجوسية.

<sup>68</sup> al-Tirmidhī without و.

<sup>69</sup> يعمل, in both, *al-Itqān* and *Kanz al-'ummāl*.

<sup>70</sup> يكفره, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, cf.

“Truly, religion is for God the tolerant Ḥanafite School, neither Judaism, nor Christianity; whoever does good shall not remain without reward.”

If these words, whose rhyme fits somewhat with that of *sūra* 98, were indeed really Koranic, the original form still must have been slightly changed, as the words نصرانية, يهودية, حنيفة are foreign to the Koran.<sup>71</sup> There are, however, ample instances where they could have been used.

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The beginning of the text appears in several divergent versions as a *hadith*:

أَحَبُّ الدِّينِ إِلَى اللَّهِ الْحَنِيفِيَّةُ السَّمْحَةُ or بُعِثَتْ بِالْحَنِيفِيَّةِ السَّمْحَةِ.<sup>72</sup>

(3) According to a tradition listed in *al-Itqān*, p. 526, Maslama b. Mukhallad al-Anṣārī recited before his friends the following two verses, which purport to be in the Koran but are wanting from the authorized text:<sup>73</sup>

إِنَّ<sup>74</sup> الذِّينَ آمَنُوا وَهَاجَرُوا وَجَاهَدُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ بِأَمْوَالِهِمْ وَأَنْفُسِهِمْ أَلَّا يُبْشِرُوا أَلَّا يُبْشِرُوا أَلَّا يُبْشِرُوا أَلَّا يُبْشِرُوا \* وَالَّذِينَ آوَوْهُمْ وَنَصَرُوهُمْ وَجَادَلُوا عَنْهُمْ الْقَوْمَ الَّذِينَ غَضِبَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمْ أُولَئِكَ لَا تَعْلَمُ نَفْسٌ مَا أَخْفَى لَهُمْ مِنْ قَرَّةٍ أَعْيُنُ جَزَاءَ بِمَا كَانُوا يَعْمَلُونَ.

“Those who believe, and have emigrated, and struggled with their possessions and their selves in the way of God, do rejoice, you are the happy people! And they who accepted and aided them, and defended them from the people with whom God is angry: No soul knows what comfort is laid up for them secretly, as a recompense for what they were doing.”

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In the case of these two verses as well, no definite opinion can be supplied. In support of their authenticity there is not only the Koranic character of the diction throughout,<sup>75</sup> but also the common grammatical change of person that occurs frequently in the Koran. On the other hand, however,

<sup>71</sup> The only abstract term derived from a noun ending with *ي*— that occurs in the Koran is جاهلية “paganism” (four times). The original meaning of the word is likely to be “state of ignorance,” comparable to the New Testament ἀγνοία (*Acts of the Apostles* 17:30; *1 Peter* 1:14). Goldziher holds a somewhat different view in his *Muslim studies*, vol. 1, pp. 201–208.

<sup>72</sup> al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Īmān*, §29; Ibn Sa’d, vol. 1, part 1 (*Biographie Muḥammads bis zur Flucht*) p. 128, l 13. Majd al-Dīn IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Nihāya*, s.v. حنيفة. Another form occurs in a frequently quoted early Islamic verse ascribed to Umayya b. Abī l-Ṣalt:

كُلُّ دِينٍ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ إِلَّا دِينَ الْحَنِيفَةِ زُورٌ.

*al-Aghānī*, vol. 3, p. 187; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Isāba fī tamyiz al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 1, p. 263, whereas Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, p. 40, has the incorrect reading الحنيفة. Cf. also Umayya’s alleged words in Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, vol. 1, p. 262, l 4: وَأَنَا أَعْلَمُ أَنَّ الْحَنِيفَةَ حَقٌّ. That the root سَمِح is not found in the Koran would seem to be unimportant.

<sup>73</sup> أَخْرُونِي بِأَيْتَيْنِ فِي الْقُرْآنِ لَمْ يَكْتَبْنِي فِي الْمَصْحَفِ.

<sup>74</sup> One might consider changing إِنَّ to يَا أَيْهَا but this is hardly feasible particularly as also the second verse is in the third person.

<sup>75</sup> However, أَلَّا with the imperative does not occur in the Koran.

the text sounds somewhat like a combination of sūras 8:73 and 32:17, which the Medinan Maslama (Ibn Mukhallad) might actually have composed in order to elevate the old Companions of the Prophet above the ruling dynasty.<sup>76</sup>

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(4) It is related<sup>77</sup> that when the caliph ‘Umar asked ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf if he was familiar with the verse, *أَنْ جَاهِدُوا كَمَا جَاهَدْتُمْ أَوَّلَ مَرَّةٍ*, “fight like you fought the first time (earlier!),” he replied that the verse is one of the abrogated verses of the Koran (*أَسْقَطَتْ فِيهَا أَسْقَطَ مِنَ الْقُرْآنِ*). No one would deny that these words could be Koranic, yet it is quite legitimate to question the survival of a corresponding tradition regarding the origin of a passage devoid of all originality. Still another transmission (*al-Mabānī*, part iv, fol. 40<sup>r</sup>) presents the verse in this version:

جاهدوا في الله في آخر الزمان كما جاهدتم في أوله.

The authenticity of this recension, however, is suspicious, because the expression *zamān* for “time” is foreign to the Holy Book. Even if one does not attach great importance to this argument, the other remark in *al-Mabānī*, claiming that this is how the words appeared in sūra 44, can only be correct if *jāhada* were to refer not to the actual struggle for religion but meant instead the zealous espousal of it in general.<sup>78</sup> Because of the strong emphasis on “the first *jihād*,” however, it is more likely that in this case we ought to think of the Holy War. This interpretation would point to the Medinan period at the earliest, namely after the Battle of Badr, since, according to the text, one *jihād* had already taken place, whereas it is well-known that sūra 44 was promulgated at Mecca. Moreover, the sentence is probably to be interpreted eschatologically and represents the classic period of the establishment of Islam in a distant future. This idea, of course, presupposes that a longer period had passed after the death of Muḥammad.

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(5) Muslim, *K. al-Zakāt*, § 26 at the end, and *al-Itqān*, p. 526. Abū Mūsā AL-ASH‘ARĪ said:

كنا نقرأ سورة كذا<sup>79</sup> نسيها بإحدى المسبجات وأنسيتها<sup>80</sup> غير آتي قد حفظت منها يا أيها الذين آمنوا لم تقولون ما لا تفعلون فتكتب شهادة في أعناقكم فتسألون عنها يوم القيامة.

<sup>76</sup> The words *الذين غضب الله عليهم*, “those with whom God is angry,” could refer to the Umayyads. Maslama did not die until the reign of Mu‘āwiyā.

<sup>77</sup> *al-Mabānī li naẓm al-ma‘ānī*, part iv, fol. 40<sup>r</sup>, al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 526, al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-‘ummāl*, vol. 1, no. 4749.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. above, p. 127, on sūra 29:69.

<sup>79</sup> *كنا* missing from al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*.

<sup>80</sup> *أنسيتها*, *al-Itqān*.

"We recite a sūra that we consider similar<sup>81</sup> to one of the *musabbiḥāt*<sup>82</sup> which fell into oblivion; I retained only the following: O, you who believe, wherefore do you say what you do not do? A testimonial will be written on your neck, and on the Day of Resurrection you will have to explain."

Since the second part of the citation is identical to sūra 61:2, one is tempted to regard the entire passage as a fragment from this sūra, although this is contrary to the rhyme, which in all the *musabbiḥāt* ends with *ūn, īn* and similar syllables, not to mention the explicit statement that the related sūra was lost. For this reason it is a hopeless undertaking from the start to try to give the transmitted text of the fragment a different rhyme, be it by rearrangement<sup>83</sup> or extension.

In *al-Mabānī*, chapter iv, fol. 40a, the tradition reads a little differently:

قال أبو موسى ونزلت سورة نشبهها بالمسبحات أولها سبح لله ما في السماوات وما في الأرض ففسيناها غير أنني أحفظ منها يا أيها الذين آمنوا لم تقولون ما لا تفعلون كبر مقتاً عند الله أن تقولوا ما لا تفعلون.

The obvious fact that the entire quotation is identical here with sūra 61:2 to 3 [i/246] definitely suggests that we should give preference to the first recension over this one. Otherwise, no objections can be raised against the reliability of the tradition.

(6) Anas b. Mālik relates that a verse of the Koran had been revealed referring to those who were killed at Bi'r Ma'ūna (Ṣafar 4/625) but was later abrogated by God: *قال أنزل في الذين قتلوا ببئر معونة قرآن قرأناه ثم نسخ بعد*:<sup>84</sup> or similar.<sup>85</sup> The verse can be found with some variants in four *ḥadīths* in al-Bukhārī,<sup>86</sup> three in Ibn Sa'd, *Feldzüge Muḥammads* (vol. 2, part 1), p. 37 sq., Ibn Sa'd, *Biographien der medinischen Kämpfer* (vol. 3, part 2), p. 71 sq., two in al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, vol. 1, p. 1447 and 1448, and one each in al-Wāqidi, p. 341, Muslim, *K. al-Ṣalāt* § 93, al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 527, al-Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh* (Cairo ed.) vol. 1, p. 14, and in al-Suhaylī in the note to Ibn Hishām, p. 650, as follows:

<sup>81</sup> As far as length is concerned.

<sup>82</sup> Sūras 57, 59, 61, 62, 64, that begin with *سبح لله ما في السماوات وما في الأرض*.

<sup>83</sup> Perhaps in *أيوم القيامة عنها تسألون*.

<sup>84</sup> al-Bukhārī, a.d (cf. note 39); al-Diyārbakrī, vol. 1, p. 14.—Muslim reads *حتى* instead *ثم*.

<sup>85</sup> From among the numerous variants of this text most remarkable are those that say that for quite some time it was recited as Koranic: Ibn Sa'd, *Feldzüge*, p. 38 *ذلك ثم إن ذلك فقرأنا بهم قرآناً زماناً ثم إن ذلك ثم نسخت فرفعت بعد ما قرأناه زماناً*, رفع أو نسي أنزل فيهم قرآناً... ثم نسخت فرفعت بعد ما قرأناه زماناً, *al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 1, p. 447.

<sup>86</sup> One in *K. al-Jihād* §183, here designated as d; the others in *K. al-Maghāzī* §30 are designated as a, b, c.

بَلَّغُوا<sup>87</sup> عَتَا<sup>88</sup> قَوْمَنَا<sup>89</sup> أَنَّا قَدْ لَقِينَا رَبَّنَا فَرَضِي عَتَا وَرَضِينَا عَنْهُ<sup>91</sup>.

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“Inform our people that we met our Lord and that He is pleased with us as we are also pleased with Him.”

In other traditions this text is put in the mouth of those Muslims who died at Uḥud or Bi'r Ma'ūna and immediately went to the glory of Paradise;<sup>92</sup> or the Prophet relates in an address to his Companions the request of these martyrs. Thus in al-Bukhārī (in a passage between b and c) it reads:

وَأْتَمَّ قَدْ سَأَلُوا رَبَّهُمْ فَقَالُوا رَبَّنَا أَخْبِرْ عَتَا بِمَا رَضِينَا عَنْكَ وَرَضَيْتَ عَتَا.

in Muslim, *K. al-Imāra*, § 39:

... وَأْتَمَّ قَالُوا اللَّهُمَّ بَلِّغْ عَتَا نَبِيَّنَا أَنَّا قَدْ لَقِينَاكَ فَرَضِينَا عَنْكَ وَرَضَيْتَ عَتَا.<sup>93</sup>

in al-Tirmidhī, *K. al-Tafsīr* on sūra 3:163:

... وَتَقْرَأُ نَبِيَّنَا السَّلَامَ وَتُخْبِرُ أَنْ (أَنَا) قَدْ رَضِينَا وَرُضِيَ عَتَا.

in al-Ṭabarī, *al-Tafsīr* on sūra 3:163 (vol. 4, p. 108):

... قَالُوا يَا لَيْتَ بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَ إِخْوَانِنَا مَنْ يَبْلِغُهُمْ أَنَّا لَقِينَا رَبَّنَا فَرَضِي عَتَا وَأَرْضَانَا.

It is not easy to determine whether the original passage was from the Koran or *ḥadīth*. Although the phraseology of our text is undoubtedly Koranic,<sup>94</sup> it is precisely this peculiarity that might have caused the *ḥadīth* to be

<sup>87</sup> Before بَلَّغُوا Ibn Hishām, Ibn Sa'd, *Biographien der medinischen Kämpfer*, Muslim, and *al-Itqān* read بَلَّغُوا; al-Bukhārī (d), أَلَا. In addition, Ibn Hishām and Muslim read instead بَلَّغُوا.

<sup>88</sup> عَتَا is missing from al-Bukhārī (c, d), al-Wāqidi, Ibn Hishām Ibn Sa'd, *ibid.*, and Muslim. The entire beginning from بَلَّغُوا قَوْمَنَا is missing in al-Bukhārī b.

<sup>89</sup> Instead قَوْمَنَا al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1448, l 3, reads إِخْوَانَنَا Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Feldzüge Muhammads*, p. 37, puts قَوْمَنَا before عَتَا.

<sup>90</sup> Instead of بَلَّغُوا Ibn Hishām and Muslim read بَلَّغُوا; al-Bukhārī d بَلَّغُوا; al-Bukhārī c فقد; al-Wāqidi, *al-Itqān*; Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Die Feldzüge Muhammads*, simply لنا.

<sup>91</sup> Instead of وَرَضِينَا عَنْهُ al-Bukhārī, a, b, d, Ibn Sa'd, vol. 2, part 1, p. 38, and al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, read وَأَرْضَانَا. But al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rikh al-khamīs*, also lists the other variant readings.

<sup>92</sup> This message from the hereafter has a remarkable parallel in Luke 16:27 sq.

<sup>93</sup> A greater deviation in al-Baghāwī on sūra 3:163:

... فَلَمَّا رَأَوْا طَيْبَ مَقِيلِهِمْ وَمَطْعَمِهِمْ وَشَرِبِهِمْ وَرَأَوْا مَا أَعَدَّ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ مِنَ الْكِرَامَةِ قَالُوا يَا لَيْتَ قَوْمَنَا يَعْلَمُونَ مَا نَحْنُ فِيهِ مِنَ النِّعَمِ وَمَا يَصْنَعُ اللَّهُ بِنَاكِي يَرْغَبُوا فِي الْجِهَادِ وَلَا يَنْكَلُوا عَنْهُ فَقَالَ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ أَنَا مُخْبِرٌ عَنْكُمْ وَمَبْلِغٌ إِخْوَانَكُمْ فَفَرَحُوا بِذَلِكَ وَاسْتَبَشَرُوا فَأَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى

'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī, *Tafsīr* on sūra 3:163 as follows:

... فَلَمَّا وَجَدُوا طَيْبَ مَأْكَلِهِمْ وَمَشْرَبِهِمْ وَمَقِيلَهُمْ قَالُوا مَنْ يَبْلِغُ إِخْوَانَنَا عَتَا أَنَّا أَحْيَاءُ فِي الْجَنَّةِ لِئَلَّا يَزْهَدُوا فِي الْجَنَّةِ وَلَا يَنْكَلُوا عَنِ الْحَرْبِ ...

<sup>94</sup> Cf. (رَبِّهِمْ) اللَّهُ لِقَاءَ اللَّهِ sūras 6:31 and 155, 10:46, 13:2, 18:105 and 110, 29:4 and 22, 30:7, 32:10; رَضِي (رَبِّهِمْ) اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ وَرَضُوا عَنْهُ sūras 5:119, 9:101, 58:22, 98:8.

considered a revelation. If, however, it was indeed from the Koran, the introduction stating that these were the words of the men killed must have disappeared.

(7) Very famous is the so-called Verse of Stoning (آية الرجم), which, according to traditions from 'Umar, was considered part of the Koran:<sup>95</sup>

لا ترغبوا عن آبائكم<sup>96</sup> فإنه<sup>97</sup> كفر بكم<sup>98</sup> الشيخ<sup>99</sup> والشيخة إذا زنيا<sup>100</sup> فارجموهما<sup>101</sup> البتة نكالا من الله والله  
عزيز حكيم<sup>102</sup>

“Do not long to be away from your fathers<sup>103</sup> for this is by you godlessness; and if an elderly man and woman<sup>104</sup> commit adultery then stone them definitely as penalty from God All-Mighty and Wise.”

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Most writers simply say that this verse belongs to the *mansūkhāt*, the abrogated passages of the Koran.<sup>105</sup> Al-Qurṭubī, *al-Mabānī li-naẓm*, cap. iv,

<sup>95</sup> Let us refer to only a few sources where this text appears complete or in parts: Ibn Hishām, 105; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, 182i; *al-Muwattāʾ*, 349; Ibn Saʿd, *Biographien der mekkanischen Kämpfer* (vol. 3, part 1), p. 242; al-Yaʿqūbī, vol. 2, p. 184; *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-maʿānī* in three passages, part 2, fol. 16<sup>v</sup>, part 4, fol. 34<sup>v</sup>; al-Qurṭubī; al-Nisābūrī in the margin of al-Bukhārī's *Tafsīr*, vol. 21, p. 81 on sūra 33; al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 33, at the beginning; al-Nasafī in the margin of 'Alā' al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī, vol. 3, p. 472, on the same sūra; Ibn Ḥazm in the margin of the *Jalālayn*, vol. 2, p. 148; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, with three variants, p. 524 (a, b) and p. 528 (c); Hibat Allāh (Ibn Salāma), p. 13; W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnīs*, no. 478; al-Diyārbakrī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-khamīs*, vol. 1, p. 14; al-Suhaylī, loc. cit., etc. Innumerable writers maintain that آية الرجم has been part of the Koran.

<sup>96</sup> كُفْرًا بكم missing from al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 182i, cod. c.

<sup>97</sup> فإن ذلك: Hibat Allāh b. Salāma.

<sup>98</sup> The words up to here are missing from many of the sources, for example, *Muwattāʾ*, 349; Ibn Saʿd; al-Yaʿqūbī; *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-maʿānī*, part iv, fol. 33<sup>v</sup>; al-Nisābūrī; al-Zamakhsharī; al-Nasafī; al-Diyārbakrī; *Taʾrīkh*; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, a, b, c; al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, vol. 1, n. 475i. After الله they are combined with و in al-Suhaylī with the variant فإن ذلك; Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī have the additional إن ترغبوا عن آبائكم but omit everything else. According to *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-maʿānī*, iv, fol. 32, some (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Muḥābirin*, §17) read فإن (إن) كُفْرًا بكم أن ترغبوا عن آبائكم.

<sup>99</sup> فالشيخ, al-Suhaylī, and الشيخ, al-Suyūṭī.

<sup>100</sup> Some people read الشيخ والشيخة إذا زنا الشيخ, *al-Itqān*, p. 524 (a); *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-maʿānī*, iv, fol. 34<sup>v</sup>; al-Yaʿqūbī and al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān* omit إذا زنا.

<sup>101</sup> All of the text that follows is missing from *Muwattāʾ*; Ibn Saʿd; Ibn Mājah, *Bāb al-rajm*; al-Nisābūrī, al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*. *al-Itqān*, p. 524 (b) has instead the gloss بما قضيا من اللذة.

<sup>102</sup> The last three words are found in al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 524 (a), al-Qurṭubī, al-Zamakhsharī, Hibat Allāh b. Salāma, al-Nasafī, Ibn Ḥazm. However, al-Yaʿqūbī and al-Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-khamīs*, have عزم instead of عزيز. The words والله والله عزيز حكيم appear identically in sūra 5:62.

<sup>103</sup> I.e., do not endeavour for false pride to belong to a family other than your own.

<sup>104</sup> In *al-Muwattāʾ* Mālik b. Anas adds the gloss, يعنى الثيب والثيبة.

<sup>105</sup> Some writers say that the verse was lost accidentally when some domesticated animal

al-Nisābūrī, al-Ṭabarī, p. 1821, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Nasafī, al-Suyūfī, *al-Itqān* (a), and al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-‘ummāl*, vol. 1, no. 4751, all state that, according to ‘Ā’isha and Ubayy, the verse allegedly was part of sūra 33. This, however, is impossible, as the verse rhymes with *ūn* but the sūra throughout with *ā*. According to another tradition, this verse was originally part of sūra 24.<sup>106</sup> This sūra is more likely to fit, as it not only agrees with the rhyme of the fragment but also treats only the adultery (*zinā*) of men and women. Moreover, verse two, which stipulates the penalty of flogging without any qualification, is in contradiction to the “Verse of Stoning.”<sup>107</sup> One ought to assume that this verse was abrogated by this verse two. This, however, is neither documented nor can it be harmonized with the development of Islamic criminal law. If it is true that during his Medinan period Muḥammad repeatedly condemned unchaste persons to death by stoning,<sup>108</sup> it is incomprehensible that such a revelation should have become abrogated, or that it could have been lost. As the credibility of this tradition cannot be verified, it must be taken for granted that the penalty of stoning was practised under the first caliphs; it is taught in Islamic legal texts down to

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(داجن, al-Nisābūrī, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Nasafī) devoured the spot where this verse had been written. The same is also said of the “verse of nursing” (see below, p. 202sq.) by (Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, cap. ضاع الكبير; *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*, vol. 4, fol. 40<sup>v</sup>; al-Damīrī, *K. al-Ḥayawān*, s.v. داجن). All these traditions allegedly go back to ‘Ā’isha, but in most cases (e.g. al-Nisābūrī, al-Zamakhsharī, and al-Nasafī) are considered a fabrication of sectarians من تأليفات الملاحدة والروافض.

<sup>106</sup> al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Muḥāribīn* § 7; al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkh al-khamīs*, vol. 1, p. 14.

<sup>107</sup> By the stretch of imagination verse 2 might be interpreted not to be in contradiction to the precepts given in this instance; but such harmonizing is hardly admissible. Subsequent law recognizes both the penalties mentioned, namely requiring flogging for lighter offences but stoning for serious cases of adultery. This is explained in more detail below, p. 201 n. 109.

<sup>108</sup> al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Muḥāribīn* §§ 7, 8, 10, 11, 14 and 15. Ibn Sa’d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographie der Genossen* (vol. 4, part 2), p. 51, al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkh al-khamīs*, vol. 1, p. 467, vol. 2, p. 139. Another tradition, *ibid.*, p. 52, l 7sq., relates that on one occasion Muḥammad did not have a repentant adulteress stoned, but pardoned her.

On the other hand, the words allegedly said after the conquest of Mecca—ولعاهر الحجر (al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Buyū’* § 100, *Waṣāyā* § 4, *Maghāzī* § 54, *Farā’id* § 18, *Muḥāribīn* § 9, *Khuṣūmāt* § 5, al-Wāqidi by Wellhausen, p. 338; for additional sources see Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 1, German original pagination, *Seite* 188, note, and his “Turāb und Haḡar,” p. 589)—cannot be applied here. Al-Qaṣṭallānī on al-Bukhārī, *Farā’id* § 18 (vol. 9, p. 438sq.) explains as follows له أي لا حق له في النسب كقولهم له التراب عبر به عن الخيبة لا شيء له forfeits the right of kinship (*nasab*) with the begotten child. Only this interpretation of those words together with the protasis, الولد للفراش, constitutes a meaningful entity. The other interpretation which has the stoning (الرجم بالحجر) in mind is rejected on good grounds by al-Qaṣṭallānī as well as others.



this day.<sup>109</sup> According to most of the reports, it was 'Umar who urged the Medinans to observe this cruel law: "I have seen the Prophet have someone flogged, and we then also flogged. If people had not accused me of attempted innovation, I would have included the Verse of Stoning in the Koran. We actually recited it."<sup>110</sup> The words we quote leave the impression that the claim to the divine origin of this verse merely serves as a means to establish the law in practice. As the stoning of unchaste men and women was foreign to ancient Arabian common law, which did not know criminal punishment, the example of the Jewish law in *Deuteronomy* 22:21–24<sup>111</sup> would have predominated.

The beginning of the verse has no apparent internal relation to the part concerned with stoning and, furthermore, as far as the content and form is concerned, shows Koranic characteristics. Since both parts are regularly connected with each other by the name "Verse of Stoning", however, what was judged probable for its second part applies also to its first part, namely that it was never part of the Holy Book.<sup>112</sup>

The beginning of the verse appears a few times<sup>113</sup> in the following form لا ترغبوا عن آباءكم فمن رغب عن أبيه فهو كفر as a mere saying of Muḥammad, without supplying particular circumstances.

(8) al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 1, no. 4752, from Ubayy b. Ka'b:

ولا تقربوا الزنا إلهه كان فاحشة وممتنا وساء سبيلا إلا من تاب فإن الله كان غفورا رحيمًا

<sup>109</sup> According to law not only the person who is married at the time of committing adultery is to be stoned but also the person who had previously been living in a legal marriage. Whoever had never been married before (غير مُحَصَّنَة and غير مُحَصَّن respectively) is flogged with one hundred lashes. Cf. Ed. Sachau, *Mohammedanisches Recht*, p. 809sq.; Snouck Hurgronje's review of Sachau's *Mohammedanisches Recht*, p. 161sq.; Th.W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche wet*, p. 302sq.

<sup>110</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 1014sq.; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1821; Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographien der mekkanischen Kämpfer* (= vol. 3, part 1), p. 262; al-Ya'qūbī, ed. M.Th. Houtsma, vol. 2, 184; al-Tirmidhī, *Abwāb al-ḥudūd*, cap. 8; al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'riḫ al-khamīs*, vol. 1, p. 14; *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*, part iv, fol. 32<sup>r</sup>sq.

<sup>111</sup> When sentencing a Jewish couple who had been brought before Muḥammad for suspected adultery reference is made to this Biblical passage; al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Muḥābirīn*, § 10; al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'riḫ al-khamīs*, vol. 1, p. 467.

<sup>112</sup> This is also Caetani's opinion in his *Annali*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 305. From a lexical point of view it might be noted that the words الشبيخة and البتة do not occur in the Koran.

<sup>113</sup> Muslim, *K. al-Īmān* § 27; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt, bāb al-l'ian*, faṣl 1 at the end where there is فقد instead فهو; of course in this case it cannot be read either كفر or كفر but must be كفر.

[i/252] This text is composed entirely of Koranic passages. From the beginning to *فاحشة* it is found in *sūra* 17:34, from *انه* to *سبيلاً* in *sūra* 4:26; from *من* *إلا* *من* *تاب* in *sūra* 25:70, and the final phrase to *رحمياً* in *sūra* 4:128. This, of course, is no decisive argument against its authenticity, because we find in our Koran quite a few verses that look like a combination from other parts. Still, such a text cannot claim any reliance unless it can be firmly established that it belongs to the Koran.

(9) al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-‘ummāl*, vol. 1, no. 4753, from Abū Idrīs AL-KHAWLĀ-NĪ,<sup>114</sup> *al-Mabānī*, part iv, fol. 37’:

إذ جعل الذين كفروا في قلوبهم الحمية حمية الجاهلية ولو حميت كما حموا لفسد<sup>115</sup> المسجد الحرام فأنزل الله سكينته على رسوله<sup>116</sup>

The beginning of this text up to *الجاهلية*, as well as the end starting with *فأنزل*, follow one another immediately in *sūra* 48:26. In the middle passage, however, from *كما* to *الحرام*, only isolated idioms are from the Koran.

(10) al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-‘ummāl*, vol. 1, no. 4754, from Bajāla (Ibn ‘Abda):

النبىّ أولى بالمؤمنين من أنفسهم وأزواجه أمهاتهم وهو أب لهم.

Nearly the entire text up to *أمهاتهم* is identical with *sūra* 33:6. The three following words are now and then listed by the exegetic tradition among the canonical readings.<sup>117</sup> The designation of the Prophet as “father” of the believers is nowhere else to be found in the Koran. On the contrary, he rejects this outright in *sūra* 33:40. By the same token, he never addresses the believers as “my children.”

(11) ‘Ā’isha said:<sup>118</sup>

<sup>114</sup> Died 80/699; cf. al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz*, vol. 1, p. 49.

<sup>115</sup> *Kanz al-‘ummāl* inserts after *حموا* an additional *نفسه*. However, this reading variant is extremely suspect since it does not really make sense, and since it can readily be explained by an inadvertent double *لفسد*.

<sup>116</sup> All that follows *فأنزل* is missing from *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*.

<sup>117</sup> For example, al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, s.v., vol. 21, p. 70 l 15, *بعض القراءة*, 15; al-Nisābūrī, *Tafsīr*, s.v.; in al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 21, p. 84 in the margin, *قراءة ابن مسعود*.

<sup>118</sup> *Muwatta‘a*, p. 224; Muslim, *K. al-Raḍā‘* § 1 in two forms (a, b); al-Tirmidhī, *Abwāb al-raḍā‘* § 3; al-Nasā’ī, *K. al-Nikāh* § 49; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt, Bāb al-muḥarrimat, faṣl 1* § 6; *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*, part iv, fol. 40; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 517; al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rikh al-khamīs*, vol. 1, p. 14.

كان<sup>119</sup> فيما أنزل الله<sup>120</sup> عشر رضعات معلومات يُحْرَمُ<sup>121</sup> فنسخن<sup>122</sup> بخمس معلومات<sup>123</sup> فتوقّى رسول الله صلعم وهنّ<sup>124</sup> أنزل في القرآن عشر رضعات معلومات: [أو<sup>125</sup>؛ بما<sup>126</sup> يقرأ من القرآن فنسخ من ذلك خمسًا وصار إلى خمس رضعات معلومات فتوقّى كان فيما يقرأ من القرآن: [أو<sup>128</sup> رسول الله صلعم والأمر على ذلك فسقط يحْرَمُ من الرضاع عشر رضعات ثم نسخن إلى خمس كان فيما أنزل الله من القرآن ثم سقط لا يحْرَمُ [أو<sup>129</sup>؛ معلومات نزل في القرآن: finally<sup>130</sup> or<sup>130</sup> إلا عشر رضعات أو خمس معلومات عشر رضعات معلومات ثم نزل أيضًا خمس معلومات.

This concerns the number of breast-feedings that put a child in the same relationship to its wet-nurse and her relatives—insofar as the legality of marriage is conceivable—as to the natural mother and her relatives. According to the earlier version of this alleged Koranic passage, ten breast-feeding sessions—and, according to a later version, five—result in a relationship that excludes marriage. The text of the respective revelation is best viewed from the third of the above-mentioned recensions: من الرضاع (النكاح) يحرم. عشر رضعات. It is not easy to arrive at a sound opinion regarding the reliability of this transmission. However, given that the controversy about the number of breast-feedings required to constitute an impediment to marriage had created lively discussions even in the early legal schools,<sup>131</sup> we have to realize the possibility that this saying is a fabrication, serving to support a particular scholasticism of the basic law (sūra 4:27), either *a priori* as a verse of the Koran or first put into the mouth of the Prophet as a *ḥadīth*.

(12) al-Wāqidī in Wellhausen's *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 187:<sup>132</sup> وكان سعيد [i/254] بن جبير يقول في هذه الآية من رمى مُحْصَنَةً لعنه الله في الدنيا والآخرة فقال إني ذاك لأمّ المؤمنين خاصّة. This alleged verse from the Koran, “those who slander decent women, God shall curse in the present world and the world to come,” seems to be nothing but a free translation of sūra 24:23.

<sup>119</sup> Missing from al-Nasā'ī.

<sup>120</sup> Missing from Muslim “b” also (أُنزِلَ), *al-Itqān*, *Ta'riḥ al-khamīs*; Muslim (a) adds من القرآن.

<sup>121</sup> [yuharrimna] vocalization from al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *al-Mishcāt*, and *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*, fol. 40<sup>v</sup>; the word is missing from *al-Itqān*.

<sup>122</sup> Muslim; al-Nasā'ī, ثم نسخن.

<sup>123</sup> al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'riḥ al-khamīs*, omits all the following words.

<sup>124</sup> *Ta'riḥ al-khamīs*; al-Nasā'ī, وهو, *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*.

<sup>125</sup> al-Tirmidhī.

<sup>126</sup> بما, al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt*; Muslim a.

<sup>127</sup> من *al-Muwaṭṭā'*, however, according to the gloss, another manuscript has في.

<sup>128</sup> Different version in *al-Mabānī*, part iv, fol. 35<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>129</sup> Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, cap. لا تحرم المصّة ولا المضنن.

<sup>130</sup> Muslim “b.”

<sup>131</sup> Cf. al-Sha'rānī, *al-Mizān*, Cairo ed. (1317/1899), vol. 2, p. 131; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 725, col. 1.

<sup>132</sup> The Arabic text has been kindly supplied by August Fischer of Leipzig.

Our study has thus led to a great variety of results. In no single case was it possible to procure evidence of the reliability of the transmission. Against that we may put the fact that in the case of three fragments (nos. 1, 2, 4, 7, and 11) their reliability can be challenged on good grounds, and in the case of two of them (nos. 3 and 12) there are at least doubts. The fragments from 8 to 10 differ from the rest in so far as the text can be found literally in the Koran, either completely, as in the case of no. 8, or to a large extent, as in the case of nos. 9 and 10. Tradition quite rightly points out that numbers 9 and 10 represent nothing but different recensions of sūras 48:26,<sup>133</sup> and 33:6 (cf. above, foot-note 116). In this case, we may also consider number 8 to be, at best, a variant of sūra 17:34.<sup>134</sup>

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### *Non-Extant Revelations*

In addition, we have other bits of information about lost parts of the Koran, although no fragments have survived.

Sūra 33 is supposed to have been considerably larger. As it now comprises only seventy-six verses, some traditions ascribe to it some two hundred verses; according to still others, it was once as long as the second sūra, or even longer.<sup>135</sup> The truth can now no longer be established. If the information does not rest on false conjectures, this reference is probably to an old copy in which our sūra thirty-three comprised several other pieces. Additionally, sūra nine<sup>136</sup> and, as indicated above on pp. 172 and 174, sūra ninety-eight are both supposed to have been considerably larger. The origin of this information we shall investigate in the following chapters.

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The two alleged sūras, which are called دعاء القنوت, will also have to be treated in this context.

<sup>133</sup> *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 1, no. 4753. The text to be found in the Errata.

<sup>134</sup> The words *اعملوا ما شئتم فقد غفرت لكم* Ibn Hishām, 810, 15sq., = al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, 1627, 111sq., are not a "locus Korāni deperditus" (Glossarium Tabari, s.v. *طلع*), but present a revelation only hypothetically (لعل الله ... فقال).

<sup>135</sup> *al-Mabānī*, part iv, fol. 33<sup>v</sup>, 35<sup>v</sup>; al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 33; al-Qurṭubi, on sūra 2:100 and on sūra 33; al-Naysabūrī and al-Nasafī on sūra 33; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, 524; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 1, no. 4751.

<sup>136</sup> Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and 'Alā' al-Dīn on sūra 9:65: قال عبد الله بن عباس أنزل الله ذكر سبعين رجلاً من المنافقين بأسمائهم وأسماء آبائهم ثم نسخ ذكر الأسماء رحمة منه على المؤمنين لئلا يعير بعضهم بعضاً لأن أولادهم كانوا مؤمنين.

*The Uncanonical Sayings of the Prophet*

To the third type of promulgations belong Muḥammad's utterances, which, although recognized as divine,<sup>137</sup> are not explicitly claimed to be an integral part of the Koran. There are manuscript texts where these dicta are collected.<sup>138</sup> We must here restrict ourselves to six examples.

(1) al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Tawḥīd*, cap. 50, § 1:

إذا تقرب العبد إليّ (متي) شبرًا تقربت إليه ذراعًا وإذا تقرب متي ذراعًا تقربت منه باعًا (بوعًا) وإذا أتاني مشيًا أتته هرولةً.

"When the man approaches me by the span of the hand, I approach him by an ell, and when he approaches me by an ell I approach him by a fathom,<sup>139</sup> and when he walks towards me, I run towards him."<sup>140</sup>

(2) al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Ṣawm*, cap. 9, Muslim, *K al-Ṣiyām*, cap. 22 (al-Qaṣṭalānī, VI, p. 135):

كلّ عمل ابن آدم له إلا الصيام فإنه لي وأنا أجزي به والصيام جنة وإذا كان يوم صوم أحدكم فلا يرفث ولا يضحك فإن سابه أحد أو قاتله فليقل إني امرؤ صائم والذي نفس محمد بيده لخلوف فم الصائم أطيب عند الله من ريح المسك للصائم فرحتان يفرحهما إذا أفطر فرح وإذا لقي ربه بصومه<sup>142</sup>

"Every activity concerns man except fasting, which concerns me and which I repay; fasting is a fence, and when one of you has a day of fasting, he should not use obscene language nor yell, and when someone wants to exchange insults with him or quarrel, let him say 'I am fasting, and by Him in Whose hand is the life of Muḥammad, the smell from the mouth of a fasting man is for Allāh sweeter than the scent of musk;' allotted to the fasting man are two pleasures, the joy whenever he is allowed to eat again, and the joy of his fasting when some day he returns to his Lord."

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(3) al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Tawḥīd*, § 50:

أبيه إلى ونفسه متى بن يونس من خير آتته يقول أن لعبد ينبغي لا

<sup>137</sup> Several different formulas were in use for this purpose, e.g., تعالى (الله تبارك و) or قال (يقول) الله (تبارك و) تعالى, etc.

<sup>138</sup> Cf., for example, مئة حديث واحد قدسية, in Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 446, no. 83.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. al-Qaṣṭalānī, s.v., vol. 10, p. 464: الباع طول ذراعي الإنسان.

<sup>140</sup> In a third recension in al-Bukhārī, loc. cit., the words are merely indicated as a saying of Muḥammad.

<sup>141</sup> On the expression *ibn ādam*, "man" see above, p. 194 n. 62.

<sup>142</sup> In al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Tawḥīd*, cap. 50, and *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*, cap. iv, fol. 36<sup>r</sup>, l 9, there is a still shorter recension; several can be found in Muslim, loc. cit.

“No one can say that he is better than Jonah, the son of Amittai, although his descent goes back to his father.”<sup>143</sup>

(4) Ibn Saʿd, *Biographien der medizinischen Kämpfer Muhammeds*, p. 123:

وجبت رحمتي للمتحاتين في والمتجالسين في والمتبازلين في والمتزاورين في

“Assured of my compassion are those who in me love one another, in me<sup>144</sup> sit together, and in me help and visit one another.”

[No number (5), the count jumps from no. 4 to no. 6.]

[i/258] (6) al-Jāhiz, *K. al-Maḥāsīn wa-l-aḍḍād* = *Le Livre des beautés*, edited by Gerlof van Vloten, p. 168, l 2 sq.; al-Bayhaqī, *K. al-Maḥāsīn wa-l-masāwī*, edited by Friedrich Schwally, p. 310, l 4 sq.:

يا ابن آدم أخذت لي سفراً أحدث لك رزقاً

“O, man,<sup>145</sup> if you make me a journey, then I will provide you with sustenance.”

Islamic encyclopaedic science<sup>146</sup> unites uncanonical promulgations under the heading الحديث القدسيّ، الوحي المرويّ or الحديث الإلهيّ. There is the proper, clear differentiation between this category and the Koran, الوحي المتلوّ<sup>147</sup> on the one hand, and الحديث النبويّ, the ordinary sayings of the Prophet on the other hand. But Islamic science makes a mistake by considering the so-called holy *ḥadīths* outright revelations,<sup>148</sup> since in no single instance is it *a priori* certain that we are even dealing with an authentic “utterance” of Muḥammad.

<sup>143</sup> These words are transmitted as simple words of the Prophet and to be found in al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Tafsīr* on sūra 4:161, and sūra 6:86; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 641, etc., partly omitting the last phrase, the sense of which is not clear. Al-Qaṣṭallānī does not supply an explanation. The Prophet Jonah (يونس) is mentioned four times in the Koran (4:161, 6:86, 10:98, 37:139) however never with the *kunya*.

<sup>144</sup> This is a typical Christian expression and frequently found in the New Testament but became quite common in Islamic literature. There are numerous examples that have been collected by Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, p. 355 sqq. Cf. also M.J. de Goeje in glosses in al-Ṭabarī, s.v., في. The expression is foreign to Koranic diction because in the phrases جاهدوا الله، في sūra 22:77, and انا جاهدوا فينا سبيل is likely to be intended. This expression in the last line seems to originate from the mystic cultures of antiquity; cf. Alb. Dietrich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, p. 109 sqq.

<sup>145</sup> On the expression *ibn ādam* see above, p. 194, n. 62.

<sup>146</sup> al-Tahānawī, *Dictionary of the sciences of the Muslims* (كتاب كشف اصطلاحات الفنون) (تأليف المولوي محمد أعلى بن علي التهانوي critical edition by Muḥammad Vajīh and Maulavi Abdul Haqq and Maulavi Ghulam Qadir (Calcutta, Bibliotheca Indica, 1854–), p. 280 sqq., s.v. حديث. Al-Jurjānī (d. 816/1413), *Definitiones*, ed. G. Flügel, p. 88, is able to trace back this terminology yet two more centuries.

<sup>147</sup> Thus the Koran is outright called التلاوة, for example, al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, p. 191, l 5.

<sup>148</sup> Cf. *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-maʿānī*, cap. iv, fol. 36: فمن زعم أنّ هذه الكلمات من عند الله ووحيه: وتزيهه فقد صدق.

*Miscellaneous Revelations Preserved in the Traditions*

Finally, we must remember that there is an exceedingly large number of traditions stating that Muḥammad received revelations on the most diverse occasions, consisting of warnings or commands as well as disclosures of contemporary or future events. Of the abundant material, some specimens must suffice:

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After a revelation, Muḥammad suddenly shunned 'Amr b. Jihāsh, who wanted to kill him with a stone (al-Wāqidi, p. 355sq.).

He learns from divine information where a stray camel went (al-Wāqidi in Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 183).

If it is a command from Heaven, Usayd [Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*] said to Muḥammad, comply! (al-Wāqidi in Wellhausen, *Muhammed*, p. 204).

The Prophet is foretold by a revelation that God graciously received Abū Lubāba (loc. cit., p. 214), and is informed of the circumstances of the new prayer place of the Banū Sālim (loc. cit., p. 410).

Near al-Jirāna<sup>149</sup> he was approached by a man dressed in a *jubbah* (cloak), with perfume sprinkled all over himself and his clothes, who asked a question, upon which Muḥammad succumbed to a fit, waited for a divine revelation, and then replied (al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Fadā'il al-Qur'ān* § 2).

This type of revelation seems to have a very high degree of authenticity. That no revealed texts are extant alone adds to their credit. Yet even in the case that all these episodes belong to the realm of fancy, it remains a fact that we have here an appropriate image of Muḥammad's moods and frame of mind. As the history of religion demonstrates, it is the mark of prophets to remain in nearly constant connection with the deity, and this not only in the case of great and momentous actions but also being receptive to inspiration in innumerable minor daily affairs.

It can thus be taken for granted that, apart from the *qur'āns*, Muḥammad experienced the influence of other revelations.<sup>150</sup> If, in addition, we remember his many independent manifestations, the question must be raised as to how it was possible for him to see his way through this confusion. The Koranic revelations, according to their own interpretation, go back to a divine book in heaven. Therefore, Muḥammad is likely to have considered only such revelations as *qur'āns* which, according to his belief, originated from that heavenly archetype.<sup>151</sup> We can still add to this pure formal

<sup>149</sup> An oasis between al-Tā'if and Mecca; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 140, col. 1.

<sup>150</sup> Cf. already above pp. 10–11, and 14.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. the fitting remark regarding the so-called divine *ḥadīths* in *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*, vol. 4, fol. 36<sup>r</sup>: فمن زعم أن هذه الكلمات من عند الله ووحيه وتنزيله فقد صدق.

principle the material aspect, namely that it concerned generally applicable ordinances and important affairs of religion.

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On such unstable ground the Prophet himself might occasionally have been confronted with doubt; the *epigoni*, who were tasked with the collection of the literary bequest, must have been so much more likely to fall into error. For this reason, common utterances could easily acquire the reputation of “holy *ḥadīths*,” or even penetrate the Koran as revelations of prime importance, just as, *vice versa*, genuine *qurʾāns* that, for whatever reason, did not gain entry in the canonical collection might have found their way into the collections of *ḥadīths*.

Still, up to this point, we have not been able to consider any *ḥadīth* to be Koranic with any degree of certainty. On the other hand, it seems—as shall be shown later in the following section—that there is no passage in the Koran that should be banished to the *ḥadīth* collections for good reason. This negative result might be related in part to the inherent difficulty, and to our insufficient research aids, as well as to the self-reliance and competence prevailing during the collection of the Koran.

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The main credit for the reliability of traditions belongs to the Prophet himself. Presumably from the first moment he was convinced to receive communications from a divine book he laid down that, *vis-à-vis* the Bible of the Jews and Christians, these revelations were to serve as a true and unadulterated testimony of the divine will. Therefore, it must have been in his interest to save these revelations from oblivion and misrepresentation by means of fixing them in writing. Tradition, indeed, not only mentions the secretaries to whom he dictated the *qurʾāns*,<sup>152</sup> but also supplies important information about the form of these copies. On the other hand, all other communications from Allāh were not officially recorded, our knowledge of them depending instead on the accidents of oral transmission.

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<sup>152</sup> Cf. above, p. 23 sqq.; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 706 sq.



WRITTEN COLLECTIONS  
IN MUḤAMMAD'S LIFETIME

*The Preservation of the Manuscripts of the  
Revelation during Muḥammad's Lifetime,  
Based on References in the Koran and  
on the Literary Form of the Sūras*

The numerous individual revelations that constitute the Holy Scripture of Islam are based on Koranic references to a book preserved in heaven in an accurate form. Although the Bible of the Christians and Jews originates from the same archetype, it has been subject to serious falsifications. Additionally, the different names for revelation, like *qur'ān*,<sup>1</sup> *kitāb*, and *wahy*,<sup>2</sup> are allusions to its written origin. In such circumstances it would be difficult to understand that Muḥammad had not endeavoured at a very early stage to establish a new document of revelation as well as its written fixation.<sup>3</sup> Already the Meccan sūra 29:47 contains an allusion to writing down the revelations. Tradition is quite explicit in this matter and even records the names of the men to whom the Prophet dictated the revelations.<sup>4</sup> Yet we lack reliable information<sup>5</sup> regarding the particulars of procedure and the preservation and arrangement of the material. According to Lammens,<sup>6</sup> in sūra 75:16–17 Allāh summoned Muḥammad not to hasten the edition of the Koran as a special collection so as to have a free hand to change the text leisurely. This interpretation, however, is wrong; moreover, in this context, hastening can refer only to the Prophet's arbitrary interpretation, from which he should refrain until a complete, appropriate revelation had been received. Similarly, sūra 20:113 commands: "And hasten not with the *qur'ān* ere its revelation is [ii/1]

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<sup>1</sup> *Qur'ān* is both the infinitive of *qara'a*, "to recite," and loan word from Aramaic *ḵeryāna* "lector."

<sup>2</sup> Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, p. 20, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Sprenger, *Mohammad*, vol. 3, p. xxxiii; Hirschfeld, *New researches into the composition and exegesis of the Qoran*, pp. 136 and 141 as well as many others deny this for no valid reason. Cf. sūra 25:34 and above, p. 208.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. 36sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, p. 37sqq.

<sup>6</sup> H. Lammens, *Fātima et les filles de Mahomet; notes critiques pour l'étude de la Sīra*, p. 113.

accomplished unto thee." A literary analysis of the extant sūras reveals, however, that Muḥammad himself occasionally combined individual *qurʾāns* into a larger unit, or wanted to present markedly artistic literary compositions as emanating from singular and uniform occasions of promulgation.

[ii/2] The homilistic arrangement of most of the sūras makes it exceedingly difficult to penetrate the secret of their composition and express an opinion as to what extent the combination of individual revelations of different provenance within one and the same sūra is to be attributed to the Prophet himself or only to subsequent editors. The literary unity in the case of the larger sūras can be maintained with some degree of certainty only in cases when there is identity or homogeneity of content, as it is the case of sūras 12 and 18, or when a refrain threads the entire sūra, as in sūras 26, 56, 70, and 77, or when style, rhyme, and rhythm display such a great harmony, as in sūra 37. Much more doubtful is the matter in the case of sūras 17, 41, and 7. No conclusion at all can be reached as far as sūras 2, 8, 63, 4, and 9 are concerned. None of the respective sūras can be claimed to have come about without the aid of notes.

[ii/3] I like to assume the same in instances when Muḥammad at Medina enlarged earlier revelations by means of small additions or interpolations,<sup>7</sup> or even replaced or abrogated them by a new text with different content.<sup>8</sup> This was intended to loosen somewhat the chain of revelations, which he had carelessly put around the neck of his prophetic liberty when he fixed them in writing.

On the other hand, the numerous dangling verses, as well as the fragmentary groups of verses that are either embedded in sūras or now placed together in the final part of the canonical edition, require a separate explanation. No matter how much importance Muḥammad attached to writing down, we cannot expect too much completeness and archival perfection, least of all at Mecca, where he had to fight for life or death as the recognized Messenger of God. Under the pressure of external circumstances, the keeping of records, even if intended, will have been neglected more than once.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. sūras 74:31–34; 80:17–33 and 48–60; 95:6; 85:8–11; 78:37 sqq.; 19:35–41.

<sup>8</sup> Sūra 2:100. Its Koranic expression is *nasakha*, which later entered scholarly usage. Originally this meant either "to introduce a variant reading" denominated after the Judeo-Aramaic loan word *nuskah*, "codex," "copy," or it originates from the Aramaic verb with the meaning of "to delete." As I emphasized earlier—above, p. 41 sqq.—the theory of the abrogated passages of the Koran is unlikely to be Muḥammad's free invention; rather it is related to a concept transmitted to him, possibly the New Testament concept of the abrogation of the law by the Gospel (καταργεῖν τὸν νόμον.)

In the earliest period everything is very likely to have been left to memory, which, at times, must have failed the Prophet. Accordingly, he consoles the believers in sūra 2:100 with the promise that “for whatever verse is cast into oblivion” Allāh will give them a similar or better one.

Apart from records made on MuḤammad's own demand, there were probably also such of smaller or larger size produced or commissioned by eager followers of his teachings. Concurrently there was the preservation by memory, which must have been of greatest importance at a time when reading and writing was still a rare art. In addition to the not insignificant number of companions who knew shorter Koranic passages by heart as far as this was required<sup>9</sup> for the prayer liturgy, there were individuals who had memorized considerable sections that they could repeat correctly, as from a book, and thus save from oblivion many a revelation that either had not been recorded or had been lost.

[ii/4]

As long as the Prophet was alive revelation was like a flowing stream. But when after his death this source—because of its vital importance for the new religion—was suddenly exhausted,<sup>10</sup> the congregation was sooner or later bound to feel the need to have access to the entire corpus in a reliable form.

The credit for this collection of the Koran tradition ascribes in remarkable unison to the three first caliphs.<sup>11</sup> We have at our disposal a considerable number of old and more recent traditions on this subject. Even if most of them are agreed in principle, they still differ markedly in important details. Since sources dealing with such important affairs of religion are *a priori* suspect of tendentious interpretation, we must approach confirming as well as contradicting information with equal scepticism. An investigation based on such principles and in connection with careful consideration of the extant form of the Koran as the final result of development—and, in the final analysis, the only unconditional safe clue—might still get close to the truth of the matter.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, § 94 sqq.; Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī, *al-Tanbih fī furū' al-Shāfi'iyya*, p. 218 sqq. [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, p. 202, last line].

<sup>10</sup> *Inqāṭa'a l-wahy*, al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt, Manāqib Abi Bakr*, at the end.

<sup>11</sup> al-Khāzin al-Baghdādī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 6, says that “in this enterprise the legitimate caliphs had the support (*waffāqa*) of Allāh.” al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 133, even uses the strong expression (*alhamā*) “inspired.” Cf. also below, p. 219 sqq., regarding 'Alī's alleged activity in the collecting of the Koran.



THE INDIRECT COLLECTORS  
OF THE KORAN OR THE CUSTODIANS  
OF THE ORAL REVELATION

Since the Messenger of God left the earthly stage suddenly and unexpectedly, it is obvious that the Koran cannot have been completely collected during the Prophet's lifetime. If a tradition going back to Zayd b. Thābit<sup>1</sup> maintains that at this time the Koran had not been collected at all, then this is based on a different concept regarding the accounts of how Abū Bakr's edition<sup>2</sup> came about. According to this account, this caliph found the traditions dispersed and on different pieces or—as al-Suyūṭī adds by way of explanation—neither in one place nor arranged according to sūras. This interpretation, however, is not in complete agreement with the results of the previous chapter, according to which even at that time there had been not only sūras, which from the outset were conceived as literary units, but rather also sūras that Muḥammad himself later put together from pieces of different provenance.

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Although the answer to this question must be postponed until the study of Abū Bakr's recension of the Koran has been completed, yet another strange contradiction to the prevalent opinion can be cleared up right here. There are not a few traditions that quite harmlessly and without a trace of polemics against divergent opinions mention a large number of persons who allegedly collected the Koran during the Prophet's lifetime. Ibn Sa'd devotes a separate chapter<sup>3</sup> to this subject, even though in another part of his work he considers the first caliphs to be the first compilers of editions of the Koran. In such circumstances there is hardly any doubt that there is something peculiar about it. Indeed, the idiom used, *jama'a l-Qur'an*, does not refer to collecting the dispersed revelations in one book but rather, as it was already known to Muslim authorities of the interpretation of

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<sup>1</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 133, 16 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, p. 220 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> *Dhikr man jama'a l-Qur'an 'alā 'ahd rasūl Allāh*, Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, part 2): *Letzte Krankheit, Tod und Bestattung Muhammads* [Muḥammad's last illness, death and funeral], ed. Fr. Schwally, pp. 112–115.

*ḥadīth*, to learning by heart.<sup>4</sup> In the case of this interpretation it remains uncertain whether the individual “collectors” really had memorized the entire revelation or only fairly large portions. As we shall see later, knowing the holy texts by heart has always been of prime importance; the written preservation of the revelation has always been considered the means to an end.

[ii/6] The opinions of the different traditions differ not only with respect to the number of these so-called collectors, but also as to their names. Most frequently the following four are mentioned together:<sup>5</sup> Ubayy b. Ka‘b, Mu‘ādh b. Jabal,<sup>6</sup> Zayd b. Thābit, and Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī [Sa‘īd b. Aws b. Thābit, d. 215/830]. In the numerous variants of this tradition many new names appear: e.g., Abū l-Dardā’, ‘Uthmān, Tamīm al-Dārī,<sup>7</sup> ‘Abd Allāh IBN

<sup>4</sup> al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 516, l 4, paraphrases حفظوا جميعه by جمعوا القرآن “they had completely remembered it by heart.” al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 6, p. 162, on al-Bukhārī *manāqib Zayd b. Thābit* explains جمع القرآن by حفظاً. استظهره حفظاً. Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, bottom, it reads: حفظه في صدره [namely القرآن] بجمعه [القرآن]. Regarding other synonymous expressions cf. below, p. 223 n. 4. In the tradition Ibn Sa‘d, loc. cit. p. 112, l 16, جمع القرآن, common to all the other recensions of this chapter, is replaced by أخذ القرآن, of course also with the meaning “to remember by heart.” In other passages, e.g., Ibn Sa‘d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 3, part 1): *Biographien der mekkanischen Kämpfer* [biographies of the Meccan combatants], p. 53, l 15 and 18, the phrase means “to recite all of the Koran.”

<sup>5</sup> al-Bukhārī, *Bad‘ al-khalq*, § 149, *manāqib Zayd*; Muslim, *Faḍā’il*, cap. 58; al-Tirmidhī, *manāqib Mu‘ādh*; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt*, *Jāmi‘ al-manāqib*, faṣl 1, § 9; *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*, part 4; al-Qurṭubī, vol. 1, fol. 22<sup>r</sup>; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 166, l 5 sqq.; al-Shūshāwī, iii; Ibn Sa‘d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, part 2): *Letzte Krankheit, Tod und Bestattung Muhammads*, p. 113, ll 7, 14–17, etc. These names are spread over different traditions as follows: *al-Itqān*, p. 166, mentions Mu‘ādh, Zayd, Abū Zayd, Abū l-Dardā’ (‘Uwaymir al-Khazrajī, d. 32/652) [*EP*; G. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia of canonical ḥadīth*, p. 550, n. 1] (four).—Ibn Sa‘d, *Letzte Krankheit*, p. 113, l 5 sqq.: Ubayy, Mu‘ādh, ‘Uthmān, and Tamīm al-Dārī (four).—al-Bukhārī, *Bad‘ al-khalq*, § 123, 147, and 148; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Faḍā’il al-Qur‘ān*, § 59; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 165; al-Nawawī (*Tahdhīb al-asmā’*), edited by Wüstenfeld, p. 267: Ubayy, Mu‘ādh, ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd, and Sālim b. Ma‘qil, clients of ABŪ HUDHAYFAH (Mūsā b. Mas‘ūd, [d. 240/854; F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 1, p. 41.]) *ibid.*—Ibn Sa‘d, *ibid.*, p. 113, l 11 sqq.: Ubayy, Mu‘ādh, Zayd, Abū Zayd, and Tamīm (five men)—Ibn Sa‘d, *ibid.*, p. 113, l 20 sqq., and l 114, l 1 sqq.: Ubayy, Mu‘ādh, ‘Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit, Abū Ayyūb, Abū l-Dardā’ (thus, also five).—Ibn Sa‘d, *ibid.*, p. 113, l 1 sqq.: Ubayy, Mu‘ādh, Zayd, Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī Sa‘īd b. Aws b. Thābit [F. Sezgin, *Geschichte*, vol. 9, pp. 67–68], Abū l-Dardā’, Sa‘d b. Ubayd (six men).—Ibn Sa‘d, *ibid.*, p. 113, l 20 sqq.: the same men, and Mujammī’ b. Jāriya.—Ibn Sa‘d, *ibid.*, p. 113, l 23 sqq.: Ubayy, Mu‘ādh, Zayd, Abū Zayd, ‘Uthmān, Tamīm al-Dārī.—al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 169, l 13 sqq.: Ubayy, Mu‘ādh, Zayd, Abū Zayd, Abū l-Dardā’, Mujammī’.—Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 27: Ubayy, Mu‘ādh, Abū Zayd, Abū al-Dardā’, Sa‘d b. Ubayd, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, ‘Ubayd b. Mu‘āwiya b. Zayd b. Thābit b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk (seven men).

<sup>6</sup> *EP*; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 22, col. 2, p. 40, col. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *EP*; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 35 sqq.

MAS'ŪD, Sālim b. Ma'qil,<sup>8</sup> 'Ubāda b. al-Šāmit,<sup>9</sup> Abū Ayyūb, Sa'd b. 'Ubayd, Mujammi' b. Jāriya,<sup>10</sup> 'Ubayd b. Mu'āwiya (Ibn Zayd b. Thābit b. al-Ḍahḥāk), and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

From among these men we shall later meet again 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Sālim, Zayd b. Thābit, Ubayy b. Ka'b, and 'Abd Allāh IBN MAS'ŪD as alleged or true editors of written collections of the Koran.

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<sup>8</sup> *EQ*: died 12/634.

<sup>9</sup> *EF*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 38, col. 2, p. 419, col. 2.

<sup>10</sup> *EQ*; Juynboll, *ibid.*





POPULAR ACQUAINTANCE  
WITH THE KORAN UNDER THE FIRST CALIPHS

As far as the Koran is concerned, the ignorance of the average believer in the early years of Islam was beyond imagination. Literature contains many drastic pieces of evidence. After the Battle of al-Qādisiyya, not far from al-Ḥīra (637), ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb ordered the commander-in-chief, Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ,<sup>1</sup> to distribute the spoils among the Koran reciters (*ḥamalāt al-Qur’ān*). When the famous warrior, ‘Amr b. Ma’dikarib,<sup>2</sup> appeared before him and was questioned about his acquaintance with the revelation he apologized with the words: “I embraced Islam in the Yemen, and spent the rest of my life as a soldier and therefore had no time to memorize the Koran.” Bishr b. Rabī’a of al-Ṭā’if, whom Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ asked the same question, replied with the well-known phrase, *bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*.<sup>3</sup> When in the Battle of Yamāma the *Anṣār* were addressed by their leader with the honorific name, “People of the Sūra of the Cow,” a Ṭayyi’ warrior asserted that he had not even memorized a single verse of this sūra.<sup>4</sup> Aws b. Khālīd, a respected Bedouin of the Banū Ṭayyi’, was once so maltreated by the commissioner of Caliph ‘Umar for not remembering even a single passage from the Koran that he died.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, even under the Umayyads a *khaṭīb* at Kufa allegedly went up to the pulpit and recited a part of the *dīwān* of ‘ADĪ b. Zayd (IBN AL-RIQĀ’),<sup>6</sup> thinking it was a verse from the Koran.<sup>7</sup> Even if these stories are nothing but anecdotes they certainly give an accurate picture of how versed in the Koran the Bedouin soldiery of the nascent Islam really were. And strange characters like this preacher might have still appeared at much later times.

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<sup>1</sup> *EP*<sup>2</sup>; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.v.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> *EP*<sup>2</sup>; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 306–307.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, vol. 1, no. 764; Abū l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, vol. 14, p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad IBN ḤUBAYSH; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 295, last line; [*al-Ghazawāt al-damīna al-kāfila*, Ms. Berlin, cod. Wetzstein, no. 173 = Wilh. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*, no. 9689], fol. 13<sup>a</sup>; [Beirut edition by Suhayl Zakkār, 1992].

<sup>5</sup> Abū Tammām Ḥabīb b. Aws, *al-Ḥamāsa*, vol. 1, p. 389; Abū l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, vol. 16, p. 58.

<sup>6</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 321–322.

<sup>7</sup> *al-Fihrist*, Flügel’s edition, p. 91.



## COLLECTING AND EDITING

### *‘Alī as a Collector of the Koran*

A variety of traditions mention ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, a cousin and son-in-law of Muḥammad, as the author of a collection of *qur’āns*. According to one tradition, he started his collection while the Prophet was still alive, and on the latter’s explicit order. It is said that ‘Alī collected the Koran from leaves, silk rags, and scraps of paper that he discovered under the Prophet’s pillow, immediately vowing not to leave the house before he completed the task.<sup>1</sup> Others move the event to the time immediately after Muḥammad’s death, and suspect ‘Alī to have used this vow as an excuse to delay homage to Abū Bakr.<sup>2</sup> It is also said that in the face of Muḥammad’s death ‘Alī realized the fickleness of man and was determined to complete the writing in three days.<sup>3</sup>

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The author of the *Fihrist* even claims to have seen a fragment of the original. The fact of the matter is that there is absolutely no truth to this claim.

Even the sources of these accounts—Shī‘ite commentaries on the Koran, and Sunnite historical works with Shī‘ite influence—are suspect, since everything that Shī‘ites say about the most saintly man of their sect must be considered *a priori* a tendentious fabrication. The content of these reports contradicts all sound facts of history. Neither the traditions regarding Zayd b. Thābit’s collection of the Koran nor those about other pre-Uthmānic collections know anything of an analogous work by ‘Alī. He himself never refers

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Shī‘ite commentaries, *Tafsīr* ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm in: W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften* no. 929 = cod. Sprenger, no. 406; Muḥammad b. Murtadā, *K. al-Ṣāfi (fi tafsīr al-Qur’ān)* in: W. Ahlwardt, *ibid.*, no. 899 = cod. 1 Petermann, no. 553; Mirza Alexander Kazem-Beg, “Observations sur le ‘Chapitre inconnu du Coran,’ publié et traduit par Garcin de Tassy,” p. 386. All these traditions go back to ‘Alī’s family, thus making them for us so much more suspectable.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Sa‘d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*), vol. 2, part 2: *Letzte Krankheit, Tod und Bestattung Muhammeds*, p. 101, ll 16–20; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 134sq. Both sources, however, challenge the credibility of the information. In Ibn Sa‘d’s work ‘Ikrima when questioned replies that he does not know anything about it. al-Suyūṭī quotes Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī’s remark that *jama‘a* in that tradition means “to remember.”

<sup>3</sup> *al-Fihrist*, edited by Flügel, p. 28.

to his own collection, neither during his caliphate nor before, and it is certain that the Shī'ites were never in possession of such a document.<sup>4</sup>

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According to al-Ya'qūbī,<sup>5</sup> the arrangement of the sūras in 'Alī's collection of the Koran established shortly after the death of Muḥammad is said to be as follows: 2, 12, 29, 30, 31, 41, 51, 76, 32, 79, 81, 82, 84, 87, 98 (first section.)—3, 11, 22, 15, 33, 44, 55, 69, 70, 80, 91, 97, 99, 104, 105, 106 (second section.)—4, 16, 23, 36, 42, 56, 67, 74, 107, 111, 112, 103, 101, 85, 95, 27 (third section.)—5, 10, 19, 26, 43, 49, 50, 54, 60, 86, 90, 94, 100, 108, 109 (fourth section.)—6, 17, 21, 25, 28, 40, 58, 59, 62, 63, 68, 71, 72, 77, 93, 102 (fifth section.)—7, 14, 18, 24, 38, 39, 45, 98, 57, 73, 75, 78, 88, 89, 92, 110 (sixth section.)—8, 9, 20, 35, 37, 46, 48, 52, 53, 61, 64, 65, 83, 113, 114 (seventh section).

Although some sūras are accidentally omitted in the manuscript transmission (sūras 1, 13, 34, 47, and 107), the method of arrangement is quite clear. It is based on a particular combination of the canonical edition with the sections or reading parts (*ajzā'*, sing. *juz'*). Whereas in other cases these sections represent incisions in the text according to the transmitted order, here, in each of the seven sections a fixed number (16–17) of select sūras is united. Yet this selection is not entirely arbitrary, since every section regularly begins with a lower numbered sūra (2–7), according to the authorized order of sūras, and then on through the different decimals—with minor exceptions that are themselves probably subject to textual corruptions—and then continues to the high numbers, so that every section offers in some measure a cross section of the entire Koran.

If thus the arrangement of the sūras testifies to a dependence on the 'Uthmānic recension, so much more does this apply to the later division into reading portions, which did not appear until the Umayyad period.

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According to yet another equally untenable account,<sup>6</sup> the arrangement of the six first sūras of the 'Alid Koran was as follows: 96, 74, 68, 73, 111, 81.

### *The Collection of Sālim b. Ma'qil*

Another collection that, as it seems, allegedly appeared immediately after the death of Muḥammad is ascribed to Sālim b. Ma'qil,<sup>7</sup> a client of Abū

<sup>4</sup> For details see below, "Sectarian Reproach to the 'Uthmānic Text," pp. 246–266.

<sup>5</sup> al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, ed. by M.Th. Houtsma, vol. 2, pp. 152–154. In the known manuscripts of *al-Fihrist* the list of sūras of the 'Alid Koran is omitted.

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 251, Sprenger, *Leben und Lehre des Mohammad*, vol. 3, p. xlv.

<sup>7</sup> *EQ*.

Ḥudhayfa.<sup>8</sup> When he set out on the project he vowed, like 'Alī, not to leave the house before the task had been accomplished. Afterwards there was a discussion as to the name of the collection. Some men suggested *sifr* but Sālim b. Ma'qil rejected this proposal because this was the *basma* of the Jews; preference should be given to *muṣḥaf*, which he had come to know in Abyssinia in a similar meaning. Thus the matter was decided. Al-Suyūṭī records yet another tradition in the same context, according to which Sālim was among those who, at the command of Abū Bakr, undertook the collection of the Koran. This tradition contradicts—as shall be demonstrated later—all sound facts of the history of the Koran. Al-Suyūṭī, therefore, rightfully classifies the matter among curiosities (*gharīb*).

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<sup>8</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 135; Sprenger, *Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, vol. 3, p. xlv.



## THE (FIRST) COLLECTION OF ZAYD B. THĀBIT

### *The Prevailing Tradition*

There is a long tradition<sup>1</sup> about this collection going back to Zayd himself. In spite of its wide dissemination, it has undergone relatively few changes.<sup>2</sup> Its content is as follows: during the war against the prophet Maslama, particularly in the decisive Battle of ‘Aqrabā’ in al-Yamāma—in 11/632 or 12/633<sup>3</sup>—the death toll was particularly high among the reciters of the Koran.<sup>4</sup> It was for this reason that ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb feared that a large part of the Koran could be lost should all these men die in battle.<sup>5</sup> He then advised the

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<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad b. Muslim AL-ZUHĪRĪ (d. 124/741) from ‘Ubayd b. al-Sabbāq [EQ; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 421sq.]. (*Fihrist* wrong, Salaf) from Zayd.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Izz al-Dīn IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Chronicon*, vol. 2, p. 279, vol. 3, p. 86; Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, p. 24; Abū l-Fidā’, *Annales moslemici*, ed. J. Reiske, vol. 1, p. 212; al-Ya‘qūbī, *Historiae*, ed. M.Th. Houtsma, vol. 2, p. 154; al-Bukhārī and al-Tirmidhī in *Tafsīr* on sūra 9:129sq.; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*; al-Bukhārī, *Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān* §3, *Aḥkām* §37; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt*, *Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān*, *faṣl* 3; *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma’ānī*, part ii; al-Dānī, *al-Muqni’ fi ma’rifat rasm maṣāḥif al-amṣār*, Ms. Sprenger, fol. 2<sup>r</sup>sq.; Silvestre de Sacy, “Commentaire sur le poème nommé Raiyya,” p. 343sq.; commentary on the *‘Aqila* in the *Mémoires de l’Académie des inscriptions*, vol. 50 (1808), p. 421; al-Qurṭubī, *Jāmi’ aḥkām al-Qur’ān*, Ms. fol. 19; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, pp. 133sq. and 138.

<sup>3</sup> Fighting took place probably during the last months of 11/632, and the first months of 12/633. Cf. Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 2, p. 724, and his *Chronographia Islamica*, fasc. 1, pp. 112 and 121. Conversely, the majority of the sources do not supply any particular year for the collecting. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 695, col. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Most of the sources listed in note 2 above call the men who knew by heart large parts of the Koran *qurrā’* “reader.” Some, like al-Ya‘qūbī (otherwise *al-Aghānī*, vol. 14, p. 40, l 18, and al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1940, l 2) use the expression *ḥamalāt al-Qur’ānī*, which is normally translated by “bearer of the Koran.” The actual meaning is obscure since there is nothing to lead over from Arabic *ḥamala* “to carry, bear” either to the meaning “to commit to memory” or to the meaning “to transmit,” derived from expressions like *ḥamalāt al-ḥadīth* (al-Nawawī, p. 63, according to M.J. de Goeje in the gloss, al-Ṭabarī) or *ḥamala ḥadīthan ‘an* (al-Mizzī, cod. Landberg, no. 40, [sic] according to Eduard Sachau on Ibn Sa’d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographien der mekkanischen Kämpfer*, vol. 3, part 1, p. 453, l 3), and *‘ilman ‘an* (al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, Hyderabad ed., vol. 1, p. 37, l 5sq.) respectively. For this reason we are probably dealing with the mechanical transfer of a foreign idiom. Since there is nothing corresponding available in either the Judeo-Aramaic or the South Arabian-Abyssinian lexicon, there remains only Middle Persian. But which meaning is intended when rendering *harābīdhat*, namely the Arabic plural of Persian *hīrbuz* [هیربوز] “priest” (Avestic *aēthrupatai* “head of school”) by *ḥamalāt al-dīn*, is also questionable.

<sup>5</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 695, col. 1.

caliph to issue an order that the Koranic fragments should be collected. At first, Caliph Abū Bakr was hesitant to embark upon a task that the Prophet had not authorized, but he eventually consented and commissioned Zayd b. Thābit, an intelligent young man who had already been called upon by the Prophet to write down certain passages of the revelations.<sup>6</sup> After some hesitation Zayd accepted, although he thought it would be easier to move a mountain. He collected the Koran from pieces of scrap papyrus or parchment,<sup>7</sup> thin whitish stones,<sup>8</sup> palm branches,<sup>9</sup> shoulder-blades,<sup>10</sup> ribs,<sup>11</sup> pieces of tanned skin,<sup>12</sup> and small boards.<sup>13</sup> Tradition lists as the final source “the

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<sup>6</sup> His vita will be presented later in the chapter on the members of the Koran Commission appointed by ‘Uthmān. [Cf. A. Jeffery, *Materials for the history of the ... Qur’ān*, pp. 223–224.]

<sup>7</sup> قاع, ‘Izz al-Dīn IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Chronicon*, vol. 3, p. 86; Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. by G. Flügel, p. 24; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar ... wa-l-khabar fī ayyām al-‘Arab*, vol. 2, appendix (بقية), p. 136; al-Bukhārī, *Aḥkām*, § 37, and *Tafsīr* on sūra 9:129; *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*, Ms. fol. 6<sup>a</sup>; al-Dānī, *al-Muqni‘*, Ms. fol. 2 b; al-Qurṭubī, Ms. fol. 18 b; Abū Muḥammad MAKKĪ IBN ABĪ ṬĀLIB, *Kashf ‘an wujūh*, p. 502; al-Naysābūrī in al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 23; ‘Alā’ al-Dīn, vol. 1, p. 6. These scraps, according to al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 137, were made of papyrus or parchment. L. Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 2, p. 711, deals with the question, and thinks that at the time the latter material was more common in Arabia. Abū I-Fidā’, vol. 1, 212, outright uses the expression الجلود.

<sup>8</sup> حخاف, *Fihrist*, p. 24; al-Bukhārī, *Aḥkām*, § 37, *Faḍā’il* § 3; al-Tirmidhī on sūra 9:129; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt*, *Faḍā’il*, *faṣl* 3; *al-Itqān*, pp. 134 and 137; *Muqni‘*, fol. 2 b; Ibn ‘Atīyya, fol. 25<sup>a</sup>; al-Nisābūrī; in ‘Alā’ al-Dīn, vol. 1, p. 6, the curious scholium has قال بعض الرواة للحاف يعني خرف. cf. also Ibn ‘Atīyya, *al-Jāmi‘ al-muḥarrar*, fol. 25<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> عسب; cf. the sources mentioned in notes 6 and 7; Abū I-Fidā’, vol. 1, p. 212, reads جريد النخل; Abū Muḥammad MAKKĪ IBN ABĪ ṬĀLIB b. Mukhtār al-Qaysī, *Kashf*, [Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, Ms. no. 578,] p. 502, سعف. The use of this writing material in pre-Islamic Arabia is documented in Imru’ al-Qays, Wilh. Ahlwardt, *The Divans of the six ancient Arabic poets*, no. 63, 1; Labīd b. Rabī‘a, *Der Dīwān des Labīd*, ed. J. Chālidī, p. 61; al-Sukkārī, *Poems of the Huzailis*, ed. Kosegarten, no. 3, 17, and *al-Fihrist*, p. 21. Muḥammad used this writing material for a letter to the [Banū] ‘Udhra’, in Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Heft 4, no. 60; al-Wāqīdī, ed. by Wellhausen, p. 388. Cf. also G. Jacob, *Studien in arabischen Dichtern*, vol. 3, p. 162.

<sup>10</sup> أكناف, al-Bukhārī in the *Tafsīr*; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 137; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 20; Abū Muḥammad MAKKĪ IBN ABĪ ṬĀLIB, *al-Kashf*, p. 503. Cf. *Fihrist*, p. 21; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1806, l 15 sqq. = Ibn Sa‘d, *Letzte Krankheit, Tod und Bestattung Muhammads* [Muḥammad’s last illness, death, and funeral], p. 37, l 6 sqq.; *Musnad Aḥmad IBN ḤANBAL*, vol. 1, p. 355; Goldziher’s review, “C.H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*,” col. 2250. Shoulder blades of camels were still in use in East Africa by the Suahelis until most recent times, particularly in elementary schools, cf. E. Ruete, *Memoiren*, 4th ed., 1886, vol. 1, p. 90.

<sup>11</sup> أضلاع, *al-Itqān*, p. 137; al-Dānī, *Muqni‘*, fol. 2 b; Carl G. Büttner, *Suaheli-Schriftstücke in arabischer Schrift*, p. 189, refers to thigh-bones of camels as being used still in East Africa.

<sup>12</sup> قطع آدم, al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 137; Abū Muḥammad MAKKĪ IBN ABĪ ṬĀLIB al-Qaysī, loc. cit., p. 17. Muḥammad made use of this writing material in his missives, cf. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Heft 4, nos. 48 and 52; al-Wāqīdī, in Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 388; cf. also G. Jacob, *Das Leben der vorislamischen Beduinen*, p. 162.

<sup>13</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 137.



hearts of men,"<sup>14</sup> namely that Zayd b. Thābit supplemented his archival researches by interviews with men who had memorized Koranic passages. Finally, it is reported that he chanced upon sūra 9:129 sq. with Khuzayma<sup>15</sup> or with Abū Khuzayma (Ibn Aws b. Zayd)<sup>16</sup> from Medina. The individual pieces Zayd b. Thābit wrote down on uniform leaves<sup>17</sup> and handed them over to the caliph. After his death the copy descended to his successor 'Umar, who in turn bequeathed it to Ḥafṣa, Muḥammad's widow.

<sup>14</sup> صدور الناس (الرجال): the previously cited sources, and Abū l-Fidā, *Annales*, ed. Reiske, vol. 1, p. 212, أوفاء الرجال.

<sup>15</sup> al-Tirmidhī in the *tafsīr* on sūra 9:129; *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*, fol. 6<sup>a</sup>; Abū Muḥammad MAKKĪ IBN ABĪ ṬĀLIB b. Mukhtār al-Qaysī, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 302; al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 1, nos. 4759 and 4767; al-Tirmidhī knows the full name of this man, Khuzayma b. Thābit, but although the name is found in biographical dictionaries, he is not brought in connection with the collection of the Koran. [Gautier Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 185, col. 1, and 696, col. 1.]

<sup>16</sup> *Fihrist*, p. 24; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, pp. 134 and 136; al-Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, § 3; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, *Mishcāt*, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, *faṣl* 3. The man is commonly identified as an *Anṣārī* and therefore allegedly identical with Abū Khuzayma b. Aws b. Zayd (Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*) *Biographien der medizinischen Kämpfer* (vol. 3, part 2), p. 2; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 5, p. 180). The designation as Ibn Thābit (*al-Itqān*, p. 136, end) is based on a confusion with the above-mentioned Khuzayma [*EP*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 185, col. 1, p. 696, col. 1.]

The variants, Khuzayma and Abū Khuzayma, appear side by side in al-Bukhārī, *tafsīr* on sūra 9:129, *Ahkām*, § 37, al-Dānī, *Muqni'*, fol. 6<sup>a</sup>, al-Qurṭubī, fol. 18 b, and 'Alā' al-Dīn, vol. 1, p. 6. People attempted to explain the variants in different ways: e.g., that in the first collection sūra 9:129 was found at Abū Khuzayma's quarters, but later in the 'Uthmānic recension, sūra 33:23 was found at Khuzayma's quarters (al-Qurṭubī, fol. 20<sup>r</sup>, and al-Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, etc.). Still other combinations are offered by al-Qurṭubī, in *al-Muqni'*, and Ibn 'Aṭīyya al-Ṭabarī in his *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 21, has those two Koranic passages found on two different men named Khuzayma, and he dates the event in the rule of 'Uthmān. According to Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, vol. 1, no. 1395, Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 1, p. 326, and Ibn 'Aṭīyya, fol. 26<sup>r</sup>, sūra 9:129 sq. was discovered under the rule of Abū Bakr on Ḥārith b. Khazma. In Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 5, p. 180, it is merely stated that the names indicate different men, with no more in common than their *Anṣārī* origin.

Less frequently we find the statement that the missing verse was sūra 33:23, e.g., al-Dānī, *al-Muqni'*, fol. 2 b, and al-Qurṭubī, fol. 18 b. In *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*—where nearly everything that al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 20, said about 'Uthman's recension is applied to the one by Abū Bakr—sūra 33:23 is missing at first examination, and sūra 9:129 at the second examination. According to al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 143, 'Umar finds the end of sūra 9 (verses 129 and 130) on Ḥārith b. Khuzayma. The opinion that these verses are the last of the Koran to have been revealed is naturally somehow connected with the fact that they were discovered rather late as mentioned earlier. However, we cannot say for certain what was the causal relation of the two opinions. As I emphasized above, p. 182 sq., in any case, this chronological arrangement must be considered unfounded. Conversely, William Muir (*Life of Mahomet*, vol. 1, p. xxvi) contests that the verses had been discovered so late; as the last of the revelations they must have been familiar to all men.

<sup>17</sup> *Ṣuḥuf*; cf. on this below, p. 232 sq.

*Divergent Traditions*

[ii/15] Whereas ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb appears in the standard transmission only as the intellectual author of the first collection, it is Abū Bakr in his capacity as the ruling caliph who is responsible for the realization of the plan, who appoints the technical director, and who takes charge of the project. However, there is yet another tradition that, in so far as the brief text permits, completely disregards the first caliph and attributes all the above-mentioned functions to the initiative of his energetic successor. The words of the tradition,<sup>18</sup> “‘Umar was the first to collect the Koran on leaves,” possibly include the wider sense that not only did the completion of the enterprise fall into the reign of this caliph, but also its beginning. On the other hand, the remark that ‘Umar died even before he collected the Koran<sup>19</sup> is a reference to the final canonical recension that he is supposed to have already contemplated.<sup>20</sup>

At other places we learn various details about the way ‘Umar proceeded with his first collection. A later source cites as a reason for its collection that ‘Umar, inquiring about a certain Koranic verse, was told that the man who knew it by heart had been killed in the Battle of Yamāma.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, it is said, e.g., that he included only such passages that had been attested by two witnesses.<sup>22</sup> Also traditions relating to the Verse of Stoning<sup>23</sup> seem to assume that ‘Umar was involved in the collection of the Koran. As some reports point out,<sup>24</sup> he feared that one day believers would painfully miss the verse if they did not find it in the Book of God.<sup>25</sup> According to

<sup>18</sup> Ibn Sa‘d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographien der mekkanischen Kämpfer* (vol. 3, part 1), p. 252, l 8 sq. When al-Suyūṭī in *al-Itqān*, p. 135, interprets the verb *jama‘a* “collected” as *ashāra bi-jam‘ih* “he advised him to collect,” this, I think, is harmonistic fancy.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212, l 4.

<sup>20</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 430; cf. below, p. 255 sq.

<sup>21</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 135.

<sup>22</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 136, appendix (from Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥaṭīb (d. 104/722–723)), [Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 14, col. 2]. The Shi‘ite commentary (by Muḥammad b. Murtaḍā, *K. al-Ṣāfi*), Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 899, is trying to follow from this the imperfection of ‘Umar’s Koran because among the passages that could not be endorsed by two witnesses there must have certainly been authentic passages.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. above, p. 198 sqq.

<sup>24</sup> al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1821; Ibn Hishām, p. 1015; al-Tirmidhī, *Ḥudūd*, § 6; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt*, *Ḥudūd*, beginning; *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*, sections 2 and 5.

<sup>25</sup> Ibn Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Nāsikh* (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 478) quotes ‘Umar: “If I did not fear to be suspected of interpolation, I would have written the Verse of Stoning in the margin (*ḥāshiyat al-muṣḥaf*) of the codex.”

others,<sup>26</sup> he freely admits that he did not include the verse, not wanting to be reproached for an addition to the revelations. According to al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 137, he made the decision because he could not find the two required witnesses.<sup>27</sup> All these traditions are based on the opinion that this verse is part of the revelation. Even if this is a mistake, as I tried to prove earlier,<sup>28</sup> it is still difficult to believe that a man like ʿUmar stubbornly defended its authenticity.

A third group of traditions<sup>29</sup> attempts to harmonize the first and second groups. At the behest of Abū Bakr, Zayd b. Thābit then wrote down the revelations on pieces of leather, shoulder blades, and palm branches. After the death of the Caliph, namely under ʿUmar, he copied these texts on a single sheet,<sup>30</sup> the size of which unfortunately remains a mystery.

Finally, a strange story<sup>31</sup> must be recalled. According to this, Abū Bakr refused to collect the Koran, since Muḥammad did not also do this. Thereupon ʿUmar took over and had it copied on leaves. He then commissioned twenty-five Quraysh and fifty Anṣārīs to copy the Koran and submitted the work to Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ.<sup>32</sup> It is obvious that in this case the traditions regarding the first collection of the Koran and the canonical edition are mixed up. Such a large number of collaborators is nowhere else mentioned for the first collection. Saʿīd was only a child of eleven when ʿUmar became caliph. Neither al-Yaʿqūbī nor any of his sources can realistically be held accountable for this hopeless confusion; this must be due to a lacuna in the manuscript used by the editor.<sup>33</sup>

When emphasizing Zayd b. Thābit's youth and intelligence, as well as his former activity as special amanuensis to Muḥammad,<sup>34</sup> all our sources<sup>35</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Saʿd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographien der mekkanischen Kämpfer*, p. 242; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, vol. 2, p. 184; *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-maʿānī*, vol. 2; *al-Muwaṭṭaʿ*, p. 349 (*Ḥudūd*, § 1, end).

<sup>27</sup> There is the unique report in al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 528, that the controversy over the inclusion of the Verse of Stoning arose during the canonical edition.

<sup>28</sup> Above, pp. 198–202.

<sup>29</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 90; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 138; Abū Muḥammad MAKKĪ IBN ABĪ ṬĀLIB b. Mukhtār al-Qaysī, *al-Kashfʿan wujūh al-qiraʿat wa-l-ʿilalāh wa-l-hajajhā* in Wilh. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*, 578 (= cod. 1 Petermann, no. 17, p. 503).

<sup>30</sup> *fi ṣaḥīfa wāhida*.

<sup>31</sup> al-Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, vol. 2, p. 152. Cf. G. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 232, col. 1.

<sup>32</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 232; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 3, and vol. 9, p. 6.

<sup>33</sup> This lacuna would have to be assumed before *wa-ajlasa*, p. 152, l 15.

<sup>34</sup> The chapter on Muḥammad's correspondence and the embassies to him in the *Sīra* of Ibn Saʿd lists fourteen men who served as the Prophet's secretaries, but Zayd is not mentioned.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. above, p. 223 n. 2.

agree that Zayd was particularly suited to collecting the revelations. Scholars usually give as the first reason the greater willingness of a young man to comply with the orders of the caliph than would have been the case with an old, obstinate servant. On the other hand, the sources cited say nothing about Zayd's skill to learn the Koran by heart, although this ability is in other cases frequently mentioned.<sup>36</sup>

[ii/18] The reports regarding Zayd b. Thābit's working procedure tacitly presuppose that he generally followed the originals at his disposal. Still, his treatment of the last verses of sūra nine, [*Repentance*,] nos. 129 and 130, which he simply appended to a large sūra, demonstrates that he occasionally did not shun arbitrary decisions. Zayd or 'Umar allegedly said on this occasion that if this part had consisted of three instead of only two verses, he would have created a separate sūra.<sup>37</sup>

### *Criticism of the Traditions*

As we can see, Muslims hold three different views regarding the development of the first collection of the Koran. According to the first point of view, the standard tradition, this took place under the rule of Abū Bakr; according to the second point of view, this happened during the rule of 'Umar; and according to the third point of view, the actual work commenced under Abū Bakr but was completed only under his successor. As there is no clear answer to the question as to which one of them is to be preferred, a complicated investigation is necessary.

The standard tradition is made up of different elements that either contradict one another or other historical reports:

1. Abū Bakr, indeed, organized the initial collection, but the intellectual author, and the actual driving force, was 'Umar.
- [ii/19] 2. The occasion of the Battle of Yamāma, the solemn motive to save the word of God from decline, the participation of the ruling caliph as well as the most powerful man in the theocracy of the time—all these circumstances together give the collection the character of a basic

<sup>36</sup> A.I. Silvestre de Sacy, "Notice du manuscrit arabe ... *al-Muqni' fi l-ma'rifa* ...", p. 305; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*; al-Nawawī (*akhadha l-Qur'ān*); al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz*, vol. 1, p. 26 (*ḥafīza l-Qur'ān*). It is not clear what Ibn Sa'd, [*al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*], vol. 2, part 2: (*Letzte Krankheit, Tod und Bestattung Muḥammads* p. 116, l 9) has in mind when he is praising Zayd's *qirā'a*.

<sup>37</sup> In *al-Itqān*, p. 143, l 3, it should read عمرو أنا أشهد instead عمر وأنا أشهد.

fundamental work for religion and state. It was therefore only to be expected that after the death of Abū Bakr the project was not handed over to his family but to ‘Umar, his successor in office.

3. ‘Umar’s bequest of the collection to his daughter Ḥafṣa, however, obliges one to conclude that it did not constitute the property of either the community or the state but was private ownership. A document of official or public character could not have been bequeathed, least of all to a woman, even if she was the widow of the Prophet, but it belonged to the succeeding caliph.

In favour of the private character of the collection speaks the fact that after the great conquests it was not used in any foreign province, while, as we shall see later, the editions of ‘Abd Allāh IBN MAS‘ŪD and Ubayy b. Ka‘b attained this success, even without such a high patronage.

4. Abū Bakr’s brief term of office of two years and two months<sup>38</sup> is, in the eyes of tradition, rather short for the difficult process of collecting the dispersed texts. So much more so since the project was not started until after the Battle of Yamāma,<sup>39</sup> so that there remained only the time of some fifteen-odd months.
5. The connection of the collection and the campaign of al-Yamāma rests on a very weak foundation. L. Caetani<sup>40</sup> points out that in the registers of Muslim casualties in the Battle of ‘Aqrabā’ there are but few men with profound knowledge of Koranic matters; nearly all of them were recent converts. The contention that many Koran reciters were killed in the encounter, and that Abū Bakr feared that a great part of the Koran might get lost, therefore cannot possibly be true.<sup>41</sup> Little can be said against this opinion, provided that Caetani’s list<sup>42</sup> of 151 casualties is correct and that we are in the possession of nearly comprehensive information of the Koran reciters at that time.

[ii/20]

In the reports on casualties accessible to me there are actually only two men whose knowledge of the Koran is explicitly attested.<sup>43</sup> ‘Abd Allāh b.

<sup>38</sup> From 13th Rabī‘ II 11/8 June 632 to 21st Jumādā 13/22 August 634.

<sup>39</sup> The campaign occurred probably in the three final months of 11/632 and the first three months of 12/633. Cf. above, p. 217.

<sup>40</sup> Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 2, § 2, n. 1.

<sup>41</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 695, col. 1.

<sup>42</sup> *Annali*, vol. 2, pp. 739–754.

<sup>43</sup> According to a legendary note in al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-‘ummāl*, vol. 1, no. 4770, even four hundred Koran reciters are supposed to have been killed. Cf. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 695, col. 1.

Ḥafṣ b. Ghānim<sup>44</sup> and Sālim (Ibn Ma'qil), client of Abū Ḥudhayfa,<sup>45</sup> who after him carried the banner of the *muhājirs*. If the words of Abū Ḥudhayfa: "O, people of the Koran, decorate the Koran with deeds,"<sup>46</sup> are indeed authentic, they would suggest a considerable number of such men among the Muslim combatants.

But even if the contradictions pointed out by Caetani were to disappear, the traditional connection of the collection with this military campaign still cannot be maintained because, as the additional report states in cryptic language, the collection is based almost exclusively on written sources. There can be no doubt in this matter since we know that Muḥammad himself had arranged for a written copy of the revelations.<sup>47</sup> In such circumstances, the death of any odd number of reciters of the Koran did not jeopardize the survival of the Prophet's revelations.

[ii/21] The subject of the traditions offers no additional means to discover the historical truth in this chaos of contradictions and errors. We must consequently try to find clues from the form of the tradition and extract an older core by way of literary analysis. The overwhelming majority of the individual pieces of evidence suggests recognizing the collection of the Koran as an affair of the state. The only aspect touching private law, namely the passing of 'Umar's leaves to the property of his daughter Ḥafṣa, can easily be eliminated from the text. It thus seems that there cannot be any doubt that the other view is older and more relevant.

Nevertheless, this solution, which in itself is simple and obvious, must be considered wrong. It is precisely the fact that after the death of 'Umar the collection was the property of Ḥafṣa bt. 'Umar that is the most reliable of the entire report, as it is confirmed by reports about the canonical edition of the Koran. There it is said about 'Uthmān that he had the "leaves" brought from Ḥafṣa's and used them as the basis of his recension. This is the most solid point from which we must turn our gaze backwards. Although the reports of the two versions of the Koran are now mostly connected with one another, nevertheless, in the older sources, each one has its own *isnād* and consequently its own literary position.

<sup>44</sup> In al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1940, 1945, and Ibn al-Athīr (*al-Kāmil*), vol. 2, p. 276, he is called *ḥāmil al-Qur'ān*.

<sup>45</sup> Loc. cit. he is called *ḥāmil al-Qur'ān* or *ṣāhib Qur'ān*, but without mention of his death. His death in the battle, however, is in other sources frequently attested: al-Balādhurī, *Liber expugnationis*, p. 90; Ibn Qutayba, p. 139; al-Nawawī; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*. Cf. also Caetani, loc. cit., p. 750, no. 113. We have already come across this man, above, p. 209.

<sup>46</sup> al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1945, l 2; Ibn al-Athīr (*al-Kāmil*), vol. 2, p. 277.

<sup>47</sup> See above, p. 217.

[ii/22]

For the moment we must postpone the discussion as to how far we can trust what has been said about the early story of those “leaves.” In itself, there is nothing more natural than their passing to Ḥafṣa by way of a bequest. The affair, however, might possibly be different. If Ḥafṣa was literate,<sup>48</sup> she might have acquired or commissioned the collection of the Koran for her own use. If this were not the case, there is more than one reason that might have prompted one of the most respected women of contemporary Medina to such an action. If ‘Umar was not the previous owner, his authorship is also in doubt. It is quite obvious how the error attributing authorship to ‘Umar could have come about. After the believers had resigned themselves to the bitter reality that an unable and obnoxious ruler like ‘Uthmān had become the father of the canonical recension, it might have occurred to them as a demand of retributive justice to give at least partial credit to his overshadowing predecessor.

In no circumstances does a path lead from ‘Umar back to Abū Bakr, so that if any caliph at all can be considered to be the author, it must be ‘Umar. He is also referred to in the explicit wording of one of the divergent traditions, and of the principle tradition in so far as it presents this caliph as the driving force behind the project.

The assumption of Abū Bakr’s cooperation is dependent on the premise that ‘Umar’s predecessor had in fact been the actual or the alleged author of the collection. If ‘Umar represented the intellectual greatness of the first caliphs, Abū Bakr had the advantage of having been one of the first believers and the closest friend of Muḥammad. In such circumstances many men might have been surprised that such a man did not also pursue the collection of the Koran, and that this pious wish eventually sublimated to a historical expression. In these endeavours perhaps even ‘Ā’isha, Muḥammad’s well-known widow and daughter of Abū Bakr, who was inclined in family politics to sacrifice truth and honour to her ambitions, might have played a part.

The last of these three Muslim views, which attributes the collection to the terms of office of the two caliphs, represents an artificial harmonization of the first and second options, and furthermore makes the enterprise again more a matter of state when it obviously had to be considered a private affair.

Zayd’s editorial activity is consistent with all the forms of tradition mentioned, and has the additional advantage of not being easily suspected of tendentious fabrication. It is true that his appointment by ‘Uthmān lacks the explicit reference that he, after all, is the editor or writer of Ḥafṣa’s “leaves.”

[ii/23]

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<sup>48</sup> al-Balādhurī, *Liber expugnationis*, ed. de Goeje, p. 472.

The causal connection of the first collection with the campaign of Yamāma has been shown above to be ahistorical. It is futile to look for a different kind of cause, as it is only natural that after the death of Muḥammad sooner or later the need would have arisen to have a reliable copy of the revelations, the most valuable legacy the Messenger of God had left his community of the faithful. Least of all, one should think, would a competent man such as Zayd need inducement for a project whose usefulness and expediency was so obvious.

### *Form and Content of the First Collection*

The state of the written documents of the Koran after the death of Muḥammad is fairly depressing. They are not only supposed to have been scattered and in disorder but also written on at least half a dozen different materials. On the other hand, there is suspicion that tradition is greatly exaggerating this either to enhance the merit of the collectors or to illustrate emphatically the touching simplicity of the past.<sup>49</sup> Harmless passages in Ibn Sa'd's<sup>50</sup> biography of the Prophet make it certain that at that time letters were written on palm branches and pieces of leather. It is not far-fetched to assume that they attempted to use uniform material for higher literary purposes. This would apply particularly in this case, since it concerned texts of divine origin and, as we have shown above,<sup>51</sup> not only smaller individual revelations had to be taken down but also long sūras.

[ii/24] The word *ṣuḥuf*<sup>52</sup> "leaves," by which Zayd's collection is identified, very likely suggests that it refers to uniform material and size. Of the various

<sup>49</sup> Cf. also A. Sprenger, *Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, vol. 3, p. xxxix.

<sup>50</sup> J. Wellhausen, *Seine Schreiben und die Gesandtschaften* [Muḥammad's correspondence and embassies], §§ 48, 52, 60.

<sup>51</sup> See above, p. 210 sq.

<sup>52</sup> The singular of *ṣuḥuf*, *ṣaḥīfa*, is an Arabic neologism respectively formed after Abyssinian and South Arabian *ṣaḥafa* "to write," meaning "written upon." The word has been used already in pre-Islamic poetry, *The Poems of the Huzailis*, edited by Kosegarten, no. 3, l 6, al-Mutalammis, *Gedichte*, nos. 2, l 2, and 9, l 6, Labid b. Rabī'a, *Die Gedichte*, no. 47, l 1, *al-Aghānī*, vol. 20, p. 24, l 30, Aws b. Ḥajar, p. 29, l 9. As already the Arabs themselves have noted (al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, pp. 120 and 135) *maṣḥaf*, or more frequently *muṣḥaf*, is a loan word also according to its form which, however, is rarely found in pre-Islamic poetry (Ahlwardt, *The Divans of the six ancient Arabic poets*, no. 65, 2). In Ethiopic, *maṣḥaf* serves as the most common designation for book, codex. Cf. also S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, p. 248, I. Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 1, pp. 106–107; Nöldeke, "Lehnwörter in und aus dem Äthiopischen [Borrowings Words in and from Ethiopic]," p. 49 sq.



writing materials of the alleged literary bequest of the Prophet this can apply only to leather. I cannot ascertain that parchment had already been in use in Arabia of the time. On the other hand, the designation “leaves” seems to indicate that the individual parts of the collection had not yet been as solidly arranged,<sup>53</sup> as the later canonical editions are named *muṣḥaf*<sup>54</sup> “book.”

This interpretation, however, is untenable. Even if those *ṣuḥuf* had been loose sheets, the text of each single sheet must have had a defined arrangement. This alone constituted a not insignificant limitation to individual treatment. After all, such a sheet consisted of at least two pages, and if folded even four. The fixed layout of the text might amount to several double sheets, namely as many as required to make a signature. While one signature of old Greek Bible codices is commonly made up of three or four<sup>55</sup> double sheets, the large Kūfic parchment codices I examined consisted of three to five double sheets, namely twelve to twenty sheets. Other methods for the proper collation of the text offered themselves when a verse broke off at the end of a sheet or signature or when a sheet beginning with a new verse, could be linked with certainty by its content to the previous sheet. Serious doubts were actually conceivable only when a signature began with a new verse. But this case was the great exception and happened even less frequently the larger the signature was; given five signatures, it probably did not even happen once.<sup>56</sup> As can be seen, a (relatively)

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<sup>53</sup> As evidence of the loose order of the first collection Nöldeke refers in the *first edition* of this book, *Seite* 195, to the following tradition in Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, fol. 25’, and al-Qurṭubī, fol. 18’: *fa-jama’ah ghayr murattab al-suwar ba’d ta’ab shadūd*, which he translates “and Zayd collected the Koran after much labour but without orderly arrangement of the sūras.” H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, vol. 2, p. 13, wants to apply the disarray to the condition of the copies of the revelation before the first collection. As both opinions are legitimate, I made no use of them at all, particularly as they are totally unimportant for the present study. Incidentally, it says in *al-Itqān*, Cairo ed., vol. 1, p. 60, l 22 (Calcutta, p. 133) = al-Qasṭallānī on al-Bukhārī, vol. 7, p. 446, that the Koran was not collected (*majmū’*) during the Prophet’s lifetime, and was without definite order of the sūras (*wa-lā murattab al-suwar*).

<sup>54</sup> Occasionally also the first collection is called *muṣḥaf*, e.g., Ibn Sa’d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographie der mekkanischen Kämpfer*, p. 242; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 20; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 138. According to a very strange note in *al-Itqān*, p. 135, it is Sālim (Ibn Ma’qīl), the client of Abū Ḥudhayfa—cf. about him above, pp. 190 and 201 n. 45—who was the first person to collect the Koran in a *muṣḥaf*.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Paläographie*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 158; Th. Birt, *Kritik und Hermeneutik*, p. 356. Sections belonging together were either fastened to a common spine or, if flying loose, one on top of the other, and kept in a case or leather bag; see Gardthausen, loc. cit., p. 176, and Birt, loc. cit., p. 357.

<sup>56</sup> In order to express an opinion I compared the situation in Flügel’s 1858 printed edition of the Koran. There it happens thirty-one times that a page begins with a sūra. Seventeen

extraordinary accuracy of the arrangement can be achieved even without a modern mnemonic method like signatures, pagination or catchwords.<sup>57</sup>

[ii/26] In such circumstances, the accuracy of the order of the sūras on the “leaves” of the first collection of the Koran is unlikely to be much different from the later editions. It is therefore difficult to understand why, as a rule, this collection is not granted the designation codex or *muṣḥaf*. Whether the leaves were joined together or not cannot be the criterion, since we do not even know if the ‘Uthmānic model manuscripts were sewn. As a matter of fact, it is quite common in the Islamic Orient still to this day to keep even printed works merely as loose sheets.<sup>58</sup>

[ii/27] We cannot approach the question of content and completeness of the first collection, nor its form, division of sūras, their possible separation by *basmala*, logograms or other marks, until after an investigation of the genesis of the other pre-‘Uthmānic redactions as well as the canonical recensions.

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cases must be excluded as being due to the arbitrary decision never to separate a three-line sūra heading from the beginning of the verse. If from the remaining fourteen cases a sūra heading occurred more than once at the beginning of a section of sixteen pages, it would be astonishing.

<sup>57</sup> In old Greek manuscripts of the Bible not the pages are counted but the signatures. In the Kūfic manuscripts of the Koran which I examined I did not find anything like this, nor catch-words.

<sup>58</sup> To prevent them from falling out of their covers or jackets they are furnished with claps. In addition they are frequently put into a capsule (*maḥfaẓa* [or *mihfaẓa*]). Unlike our books, which stand in shelves, those are lying flat. It may be noted in passing that because of reverence, a copy of the Koran must not be kept together with other books but put on a pedestal (*kursī*).

## THE OTHER PRE-‘UTHMĀNIC COLLECTIONS

### *The Personalities of the Editors*

From the short period of twenty years between Muḥammad’s death and ‘Uthmān’s recension we know of no less than four famous collections of the Koran, apart from the leaves belonging to Ḥafṣa bt. ‘Umar, for the origin of which no one else can be held responsible but the person by whose name they are known. There might have been other editions as well, but they did not attain the same reputation and therefore disappeared without leaving a trace. The editors of those four renowned collections are Ubayy b. Ka’b,<sup>1</sup> ‘Abd Allāh IBN MAS‘ŪD,<sup>2</sup> Abū Mūsā AL-ASH‘ARĪ,<sup>3</sup> and Miqdād b. al-Aswad.<sup>4</sup>

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As long as nothing definite is known about the literary procedure of these men, it remains to be seen whether we are dealing with independent collections of dispersed texts of revelation or whether they were borrowed from extant collections. We might be best advised generally to call their works editions.

Ubayy b. Ka’b,<sup>5</sup> a Medinan of the Khazrajite Najjār clan, was an early Muslim who fought against the unbelievers at Badr and Uḥud. He distinguished himself in pre-Islamic times by his competence in writing, and he served as Muḥammad’s amanuensis, not only for correspondence<sup>6</sup> but also for revelations.<sup>7</sup> No wonder that he also made a name for himself as a reciter

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<sup>1</sup> A. Jeffery, *Materials for the history of the text of the Qur‘ān*, pp. 114–116.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20–24.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 209–211; *EP*; *EQ*.

<sup>4</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 714, and his lemma in *EP*, s.v.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Sa’d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, part 2): *Letzte Krankheit, Tod und Bestattung Muhammads* [Muḥammad’s last illness, death and funeral], p. 103, and *ibid.*, vol. 3, part 2: *Biographien der medizinischen Kämpfer Muhammads*, p. 59sq.; Ibn Qutayba, p. 133sq.; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Isāba fī tamyiz al-ṣaḥāba*, Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba fī ma‘rifat al-ṣaḥāba*, s.v.; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, vol. 1, p. 15; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā’*. Cf. above, p. 217 n. 5, where he is reckoned among those who had memorized the entire Koran. *EP*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.v.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, s.v.

<sup>6</sup> J. Wellhausen, *Seine [Muḥammads] Schreiben und die Gesandtschaften*, nos. 17, 18, 25, 42 to 70 = Ibn Sa’d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographie Muhammads; Ereignisse seiner medizinischen Zeit*, p. 21, 125 and 27; p. 23, 127; p. 28, 12 and 6; p. 35, 111.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Sa’d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographien der medizinischen Kämpfer Muhammads*, p. 59.

of the Koran. His date of death is variously given as 19/640, 20/641, 22/642–643, 30/650–651, or 32/652–653.<sup>8</sup>

‘Abd Allāh IBN MAS‘ŪD,<sup>9</sup> a Hudhalī of low parentage, was an early Muslim who fought at Badr. He was Muḥammad’s servant and nearly always near him, thereby acquiring great familiarity with the revelations. He claimed to have already known seventy sūras when Zayd b. Thābit was still a boy playing in the street. ‘Umar sent him as a *qāḍī* and treasurer to Kufa, where he died in 32/652 or 33/653. According to others he died in Medina.<sup>10</sup>

Abū Mūsā ‘Abd Allāh b. Qays AL-ASH‘ARĪ<sup>11</sup> was in 7/628 a member of the Yemenite Banū Ash‘ar embassy that appeared before Muḥammad while he was besieging the Jewish stronghold Khaybar.<sup>12</sup> He embraced Islam and held administrative and military offices under the caliphs ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān, being particularly suited on account of his personal valour. In 17/638 he became governor of Baṣra and in 34/654 even took the place of Sa‘īd b. al-‘Aṣ at Kufa. Concurrently he was an active teacher of the Koran and a reciter, a position for which he was particularly suited because of his fine and mighty voice. As a traditionist he rigorously insisted that his transmissions not be written down but passed on only orally. He died in 42/662 or 52/672.<sup>13</sup>

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Miqdād b. ‘Amr,<sup>14</sup> of the Yemenite Banū Bahrā, became involved in a blood feud and had to flee and eventually ended up at Mecca, where he became a client of al-Aswad b. ‘Abd Yaghūth, apparently a Yemenite compatriot. There he became one of the first to embrace Islam and participated

<sup>8</sup> Cf. in this connection, below, p. 254.

<sup>9</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 7–8; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, s.v.

<sup>10</sup> Ibn Qutayba, p. 128; Ibn Sa‘d (*Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographien der medinischen Kämpfer*, p. 104, sq., and *Biographien der mekkanischen Kämpfer*, p. 106 sq.; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā’*, Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, s.v.; al-Qurtubī, fol. 20; E. Sachau in his introduction to Ibn Sa‘d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographien der mekkanischen Kämpfer Muhammads*, p. xv sq. Cf. above, p. 217 n. 5, where he is mentioned among those men who had memorized the entire Koran.

<sup>11</sup> Jeffery, *Materials for the history of the text of the Qur‘ān*, pp. 209–211.

<sup>12</sup> Ibn Sa‘d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographie Muhammads; Ereignisse seiner medinischen Zeit* p. 79 = Julius Wellhausen, *Seine [Muhammads] Schreiben und die Gesandtschaften an ihn*, no. 132.

<sup>13</sup> Ibn Sa‘d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Letzte Krankheit*, p. 105 sq., *ibid.*, (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographien der Genossen*, pp. 78–86 (the main source), *ibid.*, *Biographien der Kufier*, p. 9; Ibn Qutayba, p. 135; al-Bukhārī, *Faḍā’il al-Qur‘ān* § 31; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā’*, Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fi tamyiz al-ṣaḥāba*, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, s.v.

<sup>14</sup> Ibn Sa‘d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographien der mekkanischen Kämpfer*, pp. 114–116; Ibn Qutayba, p. 134; al-Tabarī, vol. 3, p. 2544; al-Nawawī, p. 575; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, s.v.; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.v.

as a horseman—indicating noble extraction—in nearly all the campaigns against the unbelievers. During the conquest of Egypt<sup>15</sup> he held a command, and under Mu‘āwiya he participated in the Cypriot campaign.<sup>16</sup> The sources are silent as far as his religiosity is concerned; the same applies to his knowledge of the Koran. When he died in 33/653, ‘Uthmān said the prayer for the dead.

### *Dissemination and Preservation of the Editions*

As far as the dissemination of the Koran editions of these men is concerned, the Damascenes and Syrians<sup>17</sup> respectively followed the reading of Ubayy b. Ka‘b, the Kūfans the one of Ibn Mas‘ūd, the Basrans the one of Abū Mūsā (AL-ASH‘ARĪ) and the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ the one of Miqdād b. ‘Amr.<sup>18</sup> It is not surprising that the editions of Ibn Mas‘ūd and Abū Mūsā (AL-ASH‘ARĪ) in Kūfa and Baṣra respectively attained such a reputation, considering the influential positions that these men held in the respective places. On the other hand, nothing is known about the outward relations of either Miqdād to Ḥimṣ or Ubayy to Syria.

Not a single edition of these men has come down to us, so we are dependent on indirect sources regarding their outer form and text. There is not even a trace of Miqdād b. ‘Amr’s edition in these indirect sources. I know of only one reference to Abū Mūsā AL-ASH‘ARĪ in al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 154, which states that he incorporated in his Koran the sūras of Ubayy b. Ka‘b as well as the traditions regarding two verses peculiar to his canon.<sup>19</sup> Conversely, from the texts of Ubayy and Ibn Mas‘ūd we not only have a certain number of readings, which are collected below in the chapter “The Readers and Readings,” but also lists regarding the number and order of the sūras.

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<sup>15</sup> Ibn Taghrībīrdī, *Annales*, ed. Theodorus G.J. Juynboll, vol. 1, pp. 9, 21, 53, 76, and 102.

<sup>16</sup> al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 2820; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 154.

<sup>17</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-ta‘rīkh*, vol. 3, p. 86, merely states that “the people of Damascus considered their reading to be the best.” On the other hand, it reads in al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 20, that the people of al-Sha‘m followed the reading of Ubayy.

<sup>18</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, vol. 3, p. 86; Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, fol. 25<sup>v</sup>; al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 7, p. 448, on al-Bukhārī, *Faḍā’il al-Qur‘ān* § 3.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. above, pp. 191 and 196 f., and below, p. 248.

*The Koran of Ubayy b. Ka‘b  
According to the Transmission of al-Fihrist*

According to the *Fihrist*<sup>20</sup> Ubayy’s Koran was arranged as follows:<sup>21</sup> sūras 1, 2, 4, 3, 6, 7, 5, 10, 8, 9, 11, 19, 26, 22, 12, 18, 16, 33, 17, 39, 45, 20, 21, 24, 23, 40, 13, 28, 37, 38, 36, 15, 42, 30, 43, 41, 32, 14, 35, 48, 47, 57, 58,<sup>22</sup> 25, 32, 71, 46, 50, 55, 56, 72, 53, 68, 69, 59, 60, 77, 78, 76, 81, 79, 80,<sup>23</sup> 83, 84, 95,<sup>24</sup> 96, 49, 63, 62, 65,<sup>25</sup> 89, 67, 92, 82, 91, 85, 86, 87, 88, 64,<sup>26</sup> 98,<sup>27</sup> 61, 93, 94, 101, 102, الخلق ثلاث آيات,<sup>28</sup> الحفد<sup>28</sup> الست آيات<sup>29</sup> 104, 99, 100, 105, 113, تين, 108, 97, 109, 110, 111, 106, 112, 113, 114.

<sup>20</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, p. 27. The authority of the *Fihrist* is the moderate Shī‘ite writer Abū Muḥammad al-Faḍl IBN SHĀDĀN (*Fihrist*, p. 231; al-Ṭūsī, *Tusy’s List of Shy‘ah books* [*Fihrist kutub al-Shī‘a*], edited by A. Sprenger (Calcutta, 1858), p. 254, [EP; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 537–538]). His authority refers to a codex of Ubayy, which he claims to have seen at a place not far from Baṣra on a certain Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī.

<sup>21</sup> Although traditional indices list sūras by their name, here—for reason of simplicity—the arrangement of the sūras follow the respective number in our editions.

<sup>22</sup> The text has الطهار, which Flügel considers a spelling mistake of الطور, the name of the fifty-second sūra. Correct is الظهار, which according to *al-Itqān*, p. 127, as well as in Ubayy, is the name of the fifty-eighth sūra, commonly called *al-Mujādala*. This is also as it reads in *al-Itqān*, p. 150, in the catalogue of the sūras of Ubayy.

<sup>23</sup> The text has عيس, the common name of the eightieth sūra. That this interpretation is correct is confirmed in *al-Itqān*, p. 150. For this reason the عيس appearing once more in the index to the *Fihrist* after sūra 80 must be an error.

<sup>24</sup> النين of the text is the common name of the ninety-fifth sūra. This identity is confirmed by *al-Itqān*, p. 150. The name appears once more later in the *Fihrist* between sūras 113 and 108. It is difficult to determine whether this is an accidental duplicate—it is preceded by سورة النبل—or some other mistake because in this case *al-Itqān* has a much different sequence.

<sup>25</sup> Text النبي, which in *al-Itqān*, p. 151, reads يا أيها النبي إذا طلقتم.

<sup>26</sup> Text عيس, which according to *al-Itqān* ought to read التغبان. It is strange that *Itqān*, p. 150, has before sūra 80 (ثم عيس), which is obviously a spelling mistake for التغبان, the name of the sixty-fifth sūra.

<sup>27</sup> Text: ثم سورة أهل الكتاب وهي لم يكن: *Itqān*, p. 151: وهي أهل الكتاب لم يكن أول ما كان الذين كفروا. In the *Fihrist* it then reads: أهل الكتاب وهي لم يكن الذين كفروا: Conversely, the words أول ما كان are useless. An attempt at interpretation is made in the next note 29.

<sup>28</sup> الخلق. This is the name of a sūra not contained in our text, which actually consists of three verses; it shall be treated in detail, below, p. 241 sqq. Flügel did not understand this any more than August Müller, the editor of the foot-note, since both of them did not trouble to consult either *al-Itqān* or Nöldeke’s *Geschichte des Korans*, which at that time had long been published.

<sup>29</sup> الحفد this is how it ought to be read according to *al-Itqān*, pp. 151 and 527, instead الجيد of the text. This is the name of the second sūra which only Ubayy knows. In the *Fihrist* this is followed by the additional words اللهم إياك نعبد وآخرها بالكفار ملحق أولها, which constitute beginning and end of this sūra. The أولها, missing at the beginning, slipped—as it seems—into the name of the ninety-eighth sūra in the form of أول ما. Everything that Flügel suggests in this respect is nonsense, which could have been avoided if he only had looked at Nöldeke’s *Geschichte des Korans*.

*The Koran of Ubayy b. Ka‘b*  
*According to the Transmission of al-Suyūṭī’s*  
*al-Itqān, and Its Relation to al-Fihrist*

*Al-Itqān*, p. 150 sq., supplies the following list of the Koran of Ubayy: Sūras 1, 2, 4, 3, 6, 7, 5, 10, 8, 9, 11, 19, 26, 22, 12, 18, 16, 33, 17, 39, 41 or 43,<sup>30</sup> 20, 21, 24, 23, 34, 29, 40, 13, 28, 27, 37, 38, 36, 15, 42, 30, 57, 48, 47, 58, 67, 61, 46, 50, 55, 56, 72, 53, 70, 73, 74, 54, 41 or 43,<sup>31</sup> 44, 31, 45, 52, 51, 69, 59, 60, 77, 78, 75, 81, 65, 79,<sup>32</sup> 80, 83, 84, 95, 96, 49, 63, 62, 66, 89, 90, 92, 82, 91, 86, 87, 88, 61, 64, 98, 93, 94, 101, 102, 103, الخلع,<sup>33</sup> الحنف,<sup>34</sup> 104, 99, 100, 105, 106, 107, 108, 97, 109, 110, 112, 113, 114.

Missing are the sūras 14, 25, 32, 35, 68, 76, 85, and 111, whereas the number of sūras missing in the *Fihrist* amounts to twice this number, namely fourteen, but entirely different ones. The overall number of Ubayy’s sūras also on this list makes one hundred and sixteen; admittedly, the explicit statement is missing. Al-Suyūṭī, on the other hand, mentions two traditions in a different passage,<sup>35</sup> according to which this recension consisted only of 115 sūras because either sūras 105 and 106<sup>36</sup> or sūras 93 and 94 were combined. There is no way of further establishing the reliability of these facts. The fact that

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<sup>30</sup> Text: أولها حم. As the logogram حم appears in front of each of the sūras 40, 41, and 43–45, and since the sūras 40, 44, and 45 are undoubtedly mentioned at other parts of the list, here reference can be only to either sūra 41 or 43, whereas on page 39 on the list of the *Fihrist* sūra 45 follows. The reading أولها must be challenged, regardless whether or not this word is connected with the preceding زمر or put behind حم because it is not customary in the list to mention the opening words of a sūra. The deterioration must be very deep as neither the names of the two حم-sūras nor that of the other missing sūras show any similarity with أولها. In addition, the word ثم, which is regularly used to separate the names of the sūras, is missing once or twice respectively.

<sup>31</sup> Text: ثم حم. According to foot-note 30 this can refer only to either sūra 41 or 43.

<sup>32</sup> Between 79 and 80 the text has التغاب. If this word were to be changed to التغابن, sūra 64 would be listed twice, appearing once more below, between the sūras 91 and 98. For such reason we must be dealing with a different kind of deterioration, be it a spelling mistake from the name of a missing sūra or more likely—as also in this passage *al-Fihrist* offers the sequence 79, 80, 83, 84—a duplicate to the preceding النزاعات or to the following عبس, about which compare above, p. 238 n. 26.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. above, p. 238 n. 28.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. above, p. 238 n. 29.

<sup>35</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 154.

<sup>36</sup> This is frequently also said of these two sūras; cf. the commentators on sūra 106; Tašköprülüade, *Miftāḥ al-sa‘āda*, cod. Wien, neue Folge 12 = G.L. Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen ... Handschriften*, vol. 1, p. 25 sq. In the Koran of the Shi‘ite sect of the Imāmiyya, apart from the sūras 8 and 9, also those two pairs were combined to one chapter each. Cf. below, p. 289 n. 51.

these four sūras are enumerated individually in the transmitted lists need not speak against this, since sūra 94 follows directly upon sūra 93, and sūra 106 stands immediately after 105.

*The Sūras Peculiar to the Koran of Ubayy b. Ka‘b*

Far more weighty is the fact that Ubayy’s collection contains two sūras that are missing from the canonical recension. These are called at times *Sūrat al-Khal‘* and *Sūrat al-Ḥafā*<sup>37</sup> They are also known under the collective title of *Sūratā l-qunūt*<sup>38</sup> or even *Sūrat al-Qunūt*.<sup>39</sup> The other designations, *Du‘ā’ al-Qunūt*,<sup>40</sup> *Du‘ā’ al-Fajr*<sup>41</sup> or *al-Du‘ā’*<sup>42</sup> are based on the assumption that this concerns mere prayers and not sūras. It is extremely rare to find the text itself. *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*, part 3, supplies the beginning of the first sūra, *al-Fihrist*, the opening verse of the first sūra as well as the two last words of the second sūra, *al-Jawharī*, *al-Ṣiḥāh*, and *Lisān al-‘Arab*, the third verse of the latter, and *al-Zamakhsharī*, the two first verses. It appears that the complete text of the sūras is supplied only by much later writers, *al-Suyūṭī* (d. AD 1510 [sic]),<sup>43</sup> *Taşköprülüzade* (d. 1560), and *al-Birgīlī* (AL-BIRKAWĪ) (d. 1562 [sic]). *Al-Suyūṭī’s isnāds*, or chain of authorities, are traced back to the first century AH, in so far as they could be established chronologically.<sup>44</sup>

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The two sūras were first published by J. von Hammer-Purgstall<sup>45</sup> in 1850. Apart from the fact that he did not scrupulously reproduce his manuscript, a better text can now be established with the aid of parallel versions.

<sup>37</sup> *al-Fihrist*, p. 27; *al-Suyūṭī*, *al-Itqān*, pp. 151 and 527; *Taşköprülüzade*, loc. cit.

<sup>38</sup> *al-Suyūṭī*, *al-Itqān*, p. 527.

<sup>39</sup> ‘Umar b. Muḥammad (IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ), Ms., fol. 3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> Frequently, e.g., *al-Zamakhsharī* on sūra 10:10; the catechism of Taqī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Pīr ‘Alī AL-BIRKAWĪ (Birgīlī d. 970/1562 [Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, vol. 2, pp. 440–444, suppl. vol. 2, p. 654]); *Handschriften in Göttingen*, cod. Asch., 88, [رسالة برکلی or وصیتنامه برکلی], translated by Garcin de Tassy entitled *L’islamisme d’après le Coran*,] 90, 87, 97.

<sup>41</sup> *Lisān [al-‘Arab]*, vol. 4, p. 130.

<sup>42</sup> *al-Jawharī*, *al-Ṣiḥāh*, vol. 1, p. 223.

<sup>43</sup> In *al-Suyūṭī*, *al-Itqān*, p. 153sq., conversely, he transmits the text in three variants, in a small monograph on these two sūras (W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 438), however, according to six traditions.

<sup>44</sup> ‘Abd Allāh b. Zurayr al-Ghāfiqī (*al-Itqān*, p. 153), d. 81/700; ‘Ubayd b. ‘Umayr (*Itqān*, p. 153, W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, 438, no. 4) d. 64/683; Umayya b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Khālid b. Usayd [*EP*] (*al-Itqān*, p. 154), d. 84/703 or 87/705; Maymūn b. Mihrān (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, 438, no. 2), d. 117/735; [*EP*; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 7, p. 11]. These dates of death have been taken from *al-Khazrajī*, *Khulāsāt tadhīb al-kamāl*.

<sup>45</sup> *Literaturgeschichte der Araber*, vol. 1, p. 576.



Text

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سورة الخلع<sup>46</sup>  
 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم<sup>47</sup>  
 اللهم إنا نستعينك<sup>51</sup> ونستغفرك<sup>50</sup> ونثني عليك<sup>49</sup> ولا نكفرك<sup>48</sup> ونخلع ونترك من يفجرك \*

سورة الحفد<sup>52</sup>  
 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
 اللهم اياك نعبد \* ولك نصلي<sup>53</sup> ونسجد \* وإليك نسعى ونحفد \* نرجو رحمتك \*  
 ونخشى عذابك<sup>55</sup> \* إنَّ عذابك بالكفار<sup>54</sup> ملحق

## Translation

Sūra of the Abandonment.

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate;

(1) O God, we ask You for help and forgiveness;

(2) We praise You, and are not ungrateful to You;

(3) We renounce and leave anyone who sins against You.

Sūra of the Serving with Alacrity.

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate;

(1) You we serve;

(2) And to You we pray and worship;

(3) And to You we speed and strive after;

(4) We anticipate Your mercy;

(5) And dread Your punishment;

(6) Truly, Your punishment reaches<sup>56</sup> the unbelievers.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. above, p. 240 n. 37. [Although inadvertently all the numbers of the foot-notes follow the direction of the Latin script this does not effect the content; vocalization omitted.]

<sup>47</sup> The *Basmala* is missing from al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 10:10, *al-Itqān*, p. 153 (a), cod. Landberg, 343 (= Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Hands.*, no. 438), nos. 1, 3, 4, 5.

<sup>48</sup> Birgīlī inserts ونستهديك.

<sup>49</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 154 (c) inserts خيرا; Birgīlī inserts الخير كله نشكرك.

<sup>50</sup> Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, cod. 438, no. 5, inserts ونؤمن بك ونخضع لك; Birgīlī inserts ونتوكل عليك ونستهديك ونؤمن بك نتوب إليك.

<sup>51</sup> Birgīlī, cod. 87 and 97 inserts ونخضع لك.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. above, p. 240 n. 37.

<sup>53</sup> This verse is missing in Taşköprülüzade.

<sup>54</sup> Thus read *al-Fihrist*, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān* (a, c), Cod. Landberg, 343, nos. 2, 4, 5, 6; al-Birkawī; conversely, *al-Itqān*, b (W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*, 438 =) cod. Landberg, 343, nos. 1 and 3, Taşköprülüzade بالكافرين.

<sup>55</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, 154 (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Hands.*, 438) = cod. Landberg, 343, nos. 1, 3, position verse five before verse four.

<sup>56</sup> *أَلْحَقَ* is in the Koran always causative: “to cause someone to reach someone” (used only of persons); in other cases it is also simply “to reach;” for this reason it can be read as either an active or passive participle.

*The Question of Authenticity*

[ii/36] Since these texts are prayers in content and form, their character as revelation can be upheld only if the word *qul* “say!” has been omitted, which, as it is well-known, is used in the Koran to identify prayers—for example, sūras 113 and 114—or subjective remarks of Muḥammad as the Word of God. Such *qul* is indeed missing from the opening sūra of our editions of the Koran, but this fact is precisely one of the reasons that the *Fātiḥa* is suspected of not being part of the revelation. The other reasons—as elaborated above (p. 79 sq.)—are based first on the strong dependence on the language of Jewish and Christian liturgies, which prompted the usage of idioms not otherwise found in the Koran,<sup>57</sup> second on the use of grammatical constructions otherwise alien to the Koran,<sup>58</sup> and, third, on the awkward construction of the last verse, possibly caused by problems of translation. In contrast, the style of Ubayy b. Ka’b’s sūras is much smoother, following generally the line of Koranic idioms. Considering the short text, a not insignificant quantity of linguistic exceptions can be documented. As just mentioned, the construction of *ista‘āna* with the person in the accusative can be documented in the Koran only in one passage of the *Fātiḥa*. The verb أَثْنَى “to praise” is altogether missing from the Koran,<sup>59</sup> although other verbs of the same meaning are found rather frequently in the Koran.<sup>60</sup> Also missing is حَفِدَ, “to hurry.” سَعَى, “to run,” although proper Koranic Arabic, does not occur in connection with إِلَى اللَّهِ, “to be heading for.”<sup>61</sup> فَجَرَ, “to sin” is here followed by the person in the accusative, whereas it is used in the Koran with a direct object only (sūras 75:5, and 91:8). خَلَعَ occurs only once in the entire Koran (sūra 20:12), but not—like here—metaphorically.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>57</sup> The name of Allāh as “King of the Day of Judgement” *malik yawm al-dīn*.

<sup>58</sup> *Ista‘āna* “to ask for assistance” with the accusative, whereas usually everywhere in the Koran with ب of the person.

<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, it is likely to have been used in this meaning already at the time of the Prophet; cf. *Ḥamāsa*, 777, in a poem of Umayya b. Abi l-Ṣalt (= *Dīwān*, ed. Schulthess, no. 9, 5; *Mu‘allqat Antara* (Th. Arnold), v. 35 = Ahlwardt, *Divans*, p. 82, no. 21, l 40; al-Sukkarī, *Poems of the Huzailis*, no. 91, l 3; [*Divans of the six ancient Arabic poets*, ed. W. Ahlwardt, p. 28], Zuhayr b. Abi Sulmā, no. 4, l 20; Labīd b. Rabī‘a, *Gedichte*, edited by Anton Huber and Carl Brockelmann, no. 53, l 18.

<sup>60</sup> The Koran has instead *kabbara*, *sabbaḥa*, *ḥamida*.

<sup>61</sup> The idiom, فَاسْعُوا إِلَى ذِكْرِ اللَّهِ, sūra 62:9, is no proper parallel.

<sup>62</sup> Doubtful is كَفَرَ. With the meaning of “to renege one’s faith” كَفَرَ in the Koran is always constructed with ب of the person, whereas the meaning of “to be ungrateful,” which in this case is also permissible, it is commonly followed by the person in the accusative., also sūra 11:63.

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For such reasons it is unlikely that these sūras constitute a genuine part of the Koran, or that they are even from the Prophet. Yet to all appearance they are old prayers, current already during the Prophet's lifetime. Tradition, as we have been able to see, frequently calls them *du‘ā*, and ‘Umar as well as Ubayy b. Ka‘b are supposed to have used them in the prayer of *qunūt*.<sup>63</sup> From here on it was an easy step towards the opinion of their heavenly origin.<sup>64</sup> Other interpreters might be tempted to agree for the sole reason that these sūras were introduced by the *Basmala*.<sup>65</sup> Still others pretended to know even more and date their revelation—as well as the words ليس لك من الأمر شيء sūra 3:123—to the time when the clans of Muḍar were cursed by Muḥammad.<sup>66</sup> But this information is based on the combination of *du‘ā* *al-qunūt*, the name coined for Ubayy b. Ka‘b's sūras, and the tradition that Muḥammad said a *qunūt* prayer<sup>67</sup> after that curse. According to one tradition Abū Mūsā AL-ASH‘ARĪ also had the two sūras in his canon,<sup>68</sup> whereas Ibn ‘Abbās was guided by the common reading of Abū Mūsā AL-ASH‘ARĪ and Ubayy b. Ka‘b. ‘Alī allegedly presented these sūras to ‘Abd Allāh b. Zurayr al-Ghāfiqī (d. 81/700) as being part of the Koran. That an excellent authority like Ubayy b. Ka‘b could have been deceived must not come as a surprise; no less a person than the expert Ibn Mas‘ūd cast away the *Fātiḥa*, whereas Zayd (Ibn Thābit) incorporated it in his canon.

*The Relation of the Transmitted Lists of Ubayy b. Ka‘b's  
Sūras with One Another and with the Canonical Edition*

Despite the many and considerable deviations, the arrangement of the sūras in Ubayy's Koran generally follows the principle of the canonical recension, namely the progression from the longer to the shorter chapters. In both lists this is most obvious at the beginning and the end, less so in the middle section. The list of the *Fihrist* is identical with the ‘Uthmanic arrangement in the following sixteen places: (1) sūras 6 and 7; (2) 8 and 9; (3) 20 and 21;

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<sup>63</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 153.

<sup>64</sup> Muslim scholars who deny the authenticity of Ubayy's sūras approach the subject from quite a different angle. They seem to fear for the sanctity of the ‘Uthmanic text if these sūras are recognized as revelation.

<sup>65</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 153: *قال ابن جريج حكمة البسمة أتمها سورتان في مصحف بعض الصحابة*.

<sup>66</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 154; cf. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 660, col. 2.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. above, p. 156 n. 96.

<sup>68</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 154, beginning. Ibn ‘Abbās, too, allegedly had the two sūras in his copy. Cf. above, p. 237.

(4) 37 and 38; (5) 57 and 58; (6) 55 and 56; (7) 68 and 69; (8) 59 and 60; (9) 77 and 78; (10) 79 and 80; (11) 83 and 84; (12) 95 and 96; (13) 85, 86, 87 and 88; (14) 99 and 100; (15) 109 and 110 and 111; (16) 112, 113 and 114.

According to the list in al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, the numbers 5, 6, 7, 10, and 13 should be dropped, for which five other identical sequences appear, namely the sūras 1, 2, 73, 74, 93, 94, 101, 102, 103, 105, 106, 107 and 108. Both lists agree on the position of the *qunūt* prayers, which are both placed between the sūras 103 and 104.

*The Koran of Ibn Mas‘ūd According to the Transmission of al-Fihrist*

- [ii/39] As in the case of Ubayy b. Ka‘b’s collection of the Koran, we also have here two detailed reports. According to the list in *al-Fihrist*, p. 26, the sūras were arranged as follows: 2, 4, 3, 7, 6, 5, 10,<sup>69</sup> 9, 16, 11, 12, 17, 21, 23, 26, 77, 38, 28, 24, 8, 19, 29, 30, 36, 25, 22, 13, 34, 35, 14, 38, 47, 31,<sup>70</sup> 39, 40, 43, 41, 46, 45, 44, 48, 57, 32, 50, 65, 49, 67, 64, 63, 62, 61, 72, 71, 58, 60, 66, 55, 53, 51,<sup>72</sup> 52, 54, 69, 56, 68, 79, 70, 74, 73, 83, 80, 76, 55, 79, 78, 81, 82, 88, 87, 92, 89, 84, 85, 96, 90, 93, 94, 86, 100, 107, 101, 98, 91, 95, 104, 105, 106, 102, 97, 103, 110, 108, 109, 111, and 112.

*The Koran of Ibn Mas‘ūd According to  
the Transmission of al-Suyūṭī’s al-Itqān*

- [ii/40] The list of *al-Itqān*, p. 151sq., is arranged as follows: 2, 4, 3,<sup>73</sup> 7, 6, 5, 10, 9, 16, 11, 12, 18, 17, 21, 20, 23, 26, 37, 33, 22, 28, 27, 24, 8, 19, 29, 30, 36, 25, 15, 13, 34, 35, 14, 38, 47, 31, 39, 40, 43, 41, 42, 46, 45, 44, المتحنات,<sup>74</sup> 48, 59, 32, 65, 68, 49, 67, 64,

<sup>69</sup> It is very strange that according to al-Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 2163, l 9, still in 35/655 the tenth sūra (Jonah [Yūnus]) of the Medinan Koran was designated as the seventh sūra, as this enumeration corresponded to Ibn Mas‘ūd’s arrangement. It is more likely that in this passage السابعة ought to be replaced by التاسعة, “the ninth.”

<sup>70</sup> Text القمر instead of لقمان as it is correctly given in the index of *al-Itqān*.

<sup>71</sup> سبيح cannot refer to the sūras 61 or 87, beginning with the word سبيح, as these are clearly indicated at other places of the list. But also among the sūras 15, 18, 20, 27, 42, and 49, which are missing from the list, there is no known name—apart from the forty-second sūra (شورى)—which would easily lend itself to a perversion to سبيح. In this case the list of *al-Itqān* is of no help as its arrangement differs considerably.

<sup>72</sup> Another transmission of the *Fihrist* has the reverse order 52, 51 as in *al-Itqān*.

<sup>73</sup> Also *al-Itqān*, p. 145, indicates the sūras 2, 4, and 3 as the beginning of the codex of Ibn Mas‘ūd.

<sup>74</sup> The interpretation of this name poses problems. This cannot refer to the sixtieth sūra

63, 62, 61, 72, 71, 58, 60, 66, 55, 53, 52, 51, 54, 56, 79, 70, 74, 73, 83, 80, 76, 77, 75, 78, 81, 82, 88, 87, 92, 89, 85, 84, 96, 90, 93, 86, 100, 107, 101, 98, 91, 95, 104, 105, 106, 102, 97, 99, 103, 110, 108, 109, 111, 112, and 94.

*The Relation of the Two Lists to One  
Another and to the ‘Uthmanic Recension*

According to al-Suyūṭī’s *al-Itqān*, the sequence of the sūras in the recension of Ibn Mas‘ūd is congruent with the standard text of ‘Uthmān in the following places: (1) sūras 11 and 12; (2) 29 and 30; (3) 34 and 35; (4) 39 and 40; (5) 41 and 42; (6) 81 and 82; (7) 104 and 105. According to the *Fihrist*, there are four additional places: sūras 77 and 78, 84 and 85, 93 and 94, 111 and 112. With this, the sequence of the *Fihrist* comes close to the arrangement of the canonical arrangement.

The sūras missing from *al-Fihrist* (16, 18, 20, 27, 42, and 49) are all contained in *al-Itqān*, and conversely, those missing from *al-Itqān* (50, 57, and 64) are found in *al-Fihrist*. Therefore, all these omissions are purely accidental. If they are inserted in the respective indices, it becomes evident that both of them contain an identical number of sūras, namely all the sūras of the standard text of ‘Uthmān, with the exception of sūras 1, 113, and 114. The accuracy of the result is confirmed by remarks at the end of both lists.<sup>75</sup>

Although the number of sūras in the codex of Ibn Mas‘ūd is not explicitly stated in *al-Itqān*, in *al-Fihrist* it is calculated to consist of only one hundred and ten sūras. This is very strange. As this codex is short three sūras, that total ought to have been one hundred and eleven, unless two of them

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as its name, المتحنة, appears later, and particularly at the same place as in the *Fihrist*. By the same token, المتحنات cannot easily be a distortion of another name of the sūras, as in the index to the *Fihrist*, the sūras 44 and 48 follow directly one another, and as the names of the sūras 50, 57, and 69, omitted from the *Itqān*, provide not a trace of similarity with that word. For this reason المتحنات must be a duplicate of the name of the sixtieth sūra, appearing in the following line.

<sup>75</sup> *Fihrist*, p. 26, l 27sq. مصحفه. قال أبو شاذان قال ابن سيرين وكان عبد الله بن مسعود لا يكتب المعوذتين في مصحفه. ولا فاتحة الكتاب. وليس فيه الحمد ولا المعوذتان. Shorter, *al-Itqān*, p. 152, ولا فاتحة الكتاب. Cf. also ‘Umar b. Muḥammad, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>; *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*, parts 2 and 4; al-Qurṭubī, i, fol. 20<sup>r</sup>, and 22<sup>v</sup>; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 186 end and p. 187 top; al-Shūshāwī according to Ibn Qutayba; Taṣkōprülüzade, loc. cit. Most traditions simply state that these sūras had never been part of Ibn Mas‘ūd’s codex; it is rare to find the statement that he erased them (حُكِّ، *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*, part 4; *al-Itqān*, p. 187) or eliminated them (أسقط، *al-Itqān*, p. 186, end).

were combined to form a single sūra. The sūras that come first to mind when thinking of a combination, namely sūras eight and nine—where sūra nine, at least in the ‘Uthmānic recension, lacks the *basmala*—cannot be considered in this connection, as they do not appear one after the other in either of the two lists.<sup>76</sup> Since our sources offer no other combinations of this kind, we must suspect that the strange numerical count is nothing but a mistake in the text.

In another tradition<sup>77</sup> it says that the codex of Ibn Mas‘ūd consisted of 112 sūras, where the two sūras of invocation are wanting. According to this, the *Fātiḥa* is again ascribed to him, and this opinion is widespread. Al-Suyūṭī mentions in a later passage of his *Itqān*<sup>78</sup> yet three other traditions in the same vein. The author of *al-Fihrist* reports<sup>79</sup> to have seen a two-hundred-year-old codex of Ibn Mas‘ūd in which this sūra was written down, adding that in general no two manuscripts of this recension were truly identical. Even the opposite statement in the *Fihrist* about the three sūras missing in the codex of Ibn Mas‘ūd<sup>80</sup> leaves the impression that the words *ولا فاتحة الكتاب* were inserted later in the text.

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In each case, Ibn Mas‘ūd’s reservation regarding the three sūras is not without foundation, since they are so different from all the other sūras in content as well as form that their authenticity is open to much criticism. Whereas the *Fātiḥa* is conspicuous for its dependence upon Jewish and Christian liturgies,<sup>81</sup> the sūras of conjuration are full of gross paganism,<sup>82</sup> although their initial word, *qul*, ostensibly gives them the appearance of a revelation. Whoever is responsible for the current place of these prayers in the Koran evidently intended them as a kind of religious shield: just as prayers of praise of the *Fātiḥa* were likely intended to invoke the protection of Allāh, so the two prayers of conjuration should serve to ward off the influence of evil spirits.

<sup>76</sup> A note in *al-Itqān*, p. 152, states explicitly that in the codex of Ibn Mas‘ūd sūra 9 included the *basmala*.

<sup>77</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 152.

<sup>78</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 187.

<sup>79</sup> *al-Fihrist*, p. 26, bottom.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. *Seite* 40, *Anm.* 3: This reference is wrong.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. above, p. 242.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. above, p. 89sqq.

*The Relation of the Korans of Ubayy, Ibn Mas‘ūd, and  
Abū Mūsā to One Another and to the Canonical Version*

Ubayy’s Koran consisted of all the sūras of the canonical version plus the two prayers of *qunūt*. Ibn Mas‘ūd, on the other hand, had two or three sūras (1, 113, and 114) less than the subsequent authorized recension. The arrangement of the sūras in these two codices is so different that a succession of sūras coincides only twice in the lists, namely at the beginning (sūras 2, 4, 3) and at the end (sūras 105 and 106) as well as in the middle (sūras 43 and 41), according to *al-Itqān* and *al-Fihrist* respectively. The relation of both of them to the canonical version is much more favourable, since Ibn Mas‘ūd’s sequence is identical to this version in eight (*al-Itqān*) and twelve (*al-Fihrist*) places respectively, while Ubayy’s sequence is in sixteen places. Conversely, the agreement of the sūras arranged exactly by length is less favourable, as there, according to my table below, pp. 264–266, the overlap of sequence occurs only in four or five places, namely sūras 2, 4, and 3; 9, and 11; 63 and 62; 110 and 111; 112 and 113 (Ubayy according to *al-Fihrist*) and sūras 2, 4, 3, 7, 6, and 5; 48, and 57; 77, and 78; 111, and 112 (Ibn Mas‘ūd according to *al-Fihrist*) respectively.

Despite all the differences and inaccuracies, both codices are evidently based on the principle of an arrangement according to the decreasing length of the sūras. This principle is so peculiar that its double application cannot be accidental but must be the result of textual relationships, even if there is no other evidence. As this principle is also adhered to in the canonical recension, which, as we shall see presently, is based on the first collection of Zayd b. Thābit, the textual relationships alluded to must also include the latter. The same conclusion emerges from another observation. Since throughout Ubayy b. Ka‘b’s and Ibn Mas‘ūd’s lists of sūras nearly the same headings appear as in the subsequent canonical recension, the underlying presupposition is undoubtedly that behind identical names there must basically be the identical content. This arrangement of the sūras must therefore have already existed in the codex of Ḥafṣa bt. ‘Umar, because—as tradition has it—it served as a model for the ‘Uthmānic recension. Naturally, this cannot be accidental but rather the result of a textual link. Unfortunately, it is impossible to be specific. The former codex is allegedly based on the very first collection of the revelations. But this is not necessarily reliable, since the tradition regarding Zayd’s collection has been shown to contain other errors as well. One must also not forget that Ibn Mas‘ūd and Ubayy b. Ka‘b were Zayd b. Thābit’s senior contemporaries and had served Muḥammad longer than he did.

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In addition, there are some isolated traditions regarding verses that were allegedly contained in these two recensions but are missing in our editions. With regard to the lost verse that Ibn Mas‘ūd allegedly had in his codex, we have a tradition traced back to him in Hibat Allāh b. Salāma, *al-Nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh*, Cairo edition, p. 10, saying: “The Messenger of God had me recite a verse which I then memorized and entered in my codex. When I returned to my sleeping quarters, I could not remember it, and the place in my codex was blank. Thereupon I consulted the Prophet who replied that the verse had already been abrogated the day before.” Such general statements are of course totally useless, even if they can be trusted.

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More useful are the reports about the three lost verses that Ubayy b. Ka‘b had in his codex.

The first one says: “If man had a vale of treasures, he would covet yet a second one; and if he had two, he would covet yet a third one; neither shall the belly of man be filled, but with dust. Allah will turn unto him who shall repent.”<sup>83</sup> This verse is allegedly from sūra 10:25 or somewhere in sūra 98,<sup>84</sup> which is impossible, if only for the difference of rhyme. Yet no other place is possible, since the word for “man” used here in the original, *ibn ādam*, is an expression found nowhere in the Koran.<sup>85</sup>

The second verse reads: “Religion for God is the moderate Hanīfiyya, neither Judaism, nor Christianity; whoever does good shall not remain without reward.”<sup>86</sup> This verse is also said to have belonged to sūra 98, but its content and rhyme do not allow it. It is altogether not genuine, as the expressions used for the three different religions are foreign to the Koran.

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The third verse reads: “If an elderly man and woman commit adultery, then stone them definitely as penalty from God All-mighty and wise.”<sup>87</sup> This so-called “Verse of Stoning” cannot have been either part of sūra 33, given the non-matching rhyme, or of the Koran in general, as this cruel, criminal ordinance can only have been instituted after the death of Muḥammad, as I explained previously.<sup>88</sup>

It is also said of the first verse of Ubayy b. Ka‘b that Abū Mūsā (AL-ASH‘ARĪ) read it in a sūra similar to the ninth. According to one tradi-

<sup>83</sup> The Arabic text can be found above, p. 190, the English translation in Sale’s *Koran*, “Preliminary discourse,” section 3, p. 52, ll 18–21.

<sup>84</sup> Loc. cit., above, p. 193.

<sup>85</sup> Loc. cit., above, p. 195.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. loc. cit.; the Arabic text, above, p. 195.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. the Arabic text, above, p. 198.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. above, pp. 199–201.



tion,<sup>89</sup> he presented the verse as he still remembered it to a meeting of three hundred readers of the Koran at Baṣra.

It is reported that on this occasion Abū Mūsā (AL-ASH‘ARĪ) presented yet another verse, belonging to the sūras similar to the so-called *musabbiḥāt*.<sup>90</sup> Whether this sūra has been lost or constitutes a part of our codices, but had escaped Abū Mūsā (AL-ASH‘ARĪ), is not clear from the text of the tradition. The verse reads: “O, you who believe, wherefore do you say what you do not do? A testimonial will be written on your neck, and on the Day of Resurrection you will have to explain.”<sup>91</sup> The first half of the text is identical with sūra 61:2. Because of the rhyme, the second part cannot have belonged to either sūra sixty-one or another of the *musabbiḥāt*. Even if this part does not offer an argument raising doubt on its authenticity, this is still not likely, as all the other traditions about lost verses of the Koran turned out to be unreliable.<sup>92</sup>

We have no clue as to how the sūras in the pre-canonical codices were separated: Was this done merely by empty space, or by some other sign or word? According to al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 106, sūras 105 and 106 constituted one single sūra without separation in the codex of Ubayy b. Ka‘b,<sup>93</sup> whereas ‘Alā’ al-Dīn,<sup>94</sup> s.v., says that between the two of them the sign of division, *basmala*, was missing.<sup>95</sup> This formulation presupposes that all the other sūras were preceded by the *basmala*. If this were correct, the *basmala* ought to have been used already in Ḥafṣa’s codex, on which—as has been demonstrated above—the other pre-canonical codices are dependent.

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### *Obscure and Dubious Codices of the Koran*

It is not inconceivable, and possibly even probable, that apart from the renowned collections of the Koran discussed above, there were still others of less repute, which therefore left no mark on literature. If it is claimed, however, that some of the Companions of the Prophet, such as ‘Alī, had the sūras

<sup>89</sup> Muslim, *K. al-Zakāt* § 26 (al-Qaṣṭallānī on al-Bukhārī, Cairo edition, 1303/1885, vol. 4, p. 444sq., in the margin).

<sup>90</sup> Under this name the sūras 57, 59, 61, 62, 63, and 64 are subsumed.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. the Arabic text above, p. 196.

<sup>92</sup> For details see loc. cit., above, p. 196sq.

<sup>93</sup> *bi-lā faṣl*.

<sup>94</sup> The German original does not distinguish between the two ‘Alā’ al-Dīn: al-Khāzin al-Baghdādī and al-Muttaqī al-Hindī. There is no reference to part 2 in the index, which in any case is limited to the first five occurrences.

<sup>95</sup> *wa-lam yuṣṣal baynahumā fī muṣḥafih bi-bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*.

in a chronological arrangement, this tradition<sup>96</sup> lacks credibility; for such an arrangement presupposes somewhat lengthy, learned, exegetic activity and would have been difficult to realize, since even Muḥammad himself combined earlier and later revelations in the records he commissioned.<sup>97</sup> For the same reason, the chronological lists described above, p. 48sq., also belong to a much later period than the *isnāds* would suggest. For internal reasons, however, they must be older than the chronologically arranged codices of the Koran, if indeed such works had ever existed. The alleged sequence of the first six [*sic*] sūras in ‘Alī’s chronological Koran (sūras 96, 74, 68, 73, and 111, according to al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 145) incidentally does not agree with any of the above-mentioned chronological lists, in which generally sūras 68 and 73 are placed before sūra 74. In any case, it is certain that ‘Alī cannot have produced such a codex. By the same token, such a scholarly and historically orientated type of arrangement can neither be expected of a contemporary of the Prophet nor can it escape our notice that all traditions regarding ‘Alī’s activity as compiler or editor of the Koran are from the outset suspect of Shī‘ite fabrication.<sup>98</sup>

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This, however, is not to say that ‘Alī did not have his own codex of the Koran. On the contrary, it is extremely probable not only that he did, but also several of his contemporaries from the theocratic elite possessed records of Muḥammad’s revelations. Yet these codices, as far as they were reasonably complete, were basically modelled on those renowned collections. This group would also have to include the codex of ‘Ā’isha, which is said to have been arranged differently, even though she attached little importance to it.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> al-Qurṭubī, fol. 22<sup>v</sup>; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 145.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. below, next chapter, “The arrangement of the sūras in the ‘Uthmānic Koran,” p. 263sqq.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. above, p. 219sq., regarding the collection of the Koran which ‘Alī allegedly produced immediately after the death of Muḥammad; in addition, below, p. 293, about the so-called Sūra of the Light.

<sup>99</sup> *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*, part 2.

THE GENESIS OF THE AUTHORIZED REDACTION  
OF THE KORAN UNDER THE CALIPH ‘UTHMĀN

*The Established Tradition*<sup>1</sup>

[ii/47]

During the campaigns in Armenia and Azerbaijan the warriors from Iraq and Syria quarrelled about the genuine form of the text of the Koran. The soldiers from Ḥimṣ (Emesa) considered their text traced back to Miqdād b. al-Aswad to be the best. The Damascenes and the Syrians respectively preferred their own text.<sup>2</sup> The Kūfans recognized as the authority only the reading of ‘Abd Allāh IBN MAS‘ŪD, and the Baṣrans only that of Abū Mūsā AL-ASH‘ARĪ.<sup>3</sup> When the renowned commander Ḥudhayfa [Ibn al-Yamān]<sup>4</sup> was back at Kūfa after his campaign in Armenia and Azerbaijan, he complained to the governor, Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ, about this situation which, according to his view, seriously threatened the future of Islam. Many members of the theocratic elite agreed with him; only the followers of Ibn Mas‘ūd stubbornly insisted on the authority of their master. Upon Ḥudhayfa [Ibn al-Yamān’s] return to Medina, he reported to Caliph ‘Uthmān on what he had observed. After he had consulted with the old Companions of the Prophet, there was unanimous agreement with the commander’s view of the situation. Thereupon the Caliph appointed a commission consisting of the Medinan Zayd b. Thābit and three respected Quraysh, ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ, and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith,<sup>5</sup> and ordered them

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<sup>1</sup> al-Bukhārī, *Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān* § 3; al-Tirmidhī in the *Tafsīr* on sūra 9 at the end; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt, Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān, faṣl* 3 § 5; *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 24 sq.; ‘Izz al-Dīn IBN AL-ATHĪR, *al-Kāmil fi l-tārīkh*, vol. 3, p. 85 sq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, Cairo ed., vol. 2, p. 135 sq.; al-Naysābūrī, *Gharā’ib al-Qur’ān* in al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 1st edition, vol. 1, p. 23; ‘Alā’ al-Dīn, vol. 1, p. 6 sq.; al-Dānī, *Muqni’*; *K. al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*, fol. 6 sqq.; al-Qurtubī, fol. 20<sup>o</sup>; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 138 sq. Cf. Silvestre de Sacy, “Mémoire sur l’origine et les anciens monuments de la littérature parmi les Arabes,” p. 426 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> These are the general terms used by Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 3, p. 86, to describe it. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 20, says that the Syrians followed the reading of Ubayy b. Ka‘b. Cf. also, above, p. 237 n. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 235 sq.; A. Jeffery, *Materials for the history of the text*, pp. 209–211.

<sup>4</sup> “He was appalled by the different ways in which his warriors and those from Syria recited the Qur’ān,” Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 231, col. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 232, col. 1; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, p. 6.

to procure copies of the codex of the Koran in the possession of Ḥafṣa bt. ʿUmar.<sup>6</sup> After the work was completed, Ḥafṣa's original was returned, and the copies were dispatched to various foreign destinations to serve as the authorized, model recension. The older collections, however, were destroyed. It seems that the populace everywhere obediently accepted this decision. Only the ever-unruly Kūfans under the leadership of Ibn Masʿūd offered resistance.

[ii/49] When exactly this happened can only be guessed. The respective campaigns are usually dated 30/650.<sup>7</sup> But their connection with other battles reported by the chroniclers in the same region with identical actors<sup>8</sup> is by no means explicit. If Ibn Masʿūd indeed lived to see the completion of the ʿUthmānic recension, this must have happened before 32/652 or 33/653,<sup>9</sup> dates which are given as the years of his death. The latest date is the death of ʿUthmān, which occurred at the end of 35/655 (18 Dhū l-Ḥijja).

According to the unanimous tradition, the initiative for the project came not from the Caliph but from one of his most renowned commanders who, in the wake of disagreements about the correct recitation of the Holy Text, feared for the unity of Islam and for the Islamic theocratic government.<sup>10</sup> In any case, it remains the undeniable merit of ʿUthmān to have followed upon the advice and sped up the realization of the plan. He thus accomplished his most reasonable act of government, and the only one through which he won fame. The insurgents, of course, later reproached him for this beneficent decision (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 2952). On the other hand, outstanding persons like ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar and ʿAlī, although personal and political opponents, allegedly agreed with him in this particular case.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Cf. above, pp. 225sq., and 228sq. In Ibn ʿAṭīyya, and al-Qurṭubī, fol. 20<sup>r</sup> it reads after al-Ṭabarī: "The leaves in the possession of Ḥafṣa served as a model (*ju'ilat imānan*) for this second collection."

<sup>7</sup> al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 2856; Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 3, p. 85; Ibn Khaldūn, ed. Cairo, vol. 2, append. 135; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 1, cod. Paris, fol. 151 [*sic*] (according to Caetani). Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur ältesten Geschichte des Islams*, p. 110.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. L. Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, 32/652 §4; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Annales*, ed. Juynboll, vol. 1, p. 97; *Abulfedae Annales moslemici*, ed. Reiske, vol. 1, p. 204; and al-Nuwayrī (*Nihāyat al-arab*) give the year 29/649. When al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 139 (according to al-Qaṣṭallānī, vol. 4, p. 438) mentions 26/646, this is confused with an earlier campaign. Cf. Leone Caetani, loc. cit., 25/645, §3.

<sup>9</sup> This would correspond to Eutychios, *Annales*, ed. Cheikho, vol. 2, p. 341.

<sup>10</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 231, col. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh*, vol. 3, p. 87.

The tradition just paraphrased has been called “established” in the chapter heading because it is the most widespread in literature, *ḥadīth*, Koranic commentators, and works of history. The verification is not as sound as in the case of the tradition of the first collection, where the *isnād* ends with the renowned traditionist Anas b. Mālik<sup>12</sup> and does not go back to an eyewitness. The criticism of that other tradition has particularly demonstrated how little reliable such formalities are.

### *Deviating Traditions and Their Value*

Deviating traditions are outwardly no less attested than the so-called established traditions, since the authorities to which they are traced back, like ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, Kathīr b. Aflaḥ, and [Muḥammad b. Muslim] AL-ZUHRĪ, d. 124/742,<sup>13</sup> are among the most respected traditionists. For this reason, in the case of each of the following traditions the question of their intrinsic reliability will immediately pose itself. A tradition in al-Dānī’s *al-Muqniʿ* omits Saʿīd (Ibn al-ʿĀṣ) and replaces him with both ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ<sup>14</sup> and ʿAbd Allāh IBN ʿABBĀS.<sup>15</sup> The former is known for asceticism, great competence in *ḥadīth* and literacy, and he is the alleged author of a collection of *ḥadīth*.<sup>16</sup> It is nevertheless unlikely that he was a member of the Commission, since his father, whom ʿUthmān had deposed as governor of Egypt in 28/648,<sup>17</sup> joined the forces of the opposition to the Caliph. ʿAbd Allāh IBN ʿABBĀS, on account of his considerable theological and exegetic erudition,<sup>18</sup> would have been well suited for this task. The fact that his name is mentioned evidently relates to the tendentious goal of having at least one man of the Prophet’s family be associated with the establishment of the canonical text.

<sup>12</sup> Muḥammad b. Muslim AL-ZUHRĪ (d. 124/742) from Anas b. Mālik (d. ca. 90/708).

<sup>13</sup> *EP*; *EQ*; G. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia of canonical ḥadīth*, pp. 690–730; F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 1, pp. 280–283.

<sup>14</sup> Died 65/684; *EP*; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 2–3; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 84.

<sup>15</sup> *EP*; G. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 1; F. Sezgin, *Geschichte*, vols. 1, and 8.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Ibn Qutayba, p. 146; al-Nawawī, p. 361sq; Ibn Saʿd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographien der Genossen, die sich noch vor der Eroberung Mekka’s bekehrten* (vol. 4, part 2), p. ʿsq; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 3, p. 33; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 2–3.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur ältesten Geschichte des Islams*, p. 127.

<sup>18</sup> For details see the literary-historical appendix, p. 272.

Another source<sup>19</sup> adds Ubayy b. Ka'b<sup>20</sup> to those four men; he was one of the most renowned experts on the Koran and the editor of a special collection.<sup>21</sup> This must be rejected, however, because according to the reliable report of al-Wāqidi, who had made inquiries among his family, he died in 22/642 or, according to other informants, even two or three years earlier.<sup>22</sup> The statement that he died in 30/650 or 32/652 is strongly suspect of being a forgery for the sake of making it plausible that he collaborated with the 'Uthmānic recension.

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As is claimed in two traditions, Zayd (Ibn Thābit) was given only a single assistant from the Quraysh. One of these two traditions mentions Sa'īd b. al-Āṣ,<sup>23</sup> whose name was already on the above-mentioned list of four. 'Uthmān, it is said, put the question to the Companions of the Prophet of who knew Arabic best and who had the most beautiful hand. They then decided on Sa'īd as linguist, and Zayd as calligrapher. Thus, the former dictated, and the latter wrote. If I am not mistaken, we are here dealing with a simplification of the established tradition. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith was probably left out, as no appropriate job could be found for him. If this were the case, then the respective tradition would be dependent on the established tradition and therefore of later origin.

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The second of those two traditions<sup>24</sup> mentions Zayd besides one Abān b. Sa'īd b. al-Āṣ, probably an uncle of the frequently mentioned Sa'īd. Abān, who had served as the Prophet's amanuensis,<sup>25</sup> although according to al-

<sup>19</sup> Silvestre de Sacy, Antoine I. "Commentaire sur le poème nommé Raïyya ... intitulé Akila", p. 427.—Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 3, part 2). *Biographien der medinischen Kämpfer*, p. 62, merely mentions that 'Uthmān ordered him to collect the Koran, then follows a tradition which reckons him among the members of the commission of twelve.—*al-Itqān*, p. 430 at the top, mentions a tradition, in which Hānī' al-Barbarī, a slave of 'Uthmān, relates that his master once sent him to Ubayy b. Ka'b with several passages of the Koran (sūras 2:261, 30:29, and 86:17) written on the shoulder bone of a sheep, to have them corrected, which he did.

<sup>20</sup> *EP*; A. Jeffery, *Materials for the history of the text of the Qur'ān*, pp. 114–116; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 93, col. 2, p. 265, col. 2, p. 479, col. 2.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. above, p. 235 sqq.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Ibn Qutayba, p. 134; Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 3 part 2): *Biographien der medinischen Kämpfer*, p. 62; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Annales*, ed. Juynboll, vol. 1, pp. 58 and 97; Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba fi ma'rifat al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 1, p. 50; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz*, vol. 1, p. 15.

<sup>23</sup> 'Umar b. Muḥammad (IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ); *Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*, part 3; G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, vol. 1, p. 167, note 3, according to al-Dhahabī, *Geschichte des Islams [Ta'rikh al-Islām]*, cod. Gothan., p. 171 [*sic*].

<sup>24</sup> Ibn 'Atīyya, fol. 25; al-Qurṭubī, fol. 20<sup>r</sup>; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 20; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 1, p. 37.

<sup>25</sup> al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, p. 473; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1782; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba fi ma'rifat al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 1, p. 50, etc.

Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* (vol. 1, p. 2349), he died previously in 14/637 in the Battle of Yarmūk. The latest date of his death that I can find, 29/649, is likely to have been calculated later with consideration of his alleged collaboration with the ʿUthmānic recension, although it is still dated two years too early. Ibn ʿAṭīyya and al-Qurṭubī are thus certainly right when they consider the entire tradition weak (*daʿīf*).

Yet another genre is represented by a transmission for which we are indebted to the erudition of al-Suyūṭī.<sup>26</sup>

“Ibn Abī Dāʿūd al-Sijistānī<sup>27</sup> from Muḥammad IBN SĪRĪN al-Anṣārī<sup>28</sup> from Kathir b. Aflaḥ.<sup>29</sup> When ʿUthmān was ready to have copies of the Koran produced, he gathered around him twelve men from the Quraysh and the Anṣār. He then had the container with the Koran<sup>30</sup> brought from ʿUmar’s house, and administered the oath to the group: whenever they were at variance with themselves, they waited with the decision until it was determined who was authentically the last person to have heard the passage.”

The truth of the report that ʿUthmān did not hesitate to consult men, even though they were living three days from Medina,<sup>31</sup> and whether this can be connected with this tradition, is doubtful. Al-Qaṣṭallānī,<sup>32</sup> using the same source as al-Suyūṭī, includes among the twelve men both Ubayy b. Kaʿb and Muṣʿab b. Saʿd,<sup>33</sup> whereas Ibn Saʿd (*(al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 3, part 2): *Biographien der medinischen Kämpfer*, p. 62, l 19 sq.) mentions Zayd b. Thābit in addition to Ubayy, while al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, vol. 1, no. 4763, still adds to both of them Saʿd b. al-ʿĀṣ, but reckons all to be Quraysh.

Not a word of this tradition is true. For all intents and purposes, the story of this large commission simply aims at a better representation of the Medinan community in establishing the Koran. The number twelve is conspicuous, as it reminds us of the twelve chieftains (*naqīb*) of the Children of Israel (sūra 5:15). The silence regarding most of the names also arouses suspicion. Finally, as we shall see, the description of the procedure for the establishment of the text starts from false assumptions.

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<sup>26</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 139.

<sup>27</sup> *EP*; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 174–175.

<sup>28</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 633–634.

<sup>29</sup> According to al-Khazrajī’s *Khulāṣat tadhhib al-kamāl* he transmitted from ʿUthmān and Zayd, and was killed in the battle of al-Ḥarra.

<sup>30</sup> *rabʿa*.

<sup>31</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 139; al-Qurṭubī; *al-Muqniʿ*.

<sup>32</sup> Vol. 7, p. 449, draws from *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif* of Ibn Abī Dāʿūd al-Sijistānī.

<sup>33</sup> Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, p. 167; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 506.

The greatest deviation from the established tradition is definitely the tradition that al-Suyūṭī<sup>34</sup> adopted from the *muṣḥaf* work of ABŪ BAKR (Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh) IBN ASHTAH AL-IṢBAHĀNĪ.<sup>35</sup>

“Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr said: ‘One day a man went to ʿUmar and told him that people were at variance with the Koran. ʿUmar therefore decided to produce the Koran in a unique reading, but he was murdered before he could embark upon his project. The man then approached the Caliph ʿUthmān and repeated this offer. Thereupon ʿUthmān collected the codices, and ordered me to fetch the codex belonging to ʿĀʾisha. After we had checked and corrected it, he had the other codices torn up’”<sup>36</sup>

This is likely also the reference in another source<sup>37</sup> that ʿUmar was murdered before he had collected the Koran. The tradition evidently endeavours to belittle ʿUthmān in preference to his great predecessor, not unlike the Biblical story of the Temple at Jerusalem that plays David off against Solomon.<sup>38</sup> That the model codex originated from the private property of ʿĀʾisha is also tendentious, as this woman was the aunt of the Zubayrī through her sister Asmāʾ.

*Critique of the Established Tradition:  
The Biographies of the Members of the Commission,  
and the Qualification of the Members for Their Task*

Given that our investigation led us to reject all the divergent traditions as well as their details about the composition of the Koran Commission, the reliability of the established tradition must now be determined.

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As far as the biography of the four members of the Commission is concerned, Zayd b. Thābit was a Medinan of the Banū Najjār, a sub-clan of the Khazraj. As a youngster he often acted as an amanuensis to the Prophet, particularly for his revelations,<sup>39</sup> and later produced the codex of Ḥafṣa.<sup>40</sup> Under ʿUthmān, he held office as a *qāḍī*,<sup>41</sup> while according to others he was in

<sup>34</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 430.

<sup>35</sup> Died 360/970; cf. G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen* [schools of grammarians], p. 299.

<sup>36</sup> *shuqqiqat*.

<sup>37</sup> Ibn Saʿd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographien der mekkanischen Kämpfer* [Biographies of the Meccan combatants], ed. by E. Sachau, p. 212, l 14.

<sup>38</sup> Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 2nd ed., p. 187 sq.

<sup>39</sup> al-Ṭabarī, vol. 2, p. 836; above, p. 37.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. above, p. 223 sqq.

<sup>41</sup> al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 3058; Ibn al-Athīr, [*al-Kāmil*], vol. 3, p. 150.



charge of the treasury,<sup>42</sup> or perhaps the chancellor.<sup>43</sup> As an intrepid follower of the Caliph,<sup>44</sup> he remained loyal to the cause of the Umayyads, and refused to pay homage to ʿAlī.<sup>45</sup> The year of his death is usually given as 45/665.<sup>46</sup>

Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ was born shortly after the *hijra*. He was an Umayyad and a favourite of the Caliph ʿUthmān. Among the numerous women he married throughout his life, two daughters of this caliph are also mentioned.<sup>47</sup> After Walīd b. ʿUqba was deposed in 29/649, Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ became governor of Kūfa, a post he held until the end of 34/654.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith was of about the same age, and belonged to the prominent family of the Makhzūm. After his father died by the notorious plague of Emmaus, ʿUmar married the latter's widow Fāṭima. Among ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's women, apart from a daughter each of Abū Bakr and Zubayr, a daughter of ʿUthmān is also mentioned, namely the same (Maryam) who is also named among the women of Saʿīd. According to the sources, he did not play a part in politics. His connection with the Umayyads seems to have been permanent and good since two of his daughters entered the harem of respected members of these families, of Muʿāwiya and Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ.<sup>48</sup>

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, who was of about the same age as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, also belonged to a prominent Meccan family. Through his mother Asmā' bt. Abī Bakr's<sup>49</sup> side he was not only the grandson of Abū Bakr and the nephew of ʿĀ'isha, but subsequently became a stepson of the Caliph ʿUmar. He is said to have distinguished himself not only as a soldier but also by his great religious fervour, and his assiduous praying and fasting. As the son of

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<sup>42</sup> al-Nuwayrī, p. 259; al-Yaʿqūbī, vol. 2, p. 195; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 2, p. 222.

<sup>43</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 3, p. 154.

<sup>44</sup> al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 2937; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. 3, p. 119.

<sup>45</sup> al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 3070, 3072; Ibn al-Athīr, [*al-Kāmil*], vol. 3, p. 154; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 2, p. 222.

<sup>46</sup> Ibn Saʿīd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, part 2): *Letzte Krankheit, Tod* [Final illness and death of Muḥammad], ed. F. Schwally, p. 116; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, p. 222 [*sic*]; Ibn al-Athīr (*al-Kāmil*), vol. 3, p. 378; Ibn Qutayba, [*al-Maʿārif*], p. 133. If it is true (Ibn Hishām, p. 561) that in the Battle of the Trench (at the end of 5/626–627) he was fifteen years old, he can have been only twenty years old when Muḥammad died.

<sup>47</sup> Ibn Saʿīd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 5): *Biographien der Nachfolger in Medina* [biographies of the successors at Medina], ed. by K.V. Zetterstéen p. 19 sq.

<sup>48</sup> Ibn Saʿīd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographien der Nachfolger in Medina* [the successors at Medina], edited by K.V. Zetterstéen (vol. 5), p. 1 sqq.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 3, p. 283 sq.

<sup>49</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.v.

a man who later played an ambiguous role, to say the least, in the rebellion against ʿUthmān, and then himself reached for the caliphate, he cannot be counted upon to have been exactly a follower of the caliph.<sup>50</sup>

*The Procedure of the Establishment of the Text of the Koran, and the Qualification of the Members of the Commission for Their Task*

[ii/56] Judging by Zayd b. Thābit's former activity, his qualification for ʿUthmān's Koran Commission is beyond doubt. Unlike anyone else, he belonged here, and is therefore also the only person on whose collaboration with the Commission there is unanimous agreement.

It is extremely rare that Muslim scholars express surprise that the first choice did not fall upon Ibn Masʿūd, who had embraced Islam at a time when Zayd had not yet been born and who was endowed with still other merits.<sup>51</sup> Yet they finally took solace in the thought that Zayd b. Thābit knew the entire Koran by heart, whereas Ibn Masʿūd knew only seventy sūras. This view is totally untenable and is based on the misinterpretation of a tradition that states that the Prophet had already personally recited seventy sūras before Ibn Masʿūd<sup>52</sup> when Zayd was still a youngster. This, however, neglects the fact that Ibn Masʿūd himself was the author of his own Koran recension. On the other hand, this tradition fails to recognize the fact that the ʿUthmānic Koran is nothing but a copy of the codex of Ḥafṣa, and that therefore there was no one better qualified to head the copy work than Zayd b. Thābit, the former copyist and editor of the model codex.

Conversely, it is extremely difficult to pass judgement regarding the reason that led to the election of the three Qurayshites. Saʿīd (Ibn al-ʿAṣ) had been governor of Kūfa since 29/649. We do not know whether he was at Medina when the Commission was constituted, nor whether he was summoned by the Caliph for precisely this project, nor the reason for the appointment. The fact that Saʿīd was well acquainted with the conditions in Iraq, and that he had earlier received Ḥudhayfa [Ibn al-Yamān's] complaints<sup>53</sup> right then and there, can hardly have been the reason, since these advantages were irrelevant to a collaboration with the Koran Commission. Since the

<sup>50</sup> Ibn Qutayba, p. 116; al-Nawawī, p. 34 sq.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba fī maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 3, p. 161 sqq.; Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur ältesten Geschichte des Islams*, p. 131 sq.

<sup>51</sup> al-Qurtubī, fol. 19<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. above, p. 235.

<sup>53</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 231, col. 2.

biographies of the other two Quraysh supply no facts as to why they were included in the Commission, we must look and see whether the tradition itself might supply a clue.

This is indeed the case. ʿUthmān issued the following guideline for the Koran Commission: “If you disagree, write in the dialect of the Quraysh, which was used in the revelations.”<sup>54</sup> These words apparently justify the conclusion that the Quraysh majority of the Commission should vouch for the dialectical accuracy of the text. Another tradition also recognizes these three men as the greatest authorities on the Quraysh idiom, although in case of disagreement leaving the final decision to the Caliph. For example, when Zayd b. Thābit once wanted to write *تابوه* (with ه) whereas the rest of them preferred *تابوت* with ت (sūras 2:249, 20:39), ʿUthmān declared the latter form to be the true Quraysh form.<sup>55</sup> This interpretation is wrong, however. The example alone is an unfortunate choice, since *tābūt* is not at all genuine Arabic but an Abyssinian loan-word. *Tābūhun* is a gruesome deformity. Even the controversy about such a word formation is totally against the spirit of that early period. Neither the Prophet nor his closest successors and followers had the least idea of scrupulous, philological exactitude.<sup>56</sup>

The view of Muslim scholars is closely connected with the frequently discussed question of the relation between the canonical recension and the first collection of Zayd b. Thābit. Since both redactions were theoretically identical,<sup>57</sup> according to their dogmatic prejudice founded on the divine origin of the Koran, Muslim doctors devised the theory of the seven *aḥruf*, or the “variant readings” within the limits of the seven sets of readings, to justify the preparation of the second edition.<sup>58</sup> Accordingly, the first collection contained the variants in seven different Arabic dialects,<sup>59</sup> while the ʿUthmānic recension constitutes only one dialect, the Quraysh idiom,<sup>60</sup> which

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<sup>54</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī maʿrifat al-tāʾrikh*, vol. 3, p. 86, l 24sq.

<sup>55</sup> al-Tirmidhī in the *Tafsīr* on sūra 9 at the end; *Muqniʿ*; Ibn ʿAtīyya, fol. 25<sup>v</sup>. A tradition in the *Mabānī li-naẓm al-maʿānī*, fol. 7<sup>r</sup> (cap. 2) reports a controversy in the first edition between Abān b. Saʿīd and Zayd regarding this word.

<sup>56</sup> Nöldeke, “Das klassische Arabisch und die arabischen Dialekte,” p. 4.

<sup>57</sup> Ibn ʿAtīyya, cod. Sprenger 408; al-Qurtubī, fol. 22sq.; ʿAbd al-Aḥad b. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Aḥad al-Ḥarrānī; *Nuzhat*; Leiden, cod. 653 Warner; *al-Itqān*, p. 145.

<sup>58</sup> Jeffery, *Materials for the history of the text of the Qurʾān*, pp. 1–2.

<sup>59</sup> *al-Muqniʿ*; A. Silvestre de Sacy, “Commentaire sur le poème nommé Raīyya ... intitulé Akīla,” p. 425; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 133; al-Shūshāwī, cap. 2. As regards other interpretations of *aḥruf* cf. above, p. 252sqq.

<sup>60</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 140. Ḥārith (Ibn Asad) AL-MUḤĀSIBĪ al-Anazī (d. 243/857) [*EP*<sup>2</sup>; *EQ*; Sezgin in his *GAS* (vol. 1, pp. 639–642) says: “According to established opinion ʿUthmān is the collector of the Koran, but this is not the case, rather he only initiated the acceptance

ultimately was used by the angel Gabriel when communicating the revelations to the Prophet.

[ii/58] Generally, any tradition connecting the ʿUthmānic text in any way with dialectal questions must be rejected, since the Koran is not written in a local dialect at all but rather has a language identical to that of the pre-Islamic poems. These, however, cannot possibly have been written in dialectal form, as their authors belonged to quite different tribes, living so far apart that the texts would have to show strong idiomatic differences. Admittedly, when fixing a text in such a defective script as Arabic's, where vowels are generally not indicated and many consonants are expressed by the same sign, some idiosyncrasies of the verbal presentation were simply not recognizable at all. Still, the lexical and grammatical agreement is such that an actual uniform language must be assumed. After all, given what we know about linguo-geographical conditions in other parts of the world, it would be a total contradiction if such a drastic disappearance of dialects were to have occurred in large areas of the Arabian Peninsula. We are, thus, obliged to conclude that the ancient poems, as well as the Koran, were composed in a generally intelligible standard language,<sup>61</sup> the difference of which from the local dialects of cultural centres like Mecca and Medina was naturally less than from that in the more distant areas of the Peninsula.

[ii/59] If—regardless of objections—ʿUthmān indeed intended to gather the best authorities of the Quraysh dialect, he should have addressed himself to other men and not to people who, although from Quraysh families, had actually grown up in Medina.

Another seemingly simple solution to the problem seems to be indicated by the remark of tradition that Zayd b. Thābit and his associates copied the codex of Ḥafṣa.<sup>62</sup> To me it still seems extremely doubtful that the noble

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of one particular variant reading which he, together with authorities from the Emigrants (*Muhājirūn*) and Helpers (*Anṣār*) agreed upon, for he feared that the Iraqi and Syrian communities might get embroiled in disagreement because of their variant readings." Cf. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 231, col. 2.

<sup>61</sup> Julius Wellhausen, *Arabisches Heidentum*, 2nd ed., p. 216, speaks of a "language above the dialects" existing in the "illiterate literature" of pre-Islamic Arabia. Nöldeke comes to a different conclusion in his *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 2, and *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 4. Otherwise I am in agreement with Nöldeke's critical review of K. Voller's book, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien* [common parlance and literary language in ancient Arabia] (1906).

<sup>62</sup> *Fa-nasakhūhā fi l-maṣāḥif*. For references see above, p. 251 n. 1. Frequent in the biographies are expressions like *fa-katabū l-maṣāḥif*, e.g., Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba fī ma'rifat al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 3, p. 281 and 284; al-Nawawī, p. 281; al-Khazrajī, *Khulāṣa*, s.v.; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith.

Quraysh would have lent themselves to such a troublesome and exacting writing task, even if they were qualified. But since Zayd b. Thābit could not have accomplished the enormous work single-handedly—it was a task of three or four copies—I suspect that the actual copy work was done by a staff of professional calligraphers, with Zayd b. Thābit’s activity limited to the overall charge of the project. Whether the Quraysh mentioned were indeed sufficiently qualified to assist Zayd in this activity is also shrouded in obscurity. In any case, this combination is more plausible than the literal interpretation of tradition.

Another conjecture can be connected with the report that ʿUthmān attempted to collect as many revelations as possible.<sup>63</sup> Nearly every version<sup>64</sup> of the established tradition agrees that sūra 33:23 was originally lacking but was later found at Khuzayma b. Thābit al-Anṣārī’s quarters, whereupon the verse was put in its present place. According to al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 20), this verse was missing during a first revision of the new text, whereas, during a second revision, the end of sūra 9 was discovered on the authority of another Khuzayma.<sup>65</sup> In the *Tafsīr*, only al-Tirmidhī mentions this ending on the latter’s authority. For such textual investigations, the three Qurayshites could have rendered great service, particularly since, through their connections with the most prosperous and recognized families, they must have been best informed as to copies of the revelations in their possession. Those traditions, however, are undoubtedly based on an actual or alleged incident that occurred in the course of Abū Bakr’s collection,<sup>66</sup> although—like everything else reported about the ʿUthmānic recension with regard to variant readings or dialectal forms—they are in stark contradiction to the clearly stated fact of the established tradition that the ʿUthmānic Koran was merely a copy of the codex of Ḥafṣa. In such circumstances, the preconditioned familiarity with codices, that

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<sup>63</sup> In this case one might actually refer to the passage quoted on p. 225 n. 31, but this is not part of the “established” tradition. For this reason also the following tradition cannot be used, which is transmitted by al-Tirmidhī and al-Bukhārī in *Kitāb al-Tafsīr*, and al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 142: “Ibn al-Zubayr said, I spoke to ʿUthmān: Verse 241 of The Sūra of the Cow is abrogated by verse 234. Why do you still write it? Thereupon ʿUthmān replied: You ought to leave it, cousin, for I do not intend to remove anything from its place.” Incidentally, these verses do not contradict one another in any way. Verse 234 permits the widow to remarry, when four months and ten days have passed after the death of her husband. The right of the widow to collect aliments from the estate of the man for one year applies only—as it is clearly stated in verse 241—if she remains unmarried this long.

<sup>64</sup> Only Flügel’s *Fihrist*, p. 24, and Ibn al-Athīr (*al-Kāmil fī l-taʾrīkh*), vol. 3, p. 86, do not mention missing verses of the Koran.

<sup>65</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 696, col. 1, n. 1.

<sup>66</sup> Cf above, p. 223 sqq.

was expected of the three Qurayshites was of no practical importance and, thus, could not have been the reason for their selection for the Koran Commission.

[ii/61] I can now offer only one other alternative for consideration, namely that on account of their high social esteem those Qurayshites were expected to add prestige to the enterprise in the eyes of the public. Yet there was no need for such a measure, as the Caliph had made the decision in mutual agreement with the old Companions of the Prophet, and it was the best possible recommendation. If it were done without their assent, one would at least have expected that older and more mature men would have been selected.

Whoever does not find this argument convincing has no choice but to consider the inclusion of the three Qurayshites to be ahistorical. In this case, he is under the obligation to demonstrate the forgery of the historical fact, be it for the interests of the Quraysh party or for other ambitions. Whoever ventures to make this attempt will soon run into the greatest difficulties, as the conflicting interests of the Umayya and Zubayr [Ibn al-ʿAwwām]<sup>67</sup> families certainly cannot be reconciled. The appointment of the three Qurayshites is therefore likely to be true, even if we know nothing about the purpose and manner of their employment.

Furthermore, the question is of little importance, since, in view of the task of simply producing several copies of a model text, the Commission could only have played a subordinate role. Far more important was the basic decision to create a uniform text of the Koran. “ʿUthmān assembled the Companions and informed them of the situation. They attached great importance to it, and followed the opinion of Ḥudhayfa [Ibn al-Yamān.]”<sup>68</sup> Unfortunately, we learn nothing of the members of this council. Ḥudhayfa, who fathered the idea, would have certainly deserved a seat. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, too, would have here found a more appropriate place than in the technical commission.

[ii/62] After having ascertained that ʿUthmān’s role in the establishment of the uniform text of the Koran consisted of no more than commissioning a copy of the most respected codex at the time in Medina, from now on we can no longer speak of ʿUthmān’s collection but only of his recension. As a matter of fact, the expression “to collect” is never used in the established tradition but rather only in isolated other traditions,<sup>69</sup> and thereafter frequently in the his-

<sup>67</sup> *Et*; G. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 273, col. 1, 462; col. 2, 510, col. 1.

<sup>68</sup> Ibn al-Athīr (*al-Kāmil fī l-taʾrīkh*), vol. 3, p. 86. When ʿAlī came to Kūfa in 36/656 he replied—according to Ibn al-Athīr, *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 87, al-Ṭabarī, vol. 2, p. 747; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 139 end—to those who criticized unfavourably the ʿUthmānic recension of the Koran that the Caliph had acted in accordance with the Companions.

<sup>69</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 430 according to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, translated above, p. 255.

torical<sup>70</sup> and Koranic<sup>71</sup> literature. It is also not appropriate to perpetuate an expression appearing in such late sources when the main purpose of the collection is considered to be its destruction rather than its textual use.<sup>72</sup> This conjecture is supported in al-Ya'qūbī (vol. 2, p. 196) but otherwise—as far as I can see—tradition uniformly and exclusively considers the sole purpose of the collection to be the establishment of the text. Moreover, that combination betrays a conception of the fate of the pre-'Uthmānic redactions of the Koran which, as we shall see in a later chapter, is by no means beyond dispute.

*The Arrangement of the Sūras in the 'Uthmānic Koran*

The purpose of this arrangement is by no means obvious. Among the points of view that might possibly be considered, the one of content must be excluded from the outset. It is known that not only the sūras but also many individual revelations are concerned with the most diverse subjects. The chronological principle must also be excluded. It would contradict not only the spirit of the period—as mentioned above when discussing pre-'Uthmānic redactions of the Koran<sup>73</sup>—but would also be impracticable for archival considerations because, apart from passages Muḥammad himself added to earlier ones, the fragments probably became hopelessly mixed up already in the first collection of Zayd b. Thābit. For such reason 'Ikrima could rightly reply to Muḥammad IBN SĪRĪN's (d. 110/729) question of whether the Koran had been arranged in chronological order that this would have been impossible even if men and demons had joined efforts.<sup>74</sup> Later generations prohibit outright the paying attention to the chronology of the Koran, condemning this as heretical.

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In such circumstances nothing else remains but to consider a mechanical arrangement according to the length of the sūras, a principle already suggested by early Muslim scholars. "Uthmān collected the Koran, compiled it (*allafa*), and put together the long sūras with the long ones, and the short sūras with the short ones."<sup>75</sup> Disregarding the first sūra, the canonical edi-

<sup>70</sup> al-Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, vol. 2, p. 196; Euty chius, *Annales*, vol. 2, p. 341.

<sup>71</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 20; Ibn 'Aṭīyya; *Muqni'*; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, pp. 138, 140, 430; al-Qasṭallānī, vol. 7, p. 449.

<sup>72</sup> Th. Nöldeke in the first edition of this work, p. 212.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. above, p. 249.

<sup>74</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 135.

<sup>75</sup> al-Ya'qūbī, ed. M.Th. Houtsma, vol. 2, p. 196 [و جمع عثمان القرآن]; similarly Euty chius, vol. 2,

tion, indeed, begins with the longest chapters, followed by shorter ones, and ends with the smallest ones. The system is not as strange as it might at first seem, for when arranging chapters according to size it is equally rational to start with the largest as well as with the shortest part. The observant reader will likely find an equal number of examples of both methods in world literature. I would merely mention that the paragraphs within the order of the Jewish Mishna are arranged by the descending numbers of the chapters.<sup>76</sup>

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As measurement of length, the early Muslims cannot have resorted to the verse count; instead, it must have been the obvious number of pages of an evenly written copy. After all, the length of the verses is so different that, for example, the seventh sūra has thirty more verses than the fourth sūra, even though the latter one is one page longer, the twentieth sūra has even five more verses than the ninth sūra, despite being less than half as long, and the twenty-sixth sūra takes up approximately only one fourth of the pages of the second sūra, while still consisting of only sixty-nine verses less than the latter. The general guideline of the overall proportion has been followed only very roughly and incompletely. In order to supply a tangible illustration of these facts, I produced the following table, which lists the sūras of the canonical Koran, including the number of verses as well as the outer dimensions in pages and lines of Gustav Flügel's 1858 Arabic edition of the Koran,<sup>77</sup> adding the perfect arrangement that corresponds to the exactly descending proportion.

<i>Canonical edition</i>				Sequence of the sūras of the canonical edition in strict arrangement	<i>Canonical edition</i>				Sequence of the sūras of the canonical edition in strict arrangement
No. of sūra	No. of verses	<i>Volume</i> Pages Lines			No. of sūra	No. of verses	<i>Volume</i> Pages Lines		
a	b	c	d	e	a	b	c	d	e
1	7	-	5	2	6	165	11	16	5
2	286	22	11	4	7	205	13	3	9
3	200	13	11	3	8	76	4	20	11
4	175	14	4	7	9	130	9	21	16
5	120	10	18	6	10	109	7	1	17

p. 341, and *al-Itqān*, p. 140: "Uthmān collected the leaves in a codex arranged by its sūras (*murattaban li-suwarih;*") al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 145: "Uthmān ordered them to have the long sūras follow one another."

<sup>76</sup> H.L. Strack, *Einleitung in den Talmud*, p. 25; from Abraham Geiger, "Einiges über Plan und Anordnung der Mischnah," p. 489 sqq.

<sup>77</sup> Not counted are the headings of the sūras (name, place of revelation, *basmala*); the incomplete lines are reckoned to be complete. When there is no heading the page of Flügel's Koran consists of twenty-two lines.



<i>Canonical edition</i>				Sequence of the sūras of the canonical edition in strict arrangement	<i>Canonical edition</i>				Sequence of the sūras of the canonical edition in strict arrangement
No. of sūra	No. of verses	<i>Volume</i>			No. of sūra	No. of verses	<i>Volume</i>		
a	b	Pages	Lines	e	a	b	Pages	Lines	e
11	123	7	7	10	55	78	1	15	53
12	111	6	20	12	56	96	1	18	54
13	43	3	7	18	57	29	2	7	49
14	52	3	8	26	58	22	1	20	60
15	99	3	18	28	59	24	1	18	48
16	128	7	6	20	60	13	1	9	52
17	111	6	4	33	61	14	-	20	67
18	110	6	6	24	62	11	1	-	68
19	98	3	18	22	63	11	-	17	69
20	135	5	7	8	64	18	1	-	65
21	112	4	9	21	65	12	1	4	72
22	178	5	-	40	66	12	1	-	74
23	118	4	7	39	67	30	1	7	76
24	64	5	6	27	68	52	1	7	62
25	17	3	14	23	69	52	1	4	64
26	227	5	15	29	70	44	1	-	66
27	95	4	18	37	71	29	-	21	70
28	88	5	4	19	72	28	1	3	71
29	69	4	-	25	73	20	-	18	61
30	60	3	6	43	74	55	1	2	77
31	34	2	2	34	75	40	-	16	73
32	30	1	1	14	76	31	1	1	78
33	73	5	7	13	77	50	-	20	79
34	54	3	9	42	78	41	-	18	63
35	45	3	2	30	79	46	-	18	75
36	83	3	-	41	80	42	-	14	80
37	182	4	-	35	81	29	-	11	89
38	88	3	1	36	82	19	-	8	81
39	75	4	5	38	83	36	-	17	85
40	85	4	18	15	84	25	-	10	84
41	54	3	3	46	85	22	-	11	88
42	53	3	7	48	86	16	-	10	98
43	89	5	11	57	87	19	-	7	82
44	59	1	1	47	88	26	-	10	90
45	36	1	21	31	89	30	-	13	92
46	35	2	1	45	90	20	-	8	87
47	40	2	6	58	91	15	-	6	96
48	29	2	7	56	92	21	-	8	86
49	18	1	10	59	93	11	-	4	91
50	45	1	12	55	94	8	-	3	1
51	60	1	12	51	95	8	-	4	93
52	49	1	7	50	96	19	-	7	95
53	62	1	11	32	97	5	-	3	99
54	55	1	11	44	98	8	-	9	100

<i>Canonical edition</i>				Sequence of the sūras of	<i>Canonical edition</i>				Sequence of the sūras of
No. of sūra	No. of verses	<i>Volume</i>		the canonical edition in strict arrangement	No. of sūra	No. of verses	<i>Volume</i>		the canonical edition in strict arrangement
a	b	c	d	e	a	b	c	d	e
99	8	-	4	101	107	7	-	3	103
100	11	-	4	104	108	3	-	1	106
101	9	-	4	94	109	6	-	3	110
102	8	-	3	97	110	29	1	11	89
103	3	-	2	102	111	5	-	2	112
104	9	-	4	105	112	4	-	2	113
105	5	-	3	107	113	5	-	2	114
106	4	-	2	109	114	6	-	2	108

[ii/66] This table shows that the two arrangements differ so markedly from one another that actually only six sūras, namely 3, 12, 21, 51, 80, and 84, are at the proper place; one wonders why the system has been carried out in such an imperfect way when there were no difficulties whatsoever in its consistent application.

[ii/67] Many an inaccuracy could be explained by the fact that the editor was dealing with many sūras in copies of a variety of leaf sizes and hands, thus disguising the true scope. This, however, can hardly explain the most glaring and obvious violations of this principle, such as, for example, how sūras 13, 14, and 15, with a size ranging from 3 to 3½ pages, ended up between sūras of seven pages, and why sūra 8 (five pages) is placed before sūra 9 (ten pages), or why sūra 32 (1½ page) stands before sūra 33 (5½ pages). On the other hand, it is also difficult to believe that Ḥafṣa's copy of the Koran should not have been of the uniform shape of a codex. One is thus tempted to assume that the current order of the sūras must go back to the incomplete textual condition of Ḥafṣa's copy, which Zayd b. Thābit, either because of personal qualms or being under the spell of contemporary prejudices, did not dare to change, or at least not drastically. It cannot even be excluded that the hands of the compiler of this copy had already been tied. However, when we realize that the redactions of Ubayy b. Ka'b and Ibn Mas'ūd, although differing from one another as well as from the ʿUthmānic Koran, reveal its general arrangement without, however, getting any closer, it would consequently seem that the logical conclusion was conveniently avoided. The rationale behind this strange procedure might have been the reluctance to produce something perfect, thereby provoking the jealousy of strange demonic powers, a superstition particularly widely-held among primitive people.

There are only two exceptions to the rigid arrangement, both of which we can appreciate reasonably well. One of them is the most serious departure from the principle found in the canon. It concerns the position of the five-line *Fātiḥa*, immediately before the longest chapter, the so-called Sūra of the Cow. The other exception is insignificant and concerns the fact that the shortest sūra—the one-line hundred and eighth—is not the last one, but rather two of the distich type. The fact that these two sūras (113 and 114), also like the first sūra, are prayers in terms of content would support the assumption that they are purposely placed where they now are. Although we do not precisely know what religious or superstitious idea motivated the editor, it does not seem unduly strange that he considered it appropriate to open such a holy book with a prayer of thanks, and finish it with protecting spells. The possibility that the respective sūras were originally not a part of revelation has been previously discussed in detail.<sup>78</sup>

As far as the total number of sūras in the ʿUthmānic Koran is concerned, a system is no more apparent than in the canons of Ubayy b. Kaʿb and Ibn Masʿūd. It is purely accidental.

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### *The Mysterious Letters Preceding Certain Sūras*

Twenty-nine sūras of our Koran are preceded by single letters of the alphabet or by combinations of letters (logograms), which tradition considers to be part of the Koran. They read as follows:

الر	preceding sūras	10, 11, 12, 14, 15
الم	preceding sūras	2, 3, 29, 30, 31, 32
الم	preceding sūra	13
المص	preceding sūra	7
ح	preceding sūras	40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46 <sup>79</sup>
حمسق	preceding sūra	42
ص	preceding sūra	38
طس	preceding sūra	27
طسم	preceding sūras	26, 28
طه	preceding sūra	20
ق	preceding sūra	50
كهيعص	preceding sūra	19
ن	preceding sūra	68
يس	preceding sūra	36

<sup>78</sup> Cf. above, pp. 89sq, 231sq., and 245sq.

<sup>79</sup> These sūras were thus collectively called الحواميم.

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Muslims took great pains to lift the veil of mystery off of these letters. Many explanations refer to Ibn 'Abbās and other celebrities of the first century, or even to all the Companions of the Prophet, who ought to have been well informed. However, their comments, like the exegetic tradition in general,<sup>80</sup> are strongly suspect of having been forged by later Muslims for the sake of justifying better their own opinions, so that this criticism must conform to internal arguments. In recent times it has become fashionable to ignore the traditional attempts of interpretation. But this is unwarranted. As will become evident later, Christian scholarship of the Occident—either accidentally or by borrowing—frequently created identical or similar concepts, but even where they pursued their own way they did not always arrive at a better argument. The Muslim explanations, of which I can naturally present only a selection from among the remarkable examples,<sup>81</sup> can be divided into two major groups.

The first group recognizes in the “logograms” abbreviations of words or phrases:

- الر: أنا الله أرى; الرحمن (*al-Itqān*, p. 486)
- الم: أنا الله أعلم; الرحمن (*al-Itqān*, p. 486) الله لطيف مجيد (*al-Itqān*, p. 490)
- الم: أنا الله أعلم وأرى (*al-Bayḍāwī*, on sūra 13:1)
- المص: أنا الله الصادق; أنا الله أفضل; المصوّر; الله الرحمن الصمد (*Itqān*, p. 486) ألم
- نشرح لك صدرك (*al-Itqān*, p. 493)
- حم: الرحمن الرحيم (*al-Itqān*, p. 487)
- حمعسق: الرحمن العليم القدوس القاهر (*al-Itqān*, p. 487)
- ص: صدق الله; أقسم بالصمد الصانع الصادق; صاد يا محمد عمك بالقرآن; صاد محمد قلوب العباد (*al-Itqān*, p. 493)
- طس: ذو الطول القدوس (*al-Itqān*, p. 487)
- طسم: ذو الطول القدوس الرحمن (*al-Itqān*, p. 487)
- طه: ذو الطول (*al-Itqān*, p. 487)
- ق: قاهر; قادر (*Itqān*, p. 487) قضي الأمر; أقسم بقوة قلب محمد; قف يا محمد على أداء الرسالة (*al-Itqān*, p. 493)
- كهيعص: كاف هاد أمين عزيز صادق; كريم هاد حكيم عليم صادق; الملك الله العزيز المصوّر; الكافي الهادي العالم الصادق; كاف هاد أمين عالم صادق; أنا الكبير الهادي على أمين

<sup>80</sup> Cf. in this connection the remarks in the literary-historical “appendix.”

<sup>81</sup> Other material can be found in O. Loth, “Tabari’s Korankommentar,” pp. 603–610.

صادق (*al-Itqān*, p. 486 sq.)  
 ن: الحوت (*Itqān*, p. 493) ناصر; نور (*Itqān*, p. 487) الرحمن (*Itqān*, p. 486)  
 يس: يا سيّد المرسلين (*al-Itqān*, p. 493)

It is evident that all these interpretations belong to the realm of unlimited possibilities. Since every abbreviated word can be replaced at convenience by one or several letters, the interpretation of such abbreviations is conversely subject to the same arbitrariness. The only interpretation that can be substantiated is the one of ن (*sūra* 68) as *al-ḥūt*, “fish.” Because the North Semitic *nūn* came to mean “fish” when assimilated to Arabic,<sup>82</sup> and since Jonah is otherwise also called *Dhū l-Nūn*,<sup>83</sup> and in *sūra* 68:48 named *ṣāḥib al-Ḥūt*, it is conceivable that ن might be a kind of name or heading of the sixty-eighth *sūra*.

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Although in the second group there is agreement that the letters do not represent abbreviations, in other respects the approach is quite different.

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- (a) The letters are mysterious names for the Prophet, which defy further interpretation (طه,<sup>84</sup> *al-Suyūṭī*, *al-Itqān*, p. 492; حم, *al-Itqān*, p. 493; يس,<sup>85</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 492); for particular *sūras* (طس, Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Daḥshā, *Tuhfa*, p. 29; حم, *Tuhfa*, p. 29,<sup>86</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 488, *Tuhfa*, p. 29); for a mountain (جمعسق, *al-Itqān*; p. 493; ق “a mountain surrounding the earth,” *al-Itqān*, p. 493); for an ocean (ص “the ocean on which there is the Throne of the All-merciful,” or “where the dead become alive,” *al-Itqān*, p. 493); or finally for “writing table”<sup>87</sup> or “ink-well” (ن, *al-Itqān*, p. 493).
- (b) The letters are signs—derived, by the way, from the numerical value order of the North Semitic alphabet—which are here read symbolically or apocalyptically; for example, الم = 71 years (*al-Itqān*, p. 489 sq.), المر = 271 years (*al-Itqān*, p. 489), طه = 14 = moon, on account of the corresponding number of the stations of the moon (*al-Itqān*, p. 493), etc.
- (c) The letters are auxiliaries to attract attention, either to lead the busy Prophet to the voice of Gabriel, or to astonish the Prophet’s listeners

<sup>82</sup> *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. H. Thorbecke, no. 16, l 39.

<sup>83</sup> al-Bayhaqī, *al-Maḥāsīn wa-l-masāwī*, ed. Schwally, p. 32, l 2.

<sup>84</sup> As a consequence, *Ṭāhā* has become for Muslims a common man’s name. According to Ibn Jubayr and Ḍaḥḥāk in al-Bukhārī, *Tafsīr* on the twentieth *sūra*, طه is said to mean in Nabataean “o, man,” which of course is nonsense.

<sup>85</sup> Also Yāsīn has become a common Muslim man’s name.

<sup>86</sup> al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje in the glosses s.v.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 4, p. 322.

<sup>87</sup> This is inferred from the conjuration opening the sixty-eighth *sūra*: “By the pen, and what they inscribe.”

by this unusual method in such a way that they pay more attention to the revelations (*al-Itqān*, p. 491 sq.)

(d) The letters attest that the revelations were put in writing in the familiar and generally intelligible Arabic alphabet. They are very intelligibly chosen, together representing exactly half (14) of the alphabet, and contain also half of every phonetic symbol (*al-Itqān*, p. 492).

[ii/72] (e) The letters are dividers (*fawāṣil* [فواصل]) of the sūras (*al-Itqān*, p. 494).

A mere first glance reveals that the fantastic ideas, the numerical acrobatics, and the other theories of the second group are as far-fetched as the arbitrary interpretations of the alleged abbreviations. Moreover, the important question why only twenty-nine sūras are preceded by such mysterious letters is not even touched upon.

Among the Western works on the subject, only those works that help our understanding of the problem deserve consideration. Theodor Nöldeke, in the first edition of the present work,<sup>88</sup> regrets that it has not been possible to find definite facts about the meaning of the logograms, particularly as this would have undoubtedly led to important conclusions regarding the composition of the Koran. They do not originate from Muḥammad at all because it would indeed be strange if he had put such unintelligible signs in front of his revelations which, after all, were intended for everyone; but rather, they represent letters and clusters of letters, probably marks of possession, originating from the owners of the Koranic copies which were used in the first collection of Zayd b. Thābit, and which found their way into the final version of the Koran by mere carelessness. This is supported by the whole string of successive sūras of different periods furnished with the sign حم, suggesting the idea that we are dealing here with a copy of the original that contained these sūras in the identical order. Further, it would not be impossible that these letters were no more than monograms of the owner. The following abbreviations are conceivable: لِر = الزبير = al-Zubayr, المر = المغيرة = al-Mughīra, طه = طلحة = Ṭalḥa or Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh,<sup>89</sup> ن = عبد الرحمن = Abd al-Raḥmān. In كيعص the middle letter might indicate بن the two final letters, العاص, etc. But even the possibility of variant readings make everything uncertain.

[ii/73] This view was well received. It is supported by the fact that the monograms are exclusively found at the head of sūras which originally do not constitute a unit. On the other hand, the individual explanation of the names

<sup>88</sup> p. 215 sq.

<sup>89</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.v.

is as arbitrary as that of the early Muslim authorities. The explanation of the long logograms, جمعسق and كيعص, poses insurmountable difficulties. The assumption that the letters entered the canonical edition by mere carelessness is totally out of the question, since an authority like Zayd b. Thābit, who twice had to pass judgement on the form of the text, cannot conceivably have been capable of such a lapse.

Encouraged by the survey of the interpretation of the mysterious letters which al-Ṭabarī supplies in the introduction to his great commentary on the Koran, but particularly by ʿIkrima al-Barbarī's alleged explanation that the combination of the three monograms, الر, حم, and ن, produce the word *al-Raḥmān*, the Most Gracious, Otto Loth<sup>90</sup> recognizes also in the other monograms indications of "certain catchwords" of the Koran. When he then recalls Aloys Sprenger's conjecture<sup>91</sup> that the letters might partly be read also in reverse order—roughly like those on seals—he reckons, for example, المص to be an abbreviation of الصراط المستقيم and صراط of ص, and قرآن ق of ق, and he then puts طه, طسم, طه, and possibly also يس in relation to the familiar words known from sūra 56:78, *lā yamassuhu illā l-muṭahharūn*, and عسق, sūra 42:1 to the words *laʿalla l-sāʿata qarīb* in 42:16. These combinations are an honour to the author's ingenuity but are too arbitrary to be taken seriously. Particularly suspicious is the reckless transposition of letters. I have never encountered anything like this except in Arabic calligraphy, when an empty space had to be decorated artistically. More valuable are Loth's general views that serve as an introduction to his arguments. First of all, he turns against Nöldeke. It remains incomprehensible how the editors of the Koran could include the private notes of the former owners in the Holy Book. On the other hand, the argument that Muḥammad's inclination for the wonderful and the obscure led him personally to devise such signs would not seem to be strange. Since all the relevant sūras belong to the late Meccan or early Medinan period, when Muḥammad was approaching Judaism, the letters might be Kabbalistic figures. Not all of these objections are of identical importance. For all appearances, the question of whether or not we can imagine Muḥammad capable of such mysterious ciphers can be answered in the affirmative as well as in the negative. Although we know nothing definite regarding the date of the Jewish Kabbalah, most probably it is several centuries later than the Koran.

As Loth continues in the same context on p. 603 of his article, the impartial reflection on those sūras reveals that their beginning contains mostly

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<sup>90</sup> Otto Loth, "Tabarī's Korancommentar," pp. 588–610.

<sup>91</sup> *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, p. 182sq.

an allusion to the preceding letters. He is likely to be thinking mainly of the frequent introductory formula, “those are the *āyāt* ... of the Book” (sūras 10, 12, 13, 15, 28, and 31, and similarly sūra 27). It is certainly quite possible to translate *āyāt* with “symbols,”<sup>92</sup> and consider parts of the alphabet symbols of the revelation. This, however, is in contradiction to the common Koranic meaning of *āyāt* “miraculous sign” or “verse” (sūras 11:1; and 41:2 and 44), and that in the similar introduction to sūra 2:1, “that is the revelation, wherein is no doubt,” the demonstrative does not refer to the preceding logogram A L M but unconditionally to what follows.<sup>93</sup> It is more likely that in sūra 3:1 there might be a reference to the logogram A L M, provided these letters can be interpreted as abbreviation of the words, *Allāhu lā ilāha illā huwa l-ḥayyu l-qayyūm*. But more likely, the first verse, which is identical with the so-called Verse of the Throne of sūra 2:256, is but an old interpretation of that logogram and the original beginning of the sūra is verse two.<sup>94</sup>

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On the other hand, Loth is quite correct in his observation that in the initial verses of the coded sūras their content is nearly always identified as the revealed Word of God.<sup>95</sup> There are, of course, considerably more sūras with such beginnings that lack logograms (sūras 18, 24, 25, 39, 52, 55, 97), whereas other sūras are also preceded by letters but have an entirely different beginning (sūras 29 and 30). However, the passages upon which Loth bases his argument might possibly be too numerous to consider this a mere accident.

Based on this and other considerations, Nöldeke subsequently abandoned his earlier opinion. I think—as he says—Muḥammad seems to have wanted these letters to be a mystical reference to the archetypal text in

<sup>92</sup> Downright “characters, letters” like Late Hebrew *ōt*, and Syriac *ātūtā*, is never the Arabic equivalent of *āyāt*. Essentially different is the writing on the heavenly gold plates, from which Joseph Smith translated the *Book of Mormon* with the help of “the stones of the seer,” because this alphabet consists of a wild fantastical and unsystematic sequence of all possible characters (*caractors*), from which no alphabet at all can be enucleated. Cf. Eduard Meyer, *Ursprung und Geschichte der Mormonen*, pp. 33–83.

<sup>93</sup> Likewise, the demonstrative pronoun in the formula, *tilka āyāt Allāhi* (sūras 2:253 and 3:104) refers to what follows. As far as I see, in this case as in all the other passages mentioned above, this is also the view of the entire exegetic tradition.

<sup>94</sup> Although in this case, the verbal predicates had better be put into the passive voice.

<sup>95</sup> More particulars emerge from the following compilation: sūra 2:1, *dhālika l-kitābu*; 3:2, *nazzala 'alayka l-kitāba ... wa-anzala l-furqāna*; 7:1, *kitābun unzila ilayka*; 10:1, 12:1, 13:1, 15:1, 26:1, 28:1, 31:1, *tilka āyātu l-kitābi*; 11:1, *kitābun uḥkimat āyātuhū*; 14:1, *kitābun anzalnāhu ilayka*; 20:1, *mā anzalnā 'alayka l-furqāna*; 27:1, *tilka āyātu l-Qur'āni wa-kitābin mubīnin*; 32:1, 40:1, 45:1, 46:1, *tanzīlu l-kitābi*; 36:1, 38:1, 50:1, *wa-l-Qur'āni*; 41:1, *tanzīlun min al-Raḥmāni l-Raḥīmi*; 42:1, *ka-dhālika yūḥā ilayka*; 43:1, 44:1, *wa-l-kitābi l-mubīni*; 68:1, *wa-l-qalami wa-mā yaṣṣurūn*.



heaven. To a man who regarded the art of writing, of which at the best he had but a slight knowledge, as something supernatural, and who lived amongst illiterate people, an A B C may well have seemed more significant than they do to us who have been initiated into the mysteries of this art from childhood.<sup>96</sup>

This point of view has the advantage of better relating the logograms to the opening verses of the respective sūras. On the other hand, this presupposes a measure of illiteracy of the Prophet that is incompatible with my previous remarks.<sup>97</sup>

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This objection does not apply if—according to Nöldeke's additional remarks—the mysterious, solemn impression which Muḥammad attempted to make is related to the mass of his listeners. If this had been the Prophet's only intention, it would be difficult to comprehend why the logograms are only found at the beginning of chapters but not even once in front of individual revelations in the middle of sūras. This fact cannot possibly be accidental, regardless of whether normally the inconsistent use of the logograms is based on old distortions,<sup>98</sup> or on the imperfect condition of the texts of the revelation at their first collection. In these conditions, Nöldeke's more recent opinion—which, by the way, is connected most closely with some of the Muslim theories set forth above, p. 269 (c and d)—again raises doubts and enforces the conjecture that the logograms are somehow related to the editorial work of the sūras.

The real existence of the logograms leads back to a very early period. Because of the connection of the ʿUthmānic Koran with its original, the logograms must already have been part of Ḥafṣa's copy. Apparently, Ibn Masʿūd also had them in his recension, since it is reported that he read the logograms of sūra forty-two without the letter *ʿayn*.<sup>99</sup> When even Loth, and nowadays Nöldeke, plead for Muḥammad's authorship, they are in agreement with tradition, which considers the logograms to be part of the revelation. The knowledgeable Zayd b. Thābit would have hardly included the strange scribble in the final redaction if he had not been convinced of the authority of the Prophet.<sup>100</sup> If Muḥammad is indeed the author of the logograms then he must also be the editor of the ciphered sūras. Although

<sup>96</sup> His article "Koran" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., p. 904; and *Orientalische Skizzen*, p. 50 sq.

<sup>97</sup> Above, p. 209 sq.; and before, p. 36 sqq.

<sup>98</sup> Nöldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen*, p. 51.

<sup>99</sup> al-Zamakhsharī and al-Bayḍawī, s.v. This is also reported of Ibn ʿAbbās.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. above, p. 271.

this contradicts earlier established opinion, it would conform to our previous observation that the Prophet kept an amanuensis to whom he dictated his revelations,<sup>101</sup> that he early set out to create his own book of revelation,<sup>102</sup> and that the way of combining pieces of different provenance but similar content in certain sūras leaves the impression of originating from the Prophet himself.<sup>103</sup> Unfortunately, this point of view is in no way helpful for the question of the importance of the individual case.

[ii/77] H. Hirschfeld<sup>104</sup> still persists totally in Nöldeke's early point of view, with the exception that he associates every individual letter of the logograms with an explicit name. He thus arrives at the following equations, which, as he himself admits, are purely hypothetical:

AL	the definite article
M	Mughīra
S	Ḥafṣa
R (Z)	Zubayr
K	Abū Bakr
H	Abū Hurayra
N	ʿUthmān
Ṭ	Ṭalḥa (Ibn ʿUbayd Allāh)
S	Saʿd (Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ)
Ḥ	Ḥudhayfa [Ibn al-Yamān]
ع	ʿUmar or ʿAlī, Ibn ʿAbbās, ʿĀ'isha
ق	Qāsim b. Rabī'a

[ii/78] Consequently, a single letter should indicate that the sūra following goes back to the copy of this owner, whereas sūras consisting of several letters were found to be in partial or total possession of several persons. This must have been governed by the principle of uniting the monograms, which actually belonged in front of the fragments of the current chapters, at the beginning together with the others. Whether the marks of possession go back to copies of the respective owners or editors can be decided no more than the question of why Zayd b. Thābit retained or added them. That sūras 2 and 3 are now so far apart from the four other, equally ciphered sūras 29 to 32 must be explained simply by the system of arranging according to length that governed the collection. However, the hypothesis regarding the marks of possession can be maintained only if the logograms do not go back to the

<sup>101</sup> Cf. above, p. 209 sq.; and previously p. 36 sqq.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. above, p. 80, 81, 106, 117, 129, and 175.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. also the conjecture mentioned below, p. 274 n. 105.

<sup>104</sup> *New researches into the composition and exegesis of the Qoran*, pp. 141–143.

Prophet.<sup>105</sup> This is for Hirschfeld self-evident, since “after all that we know, Muḥammad cannot have collaborated in the composition of the sūras.” On the contrary, I have explained the error of this assumption more than once.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Conversely, it would indeed be compatible with Muḥammad’s authorship if the names of his secretaries were hidden behind the logograms. However, not a single transmitted name of the writers of the revelations can be identified.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. above, p. 209 sq. and p. 273 sq.



## THE BASMALA

Whereas the afore-mentioned logograms, which are encountered in manifold forms, can only be found in front of certain sūras and are considered part of the text of the revelation—and are therefore reckoned to be the first verse of the respective sūra—there is yet another unchangeable phrase placed at the beginning of all the sūras in the Koran, excepting one, albeit without usually being considered a part of the actual text.<sup>1</sup> This is the formula *bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*, which is shortened and called *basmala* or *tasmiya*. Given that it is not reported anywhere that it was introduced only by the Caliph ʿUthmān, it must have existed already in the copies of Ḥafṣa and other pre-ʿUthmānic recensions.<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad was undoubtedly familiar with the formula, as, after all, he had it placed at the head of the Pact of Ḥudaybiyya in 6/627–628.<sup>3</sup> Many letters and epistles to the pagans, Jews, and Christians of Arabia also open with it.<sup>4</sup> The *basmala* occurs even once in the very text of the Koran (27:30) at the beginning of the epistle of Solomon to the Queen of Sheba. Since the *basmala* otherwise occurs only at the beginning of sūras, suggesting its editorial origin, the Prophet can be accountable for it only in instances where a particular sūra received its current form from him. On the other hand, an earlier origin seems again to be

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<sup>1</sup> The Meccan and Kūfan readers recognized the *basmala* as a separate verse, whereas the readers of Medina and Syria hold that it is only placed there to separate the sūras (*kutibat li-l-ḥaṣṣ wa-l-tabarruk bi-l-ibtidāʾ*). The difference is also of practical importance to the respective school. The schools following the first opinion, like the Shāfiʿites, pronounce the *basmala* in a loud voice in the liturgy, whereas, for example, the followers of the second group of readers utter it in a low voice. Cf. al-Zamakhsharī's commentary on the Koran, Cairo, 1308, vol. 1, p. 21, and above, p. 94sq., on sūra 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, p. 249.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 132; Ibn Hishām, p. 747; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1546.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Saʿd (*al-Ṭabaqāt* (vol. 1, part 2): *Biographie Muhammed's; Ereignisse seiner medinischen Zeit* [Biography of the Prophet; events of his Medinan period], p. 28sq.; J. Wellhausen, *Seine* [Muḥammad's] *Schreiben und die Gesandtschaften*, nos. 24, 30, 35, 47, 75. According to one tradition (*Sendschreiben* Nr. 10) Muḥammad first wrote *bismik Allāhumma* like the Quraysh—cf. also *Sendschreiben* Nr. 61—until the revelation of sūra 11:43, and subsequently *bismillāh* until the revelation of sūra 17:110, *bismillāhi l-Raḥmān* until the revelation of sūra 27:30, and from then on adding also *al-Raḥīm*. According to a tradition in al-Wāḥidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, Cairo ed., pp. 6 and 10, this complete form of the *basmala* is the earliest revelation.

indicated by the fact that the *basmala* predates the logograms which, whatever their meaning might be, nevertheless, in one way or another, also seem to be connected with the redaction.<sup>5</sup>

[ii/80]

Of all the *sūras* of our Koran it is the ninth *sūra* alone that lacks the *basmala*. Muslims attribute this to intentional omission. Among the diverse reasons they advance there is only one worth mentioning. According to it, Muḥammad's Companions could not agree whether or not to combine *sūras* eight and nine into a single one and therefore reached a compromise and left a free space between the two sections, although without placing the sign of division, the *basmala*.<sup>6</sup> This alleged lack of resolution among the Companions is however incomprehensible, as not only is the entire content of the two *sūras* considerably different and chronologically far apart, but also the first verse of the ninth *sūra* stands out prominently as the beginning of a new section. On the other hand, it appears to me that the device of the editors to help them out of the dilemma is too ambiguous and trivial. In this instance, it is far more natural and simple to consider an accident and assume that in the canonical recension, or the original text, the *basmala* between the two *sūras* was either omitted because of a writing mistake or disappeared because of external damage and that people later did not dare to make any alterations in the state of the transmitted form. It is known that the development of many peculiarities in the textual form of the Hebrew Bible is due to similar conditions.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, p. 273sq.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. al-Tirmidhī in the chapter *tafsīr* on *sūra* 9:1; al-Bayḍāwī, and generally the Commentators; al-Farrā' al-Baghawī; al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishcāt, Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān* at the end; Abū l-Qāsim 'Umar b. Muḥammad [IBN 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ, *titulus operis me latet*], cod. *Catalogus codicum orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno Batavae*, vol. 4 (1864), p. 5, Ms. MDCXXXIV = 1634 (= cod. 674 Warner); Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 16, no. 24.

## SECTARIAN REPROACH AGAINST THE 'UTHMĀNIC TEXT

### *The Alleged Corruption of the Text of the Koran by Abū Bakr and 'Uthmān: Reproach of Christian Scholars of the West*

Some Christian scholars in the West suspected the text of the Koran, both the 'Uthmānic recension and its original version, to have been the subject of deliberate forgeries. The first among European scholars to suspect the genuineness of certain verses in the Koran was Silvestre de Sacy,<sup>1</sup> who questioned the authenticity of sūra 3:138. G. Weil added to this both verse 182 and sūra 39:31sq.,<sup>2</sup> later extending this to the related sūras 21:35sq. and 29:57<sup>3</sup> by blaming for these interpolations no less a person than the Caliph Abū Bakr, who allegedly initiated the first collection. The main argument is the tradition that 'Umar did not want to believe in Muḥammad's death, and loudly proclaimed this conviction in front of all Muslims until persuaded by Abū Bakr by reciting sūra 3:138 or 39:31sq., or both passages, which refer to Muḥammad's death. But it had occurred to 'Umar, or, as other versions state, to the Muslims, that they had never heard this revelation.<sup>4</sup> This, however, might be nothing but a harmless reference to the fact that at the moment of dismay over the unexpected death of the Prophet 'Umar and his friends did not recall the respective verse,<sup>5</sup> a view which seems to correspond to the tacit consent of tradition. Conversely, it is difficult to believe that a forged quotation from the Koran—particularly something that Abū Bakr would

[ii/81]

<sup>1</sup> Silvestre de Sacy, "Ettaberi *Annales*, [review,]", *Journal des savans*, 1832, p. 536.

<sup>2</sup> Weil, *Mohammed der Prophet*, p. 350, and his *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran.*, 1st ed., p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Weil, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran*, 2nd ed., p. 52sq. This enlarged revision is evidently occasioned by Nöldeke's objections raised in the first edition of the present work, particularly p. 199, bottom.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Hishām, p. 1012sq.; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1815sq.; Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt* vol. 2, part 2): *Letzte Krankheit*, p. 52sq.; al-Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, vol. 2, p. 127; al-Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, vol. 1, p. 11; al-Bukhārī, *al-Maghāzī*, cap. 85, *Bāb al-khalq*, cap. 101 (*Faḍā'il Abī Bakr*) § 9 and the other relevant parallels in my [Schwally's] notes on Ibn Sa'd.

<sup>5</sup> A similar case is reported by Ḥumayd b. Ziyād in al-Farrā' al-Baghawī: He asked Ka'b al-Quraz'ī [EQ: b. Qurayza; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 343, col. 2] about Muḥammad's Companions and was told that they were all in Paradise. When in addition sūra 9:103 was cited as proof, he said: "It seems to me that I never read this verse."

have invented on the spur of the moment—could easily be imposed upon a man like ʿUmar. The evidence of Abū Hurayra, who is one of the authorities and allegedly also did not know that verse, does not say much. After all, this traditionist is neither “one of Muḥammad’s earliest Companions,” as he did not become a Muslim until 7/628, nor can his words claim credibility, since later research has exposed him more and more as a liar.<sup>6</sup>

[ii/82] Weil’s interpretation also contradicts Muḥammad’s philosophy as we know it. It is without a shadow of doubt that certainly during his last years Muḥammad did not want to leave the believers in doubt about his own mortality. On the contrary, his intent was to use every chance to demonstrate by way of revelation (sūras 17:95, 18:110, and 41:5) that he was only a mortal. After all, not only verses 3:138 and 39:31, which consider Muḥammad’s death inevitable, but also verses 3:182, 29:57, and 31:35 sq., express the truism that all men must die and thus fit perfectly into this context.

[ii/83] This proves the authenticity of the respective verses in every way. Yet it is necessary to go further and criticize the basis and the point of departure of Weil’s error, namely the tradition itself. The whole controversy over Muḥammad’s corpse is strongly suspect of having been invented to defend his human nature against groups who, with reference to certain Jewish and Christian examples,<sup>7</sup> consider it self-evident that a prophet sent by God cannot die a natural death but must rather disappear in a mysterious way. If, then, Muḥammad’s death had really been such a stumbling block, the belief in his reappearance ought to have left more traces in tradition. However, it was not until the reign of ʿUthmān that the man appeared who related this concept to the person of Muḥammad, namely ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabā.<sup>8</sup>

Hartwig Hirschfeld<sup>9</sup> is unable either to put Weil’s lame arguments back on their feet or to refute Nöldeke’s objections. In spite of this, Hirschfeld sticks to the interpolation of sūra 3:138 by insisting on the new evidence that all Koranic passages containing the name Muḥammad (3:138, 33:40, 47:2, and

<sup>6</sup> Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, p. 56; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, pp. 51–56.

<sup>7</sup> Let us recall Biblical and apocryphal stories of the sunset of life of Enoch, Moses, Elijah, Isaiah, Jesus. A reference to Moses is the Islamic legend: “By God, the Messenger of God is not dead, but only returned to his Lord like Mūsā b. ʿImrān. Verily, he will return and cut off the hands and feet of those who believed in his death.” (Ibn Hishām, p. 1012; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1815). Al-Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, vol. 1, p. 11, mentions ʿĪsā b. Maryam (Jesus) instead of Moses.

<sup>8</sup> T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads*, p. 23, [who has it from I. Friedländer, “Abdallāh b. Sabā, der Begründer der Šīʿa” in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 23 (1909), p. 299; *EF*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 503, col. 1].

<sup>9</sup> *New researches into the composition and exegesis of the Qoran*, pp. 138–141.



48:29) are spurious. Following A. Sprenger<sup>10</sup> and Fr. Bethge,<sup>11</sup> he apparently is of the opinion that Muḥammad is no actual name but a Messianic term. However, the reasons supporting him and his predecessors, as well as Leone Caetani later on,<sup>12</sup> are invalid. In particular, there can be not a shadow of doubt that Muḥammad had been a common man's first name even in pre-Islamic Arabia, a fact that has already been discussed above on page 6 sq.

No less suspect is Gustav Weil's<sup>13</sup> interpretation of sūra 46:14:

[ii/84]

"We have charged man, that he be kind to his parents; his mother bore him painfully, and painfully she gave birth to him; his bearing and his weaning are thirty months. Until, when he is fully grown, and reaches forty years,<sup>14</sup> he says, 'O my Lord, dispose me that I may be thankful for Thy blessing wherewith Thou hast blessed me and my father and mother, and that I may do righteousness well-pleasing to Thee; and make me righteous also in my seed. Behold I repent to Thee, and I am among those that surrender.'"

Tradition attaches this verse to Abū Bakr, for among the early Companions of the Prophet there was no one so privileged as to see not only his parents but also his children embrace Islam. By following this interpretation, Weil's challenging the authenticity of the verse means no more and no less than that the first caliph interpolated the entire verse, or at least its second half, in the codex of revelations in order to enhance the reputation of his family and to serve base and selfish motives. This serious charge, however, cannot be maintained. If it were justified, the impression of the Caliph Abū Bakr would be drastically contrary to what we know from the historical sources. On the other hand, it would be incomprehensible that Abū Bakr, if indeed he once wanted to emphasize his excellence, would have chosen such obscure and ambiguous expressions. These difficulties lead one to challenge the accuracy of the exegetic tradition on which Weil bases his argument. Whoever follows indigenous interpreters in the case of this verse will necessarily be forced to apply verse 16, closely related with the same authorities, to Abū Bakr's son, 'Abd al-Raḥmān (Ibn Abī Bakr),<sup>15</sup> who remained a pagan longer than his father and rejected his first invitation to accept Islam with contemptuous words. This interpretation is of course impossible. What on earth would have prompted Abū Bakr to fabricate a tradition to rebuke his son

<sup>10</sup> *Das Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 1, p. 155 sqq.

<sup>11</sup> *Raḥmān et Aḥmad*, thesis, Bonn, p. 53 sq.

<sup>12</sup> *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 151.

<sup>13</sup> Weil, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran*, 1st ed., p. 67, 2nd ed., p. 76 sqq.

<sup>14</sup> The words "and reaches forty years" seem to me to have been added later as an exegetic gloss.

<sup>15</sup> Died 130/747 or 135/752. Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 284, no. 14.

who at that time had long—since 6/627—been converted, and by including the forgery in the Koran forever, stigmatizing him in the eyes of believers? Reference to the well-known integrity of this caliph is ill suited to explaining this strange behaviour, as the virtue that indeed distinguished the historical Abū Bakr hardly agrees with the presumed activity as a forger. Actually, the verse does not go back to either Abū Bakr's son or any other historical figure, a fact that is also conceded by some interpreters.<sup>16</sup> In this case, all precise references in 46:14 must also be dispensed with and it must be assumed that the words, as frequently in the Koran, merely purport to express a general truth.

[ii/85]

In the end, Weil denies the authenticity of sūra 17:1: “Glory be to Him, who carried His servant by night from the Holy Mosque to the Further Mosque the precincts of which We have blessed, that We might show him some of Our signs ....”<sup>17</sup> This is to say that the verse was rhymed only after the death of Muḥammad, and possibly incorporated in the Koran in the time of Abū Bakr. Muḥammad cannot possibly have claimed to have made the mysterious journey to Jerusalem, since he always maintains throughout the Koran that he is a messenger and warner but not a miracle worker. The objection is quite legitimate—compare only sūras 13:8 and 27, 17:95, 25:8sq., and 29:44—yet it becomes untenable when the night excursion is regarded as a dream. Traces of this opinion are to be found even in Muslim tradition, which in other cases clings to the miracle.<sup>18</sup> The text of the Koran does not supply a hint that it was a dream but speaks of the Night Journey as a fact. In order to escape from these contradictions one may assume that the Prophet's excited fantasy, which here touches upon the thinking of primitive man, experienced the dream as reality, the same way as Muḥammad's visions (sūras 53:6sq., and 81:23sq.) are depicted as true events. Given that we learn nothing else from this episode of the Koran—and sūra 17:62 cannot be related to this—and that the traditions referring to verse 1 are inconclusive, one might want to consider the night excursion to represent merely another hero of the past. Here, unfortunately, new difficulties arise, since no such miracle is reported from Biblical persons who, as far as we know, legend associates with the Ka'ba, such as Adam and Abraham, whereas Ezekiel—of whom it is said that a spirit once took him by a lock of his hair and lifted him up between the earth and the heaven,

<sup>16</sup> al-Zamakhsharī, and above, p. 130 n. 101.

<sup>17</sup> Weil, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran*, 1st ed., p. 65sq., 2nd ed., pp. 74–76.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. above, p. 110sq.

and brought him ... to Jerusalem<sup>19</sup>—has nothing to do with the Kaʿba in any legend we know of.

Weil's observation<sup>20</sup> that the verse does not continue into the following verse is true but irrelevant in terms of its authenticity, as this applies to many other verses of the Koran that so far have not been objected to. The circumstances can be explained by the fact that the verse lacks its original continuation. The different rhyme with *īr*, in contrast to all the other 110 verses that rhyme with *a* without exception, would suggest that the entire section was previously placed somewhere else.

[ii/86]

The fact that the verse is part of the revelation cannot be contested. Its alleged linguistic inaccuracy exists only in Weil's mind. Whether the phrase *asrā laylan* can be considered a pleonasm seems extremely doubtful, as *laylan* can equally be translated "one night." In this case *laylan* is equally dispensable, as is *al-laylī*, *laylihim* or *laylahum* in passages such as sūras 11:83 and 15:65, Abū Tammām, *al-Ḥamāsa*, 744, v. 5, al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 62, l 9, *al-Ḥamāsa*, 384, verse 3. In any case, the passage to which Weil is objecting is also found in sūra 44:25; even if his stylistic interpretation of the phrase were correct, all this would not argue against the authenticity, as pleonasms are common to all the languages of the world. Furthermore, the usage of the fourth verbal form *asrā*, with or without a preposition, is quite common. Finally, the transition from the third person singular to the first person plural, when Allāh is talking about himself, can be documented in the Koran with hundreds of examples.<sup>21</sup> Within a single verse this seldom occurs, but from sūras 30 to 50 I identified two instances (35:25 and 40:77; in reverse order, 39:2), while in two other cases (48:1sq., and 8sq.) this change of person spreads over two verses, forming a single period. Whoever seeks to avoid recognizing the weight of these arguments by imagining an extraordinary imitator of the Koranic style would immediately encounter new problems, as such an ingenious forger would be expected to supply a more appropriate connection to what follows and a more suitable rhyme. Most importantly of all, the motive for the interpolation would have to be discovered, which no one has succeeded in doing.

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<sup>19</sup> Ezekiel 8:3; cf. also above, p. 110 n. 104, at the end.

<sup>20</sup> In the first edition of his *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran*, Weil supplies no evidence; this is only found in his review "Nöldeke ... über Mohammed und den Koran" in *Heidelberger Jahrbücher der [sic] Literatur*, 1862, p. 7, which constitutes a review of Nöldeke's 1860 edition of the *Geschichte des Qorāns*.

<sup>21</sup> It would be useful to collect all the material. It would tell us much about the composition of the sūras.

[ii/88] Like Abū Bakr, ʿUthmān is also accused of forgery. He allegedly omitted all the passages in which Muḥammad earlier came up against the Umayyads. Weil,<sup>22</sup> however, neither produces evidence for this assertion nor even explains it properly, so that we do not even know whether he meant the deletion of entire passages or only of the names of individual persons. The elimination of anonymous polemics naturally would have been futile, because the respective addressee could later no longer be identified with certainty; this also applies to the commentaries that identify many passages of the current text<sup>23</sup> with members of the Umayyad family, which ʿUthmān would have had to have overlooked at the time. The deletion of individual names is quite conceivable, although Banū Umayya—certainly in the earlier period—were no worse opponents to Muḥammad’s sermons than other eminent Meccan families, with the result that there was no cause to attack them more frequently or violently than other families of the town. We must thus assume that the names of many other enemies of Islam have also been suppressed, including, for instance, some of the Jews and the *munāfiqūn*, whom the Prophet hated from the bottom of his heart. However, no reason at all can be supplied for this. There still remains the fact that it is completely contrary to Muḥammad’s habit to mention names of his surroundings, be they personal or geographical. This can hardly be an accident but must rather be the deliberate intention of the document of revelation, which was destined for all of humanity, to minimize as far as possible the particular in favour of the general. If occasional revelations, in which names are likely to have been found more frequently, were later incorporated into the Koran, such names are likely to have been omitted at this occasion by the Prophet himself. This system, however, is not rigorously applied.

[ii/89] Place names in the Koran are mentioned five times: Mecca twice (sūras 48:24, 3:90), and once each Badr, Ḥunayn, and Yathrib,<sup>24</sup> (sūras 3:119, 9:25, and 33:13) respectively. The names of contemporaries—other than Muḥammad himself (sūras 3:138, 33:40, 47:2, and 48:29)<sup>25</sup>—occur twice, i.e. Muḥammad’s *mawlā* and adopted son, Zayd b. Ḥāritha,<sup>26</sup> (sūra 33:37) and his uncle Abū Lahab IBN ʿABD AL-MUṬṬALIB (sūra 111), whereas not even a single man of

<sup>22</sup> *Geschichte der Chalifen*, vol. 1, p. 168.

<sup>23</sup> E.g., sūra 49:6 to ʿUthmān’s cousin Walīd b. ʿUqba (Ibn Abī Muʿayth). As I explained above, p. 178 sqq., this interpretation is very doubtful.

<sup>24</sup> *al-Madīna* (sūras 9:102, and 63:8), is not yet a proper name; the same applies to *umm al-qurā* (6:92) or *al-qaryatāni*—Mecca and al-Ṭāʿif—(sūra 43:30).

<sup>25</sup> Sūra 61:6 has instead Aḥmad.

<sup>26</sup> *EF<sup>2</sup>; EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 452, col. 1.

the most trusted of Muḥammad's friends or the most steadfast supporters of the young community is mentioned by name.

This fact can be explained in various ways. It could have been on account of the incomplete textual condition in which Muḥammad left at least parts of the Koran, or some special motivation which prompted him to deviate from the rule, or, finally, the penetration of old exegetic glosses into the text proper. Which of these possibilities deserves first priority must be determined in each particular case. In conformity with the start of this discussion, I can here limit myself to the personal names. The mention of Zayd (Ibn Ḥāritha, d. 8/630)<sup>27</sup> in sūra 33:37, some people<sup>28</sup> consider an honour that was awarded since he had let the Prophet have his wife Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh.<sup>29</sup> Conversely, the mention of Muḥammad's uncle, Abū Lahab (IBN ʿABD AL-MUṬṬALIB), aims permanently to stigmatize him for his disbelief. The purpose in each of the cases, however, eludes me. As far as we can judge the conditions of the time, neither did the compliant adopted son deserve such mild consideration, nor did the disbelieving uncle merit such a sharp denouncement. In these circumstances one ought to take into consideration whether the name Zayd [Ibn Ḥāritha] in this instance (sūra 33:37) might not be an old exegetic gloss, particularly as the cumbersome reference to this person by the relative clause at the beginning of the verse<sup>30</sup> gives no hint that shortly thereafter his name will be mentioned. Furthermore, when ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā IBN ʿABD AL-MUṬṬALIB received the nickname Abū Lahab merely on the basis of sūra 111, we are dealing in this passage not with a personal name. On the contrary, it is doubtful if the interpretation of that designation of Muḥammad's uncle is correct at all, no matter how unambiguous this tradition may be.<sup>31</sup>

Weil's other attempts at finding ʿUthmān guilty of intentional suppression of larger portions of the Koran<sup>32</sup> also failed. When in al-Dhahabī's historical work<sup>33</sup> the rebels accuse ʿUthmān of having combined the Koran, which originally consisted of books (*kutub*), into one single book (*kitāb*), they probably intended to say no more than that he replaced previously common

[ii/90]

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Hirschfeld, *New researches*, p. 121.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. above, p. 168; Hirschfeld, *New researches*, p. 139.

<sup>30</sup> "When thou saidst to him whom God has blessed and thou hadst favoured, 'Keep thy wife to thyself, and fear God,' and ..."

<sup>31</sup> Cf. above, pp. 74–75.

<sup>32</sup> *Geschichte der Chalifen*, vol. 1, p. 168.

<sup>33</sup> *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, cod. Paris, 1880, fol. 164. On the author cf. Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 46sq.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 504, l 7.

different recensions with a uniform edition of one reading, a scenario which corresponds to historical truth.

Weil's other contention<sup>34</sup> does not deserve a separate refutation, i.e., that from the various Koranic versions on the same subject existing in the documents collected by Zayd (Ibn Thābit) under Abū Bakr, ʿUthmān included only a single one of them, paying little or no attention to other collections or fragments found in the hands of Muḥammad's old Companions. We have earlier<sup>35</sup> furnished evidence that both of Zayd's codices are identical, and that ʿUthmān's recension is nothing but a copy of the codex of Ḥaḥṣa.

[ii/91]

In the final analysis, there are several general historical considerations that speak in favour of ʿUthmān. Although the old Caliph remained a tool in the hands of his family, he was still an upright, pious, and religious man who cannot possibly have been suspect of falsifying the word of God. Furthermore, in the Koran Commission<sup>36</sup> there was only one Umayyad representative. Of the other members, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, a member of a family jealous of the Banū Umayya, and Zayd b. Thābit, the former amanuensis of the Prophet, are above suspicion of illegally favouring ʿUthmān.

Even if the character of these individuals were somewhat less favourable, any attempt at a tendentious change of the text on their part would have failed for other reasons. During the nearly twenty years since Zayd b. Thābit's first redaction, the number of circulating codices of the Koran had increased markedly, and we have identified no less than five famous collections from the period before ʿUthmān. From one of them, the codex of Ḥaḥṣa, the ʿUthmānic edition was copied. The original was returned to the owner. Thus, there were so many references to the original text available that any serious change in the text would have been noted immediately and, particularly when malicious tendencies were suspected, a storm of indignation would have followed.

[ii/92]

In addition to the written means of control there were the oral ones. Even after all the copies of the pre-ʿUthmānic collections had either been destroyed or disappeared,<sup>37</sup> there must have remained a sufficient number of people to reconstruct any suppressed passages from memory.<sup>38</sup> This would have been no problem, as it was possible to have recourse to the collaborators in that redaction—in so far as they were still alive—particularly to

<sup>34</sup> Weil, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran*, 2nd ed., p. 56 sq.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. above, pp. 251 sq. and 262 sq.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. above, p. 256 sqq.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. above, pp. 252 and 256–257.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. below, p. 235 sq.

Ibn Mas'ūd, who was so proud of his Koranic competence and was deeply hurt by the preference given to Zayd (Ibn Thābit).<sup>39</sup> Although Ibn Mas'ūd had ample reason to be angry with 'Uthmān for having rejected his collection of the Koran, he never accused 'Uthmān of forgery.<sup>40</sup> How much more would the innumerable other enemies of this generally unpopular ruler have exploited the slightest suspicion and spread it throughout the Islamic world. Nevertheless, the older sects and opposition parties, though they were largely recruited from among the circles of reciters of the Koran, were apparently unable to charge the Caliph with anything more serious than being a "man who dismembered the Koran,"<sup>41</sup> and a "man who burned the Koran,"<sup>42</sup> epithets that refer to the destruction of the pre-'Uthmānic codices. For this reason, all attempts at justification put into the mouth of the Caliph lead in this direction.<sup>43</sup>

Thus everything seems to indicate that the 'Uthmānic text was as complete and reliable as could be expected. It was primarily these merits that facilitated its quick and easy acceptance in the Muslim community. Official force alone would have never succeeded.

[ii/93]

<sup>39</sup> Cf. above, p. 235sq.

<sup>40</sup> The following words are commonly put into his mouth: "People of Iraq (variant: of Kūfa)! Hide the copies of the Koran in your possession and defraud them, for Allāh, the Exalted says: 'Whoso defrauds shall bring the fruits of his fraud on the Day of Resurrection' (sūra 3:155)—and then approaches Allāh with these copies." Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 3, p. 87; Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, part 2): *Letzte Krankheit, Tod und Bestattung*, p. 105; al-Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*; *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*, fol. 6v; al-Qurtubī, vol. 1, fol. 20r. This interpretation of the Koranic passage departs far from its proper sense. Although this address by Ibn Mas'ūd is unhistorical, it corresponds more or less to what can be expected, given our knowledge of the situation. Conversely, there is a very derogatory remark of this man concerning 'Uthmān's editorial activity in the following tradition in Mālik's *al-Muwatta'*, p. 62: Ibn Mas'ūd said to a man: "You are living at a time when there are many jurisconsults (*fuqahā'*) but few readers of the Koran; though the laws of the Holy Book are observed, its very letters however being neglected." Its continuation with its reference to the future when inversely the laws of the Koran are violated, but its letters being observed, clearly indicates that the entire tradition is fabricated from the point of view of a much later period.

<sup>41</sup> *Shaqāq al-maṣāḥif*, al-Ṭabarī, vol. 2, p. 747.

<sup>42</sup> *Ḥarrāq al-maṣāḥif*, al-Qurtubī, fol. 20r.

<sup>43</sup> This becomes obvious from the following passage of the Persian translation of al-Ṭabarī, cod. Leiden [no number supplied:]: می گویند قرآن بسوختم از بهر آنکه اندک اندک در دست مردم بود و هر کس می گفت از آن من بهتر است پس من همها جمع کردم و سوره دراز در اول نهادم و میانه در میان و کوچک در آخر و همه می گفتند بسوختم و بسوختم. "They say that I burned the Koran; (this I did) because people only had fragments in their hands, and everybody considered his own to be the best; thereupon I collected them all, placing a long sūra in front, another of medium length in the middle, and a short one at the end, properly arranged them all, and handed them over to the people; whatever they had in their possession I took and burned."

*Reproach of Muslim Sectarials,  
Particularly the Shīʿites, against ʿUthmān*

The doubts voiced within Islam about the integrity of the Koran are an entirely different matter. They are not based on scholarly facts of historical criticism but on dogmatic or ethnic prejudices. Pious Muʿtazilites consider as spurious all passages that curse the enemies of Muḥammad, since this cannot possibly be, as they say, “a lofty revelation from the Well-Guarded Table.”<sup>44</sup>

[ii/94] The Khārijite sect of the Maymūniyya takes exception to including the Story of Joseph in the Holy Book, since a love story is ill suited to it.<sup>45</sup>

Far more numerous and diverse are the objections to the canonical text by the party of ʿAlī, the so-called Shīʿa, the Shīʿites. These exceptions refer not only to the insertion or omission of entire sūras but also to verses and single words.<sup>46</sup> Whereas other sects apparently considered passages that they contest to have entered the Koran by accident or mistake, the Shīʿites suspected everywhere nothing but bias and malice. Since nowhere in the Koran did they find expressed the sanctity to which ʿAlī and his family were entitled to in their own view, they accused Abū Bakr and ʿUthmān of having changed or totally suppressed these passages, no matter how numerous they might have been.<sup>47</sup> Additionally, all the passages that were considered lost by Sunnite tradition the Shīʿites claim dealt with ʿAlī. By the same token, verses in which the *anṣār*, Muḥammad’s old Medinan followers, and the *muhājirūn*, i.e. the Companions who emigrated with the Prophet to Yathrib, were accused of disgraceful treatment, were allegedly deleted. But since the crime of these men consisted of refusing to vote for ʿAlī in the election of the first caliph, the Prophet would have reproved his most trusted followers

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<sup>44</sup> Cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Maḥāṭib al-ghayb*, Būlāq edition, 1289, vol. 1, p. 268, according to Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, pp. 207 and 260, no. 11; translation: *Introduction to Islamic theology and law* (1981).

<sup>45</sup> al-Shahrastānī, *Religionsparteien*, translated by Haarbrücker, vol. 1, pp. 143 and 145 (Cureton’s edition, vol. 1, p. 95sq.) Ibn Ḥazm, *Milal wa-niḥal*, in: Israel Friedlaender, “Heterodoxies of the Shīʿites ...,” vol. 1, p. 33.

<sup>46</sup> The technical term is *tabdīl*, cf. I. Friedlaender, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 61.

<sup>47</sup> ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm. *Tafsīr*, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, Berlin, cod. 929; Muḥammad b. Murtaḍā, *al-Ṣāfi*; *ibid.*, cod. 899. *Journal asiatique*, 4e série (1843), p. 406sq. [This reference is to “Extraits du *Modjmel al-tewarikh*, relatifs à l’histoire de la Perse,” traduits par J. Mohl, pp. 385–432. As Mohl is not even mentioned by Nöldeke-Schwally, it does not seem to be relevant at all.] Still more ridiculous are the fables which are mentioned in this connection, for example, when it is said that ʿAlī offered Abū Bakr his complete Koran in order to deprive him of any excuse at the Final Judgement; or that Abū Bakr allegedly wanted to kill him, etc.



for an action that did not occur until after his death, and could not possibly have entered the ken of the parties concerned. What an accumulation of impossibilities!

It is quite evident that the other contentions are untenable. The notion of 'Alī's and his descendants' sole title to the caliphate, which is supported neither by the religion of Islam nor its national origin, crystallized only quite some time after 'Alī's death. Furthermore, the Shī'ite deification of 'Alī sprung up on Iranian soil. If 'Alī had even only once been suggested as successor in the Koran, this would have likely been binding on the electoral college. A departure from such a guideline would have created complications that would have left clear marks on tradition. Even numerous passages of the Holy Book allegedly pleaded for 'Alī as the most exalted of men without even one single member of the electoral college or some other Companion interceding for the candidate of the Prophet! Let him believe who is so inclined. By the same token, 'Alī never in his life referred to such Koranic passages,<sup>48</sup> although he was later twice passed by, and, having finally secured the caliphate, he was obliged to defend his right against Mu'āwiya, the governor of Syria, with sword and word. Yet even the Shī'ites make use of the 'Uthmānic recension to this very day, irrespective of all insinuations. According to their faith, however, this is nothing but a temporary solution until the coming of the Messianic kingdom. The genuine and unadulterated text is in the possession of 'Alī's mysterious successors, the Twelve *Imāms*, who keep it hidden<sup>49</sup> until the last *imām*, the Shī'ite Messiah, or as he is called by the Shī'ites, *al-Mahdī l-qā'im*, brings it forth from occultation.<sup>50</sup> Some Shī'ite sects, like the Imāmiyya, accept this and patiently await the expected reappearance in the distant future.<sup>51</sup> Others, pretending foresight, are obliged to

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<sup>48</sup> This argument the author of *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī* uses against the Shīites. Ibn Ḥazm in Isr. Friedlaender, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 62, says that otherwise it would have been 'Alī's duty to fight the interpolators.

<sup>49</sup> Many questions in this context are explained in Muḥammad b. Murtaḍā, *K. al-Ṣāfi (tafsīr al-Qur'ān)*, in Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*, cod. 929 (= cod. 1 Petermann, no. 553), but after listing the contradicting opinions of scholars, in the end he himself does not know what to say.

<sup>50</sup> Muḥammad b. Murtaḍā, *K. al-Ṣāfi*, Ahlwardt, cod. 929; *Journal asiatique*, 4e série (1843), pp. 399 and 402sq.; cf. Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, p. 178.

<sup>51</sup> Mirza A. Kazem-Beg, "Observations ...", p. 403. According to Ibn Ḥazm in I. Friedlaender, loc. cit., vol. 1, p. 51sq., there are few authorities of the respective sect who repudiate interpolations in the Koran. According to a confession in Mirza A. Kazem-Beg, loc. cit., p. 401sq., the Imāmiyya generally follow the 'Uthmānic Koran, with the exception that they combine to one chapter each the sūras 93 and 94 as well as 105 and 106. In this case they are approaching the Koran of Ubayy b. Ka'b where, according to *al-Itqān*, p. 154, either the one or the other of these Koranic pairs formed one chapter. Cf. also above, p. 239.

obtain evidence of the forgery by dangerous exegetic conjectures or free inventions, unless they even have the audacity to attribute their knowledge of the true reading to wonderful encounters. One of these narrators maintains that he received a codex of the Koran from one of the above-mentioned *imāms*, and, though he was forbidden to look at it, he did nevertheless and thereupon found his own reading.<sup>52</sup>

[ii/96] According to fourth-century writers, altogether some five hundred passages of our Koran are allegedly forgeries.<sup>53</sup> Whether the material available comes even close to this figure I do not know. In any case, a complete listing of this would serve no useful purpose for this investigation, and thus we limit ourselves to pointing out the various types and documenting them with typical examples.

[ii/97] There are first of all reports of lacunae in the ʿUthmānic redaction, the text of which is not known or, in any case, not supplied. Among the sūras which originally were much longer, sūra 24 allegedly had over one hundred verses, and sūra 15 even one hundred and ninety.<sup>54</sup> As far as the original length of sūra 33 is concerned, the Sunnite sources supply fantastic particulars.<sup>55</sup> In sūra 25:30, where there is a reference to *fulānan*, “a somebody,” a particular name is alleged to have been supplied originally.<sup>56</sup> In sūra 98, which, according to some Sunnite sources, was also originally much longer,<sup>57</sup> the names of seventy Quraysh men and their fathers are alleged to have been purposely omitted.<sup>58</sup> It goes without saying that there is no truth to this at all. Muḥammad, who displayed such a strong aversion to the mention of names in the Koran,<sup>59</sup> cannot possibly have decided to list seventy all at once, and even included the names of their fathers. On the other hand, if Abū Bakr had the audacity to omit this many names, he certainly would not have hesitated to include his own name once.

According to a conspicuously similar tradition,<sup>60</sup> sūra 9:65 originally listed the names of seventy *munāfiqūn* (hypocrites) together with the names of their fathers. This would suggest that we not interpret the word in its usual,

<sup>52</sup> Muḥammad b. Murtaḍā *K. al-Ṣāfi (Tafsīr al-Qurʿān)*, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 899.

<sup>53</sup> *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-maʿānī*, part 4, fol. 32<sup>r</sup>; Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, p. 109.

<sup>54</sup> Muḥammad b. Murtaḍā, *K. al-Ṣāfi*, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, cod. 929.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. above, p. 204.

<sup>56</sup> Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, vol. 4, p. 470, according to Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, p. 109, and his *Schools of Koranic commentators*, p. 270 sq.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. above, p. 193 and 195.

<sup>58</sup> *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-maʿānī*, part 4.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. above, p. 284 sq.

<sup>60</sup> “Ibn ʿAbbās says: God Most High revealed the mention of seventy men from among the

general meaning but rather consider it a particular reference to the Quraysh of the other tradition, who, according to Shī'ite opinion, were the leaders of the Muslims who did not permit 'Alī to succeed to the leadership. This is particularly appropriate because the first two caliphs, who also belonged to the circle of 'Alī's enemies, were frequently referred to by the Shī'ites with the abusive word, *munāfiq*.<sup>61</sup> This equation, however, is untenable, since the second part of the tradition,<sup>62</sup> which presents the children of the *munāfiqūn* as believers, cannot be Shī'ite. Furthermore, the alternative argument, that a Sunnite tradition was grafted onto a Shī'ite one, is too far-fetched.

The individual readings which the Shī'ites fabricated and presented against the alleged forgeries of Abū Bakr and 'Uthmān all deal with the subject of 'Alī and the *imāms*. This corresponds to the familiar bias that the Imām Abū 'Abd Allāh [JA'FAR AL-ṢĀDIQ] (d. 148/765)<sup>63</sup> allegedly once put like this: "If you had read the Koran in its original version you would have found us (i.e. the *imāms*) mentioned by name."<sup>64</sup> This saying must originate from before the beginning of the fourth century, since it occurs already in 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm AL-QUMMĪ's commentary on the Koran<sup>65</sup> and, according to Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 327/939 or 328/940<sup>66</sup>), such readings were already in circulation during his time.<sup>67</sup> If we knew more about Shī'ite literature we would most likely arrive at much earlier dates and could possibly trace back the beginnings of this exegesis to the second century.

The majority of the readings consist of the words 'Alī and Āl Muḥammad (Muḥammad's family) being inserted without consideration for the

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*munāfiqūn* by name and that of their fathers; He then abrogated (*nasakha*) the mention of the name for compassion for the believers so that they would not slander one another because their children had become believers." Cf. al-Baghawī, and al-Khazīn al-Baghdādī, *Tafsīr* on sūra 9:65. The Arabic text can be found above, p. 204. It is difficult to say whether the reference to the tradition in *al-Itqān*, p. 527, that sūra 9 was originally four times the size, has also these names in mind.

<sup>61</sup> Thus already 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm AL-QUMMĪ, *Tafsīr*. (W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, cod. 929).

<sup>62</sup> It is obvious that the entire tradition is a fabrication. The mention of so many names is as unthinkable as their omission once they had been included, regardless of whether this is blamed on the Prophet or on one of the first caliphs.

<sup>63</sup> I.e., JA'FAR [AL-ṢĀDIQ] b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn. In Shī'ite *hadīth* sources often called only by his *kunya*, Abū 'Abd Allāh, the sixth *imām* of the Twelver Shī'a; *EP*; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 260–266; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 528–531.

<sup>64</sup> *Law qara'a l-Qur'ān ka-mā unzila la-alfaytanā fihī musammayn*. [Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 260–262.]

<sup>65</sup> Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, cod. 929, Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim AL-QUMMĪ, *Tafsīr*. About the author cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 45–46.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. *EP*; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 144–147.

<sup>67</sup> Stated by al-Qurtubī, fol. 31r.

respective meaning.<sup>68</sup> Where the text has *hādhā širāṭun mustaqīmun*<sup>69</sup> (sūras 3:44, 19:37, 36:61, 43:61 and 64), we now read for no rhyme or reason *širātu 'Alīyyin*. In the case of sūra 3:119, the phrase *bi-sayfi 'Alīyyin*, “by the sword of 'Alī,” is added after words “and Allāh most surely helped you at Badr.”<sup>70</sup> Likewise, in sūra 4:67 “if, when they wronged themselves, they had come to thee,” is augmented by the address “O 'Alī.”<sup>71</sup> In sūra 4:164, *fi 'Alīyyin* is inserted after *anzalahu*, just as it is in sūra 5:169 after *fa-inna*. In sūra 4:166 after *wa-ḡalamū*, as well as in sūra 26 at the end after *ḡalamū*, *Āla Muḡammadin ḡaqqahum* is inserted as an object. Instead of (*kuntum khayra*) *ummatin* (sūra 3:106) it is read *a'immatin*; instead *wa'jalnā lil-muttaqīna imāman* (sūra 25:74) *wa'jal lanā min al-muttaqīna imāman*. In sūra 11:20 the words *imāman wa-raḡmantan* are placed behind *shāhidun min-hu*.<sup>72</sup> Where in the Koran the phrase, “verily, 'Alī is guidance,” is to be inserted, the source does not say.<sup>73</sup> Complaints about large parts or entire sūras of the 'Uthmānic redaction do not seem to have been voiced in older Shī'ite literature. What little has become known in more recent times lacks precise dating, since the sources have not yet been examined. However, a systematic survey of Shī'ite literature is likely to reveal many strange details.

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According to a work of the Turkish *mufti* Asad Efendi against the Shī'ites, quoted in a seventeenth-century Occidental work,<sup>74</sup> we read: “You deny the verse called the covering in the Alchoran [sūra 88] to be authentick; you reject the eighteen Verses, which are revealed to us for the sake of the holy Aische.” These verses apparently refer to the beginning of sūra 24, where this wife of the Prophet was defended for her dubious behaviour during the campaign against Banū Muḡaliq.<sup>75</sup> It is understandable that Shī'ites are less than happy to see the vindication of the mortal enemy of their saint, 'Alī, in the Koran. On the other hand, I have no idea what might have been the reason for their lack of confidence in the case of sūra eighty-eight.

<sup>68</sup> Thus the description in Muḡammad b. Murtaḡā, *al-Šāfi*, adding, however, that in other such passages the names of the “doubters” [*munāfiqūn*] have now disappeared.

<sup>69</sup> In sūra 15:41 there is the variant reading, *hādhā širāṭun 'alayya mustaqīmun*.

<sup>70</sup> From al-Qurṡubī.

<sup>71</sup> al-Qummī, *Tafṡīr*, W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, cod. 929, s.v. Here, as in many of these passages, there is an allusion to events from the period after the death of Muḡammad.

<sup>72</sup> The last seven examples have been taken from Kazem-Beg's article, p. 407 sqq.

<sup>73</sup> Goldziher, “Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Šī'a und der sunnitischen Polemik,” p. 14; *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, p. 109.

<sup>74</sup> Sir Paul Rycaut, *Histoire de l'état présent de l'empire ottoman*, translated from the English (Paris, 1670), from Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, p. 109. [Here quoted from the original, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1668), pp. 119 and 121].

<sup>75</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 720, cols. 1–2.

*The Shīʿite Sūra of the Two Lights* (سورة النورين)

According to some Shīʿite authorities, several sūras originally in the Koran were later eliminated from the book.<sup>76</sup> Only one of them has so far become known. This is the so-called Sūra of the Two Lights. The first person to bring news of the text—from the Persian *Dabistān-i mazāhib* of the mid-seventeenth-century Muḥsin FĀNĪ—to Christian Europe was the French Orientalist Garcin de Tassy.<sup>77</sup> The edition of the Kazan professor Kazem-Beg<sup>78</sup> offers the same text, with corrections of obvious textual and printing mistakes, including the orthography, vocalization, and division of verses as is common in more recent manuscripts of the Koran. In the introduction Kazem-Beg expresses his pleasure finally, after eighteen years, at being in possession of the complete chapter, whereas up to then only fragments had been known.<sup>79</sup> It thus appears that Kazem-Beg did not learn of the complete text until its French publication. Conversely, Garcin de Tassy maintains in his epilogue<sup>80</sup> that Kazem-Beg succeeded after eighteen years of research in acquiring a copy of the complete text. It is difficult to tell whether this claim is caused by a misunderstanding of the above-mentioned words of Kazem-Beg, or possibly by a private letter that is more precise than the introduction to his article. In the latter case, one ought to be extremely sceptical, since Kazem-Beg keeps the provenance of his discovery a secret and, secondly, does not supply a single variant. Additionally, it is unlikely that two such discoveries are made shortly one after another.

Although I cannot offer a better text, for a better understanding of the research it seemed to me useful to present the Arabic original of the sūra<sup>81</sup> together with a translation.

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<sup>76</sup> Kazem-Beg, loc. cit., p. 424; Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, p. 172.

<sup>77</sup> His “Chapitre inconnu du Coran, publié et traduit pour la première fois.”

<sup>78</sup> *Journal asiatique*, 4e série, 2 (1843), p. 414 sqq. (Kazem-Beg apparently found the sūra. He first handed it over to Garcin de Tassy for publication, but later edited it once more himself more accurately; from A Fischer’s “additions and corrections” on p. 220 of the German edition.)

<sup>79</sup> P. 373 sq.: “Je suis enfin assez heureux pour posséder dans ce moment, après dix-huit ans écoulés, tout le chapitre inconnu du Coran, dont je n’avais lu précédemment que quelques fragments, et de communiquer mes idées sur cette découverte. M. Garcin de Tassy, auquel nous sommes redevables de la publication de ce chapitre, dit dans son introduction,” etc.

<sup>80</sup> Loc. cit., p. 428: “... le chapitre que j’ai publié est si peu répandu dans le monde musulman, que ce n’est qu’après dix-huit ans de recherches que le savant professeur de Kazan a pu s’en procurer une copie exacte.”

<sup>81</sup> Kazem-Beg’s text is reproduced without changes. Critical remarks and suggestions for correction are to be found either in the foot-notes to the German translation or in the appended lexical and stylistic juxtapositions. I supply vowels only where the pronunciation is not self-evident or where it differs from previous forms. Kazem-Beg’s division of verses has been retained. Conversely, the numeration of the verses is new in order to facilitate their location.

## سورة النورين

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

١ يا أيها الذين آمنوا آمنوا بالنورين انزلناهما يتلوان عليكم آياتي  
ويكذبونكم عذاب يوم عظيم ٢ نوران بعضهما من بعض وإنا  
لسميع عليهم ٣ إن الذين يؤفون بعهد الله ورسوله في آيات  
لهم جنات نعيم ٤ والذين كفروا من بعد ما آمنوا بتقضيهم ميثاقهم  
وما عاهداهم الرسول عليه يفذون في الجحيم ٥ ظلموا أنفسهم  
وعصوا لوصي الرسول أولئك يسقون من حميم ٦ إن الله الذي  
نور السموات والأرض بما شاء وأصطفى من الملائكة والرسل وجعل  
من المؤمنين ٧ أولئك من خلقه يفعل الله ما يشاء لا اله الا هو  
الرحمن الرحيم ٨ قد مكر الذين من قبلهم برسلهم فاخذتهم  
بمكرهم إن أخذى شديد، اليم ٩ إن الله قد اهلك عاداً وثمود  
بما كسبوا وجعلهم لكم تذكرة فلا تتقون ١٠ وثرعون بما طفي  
على موسى وأخيه هرون اغرتته ومن تبعه اجمعين ليكون لكم آية  
وإن أكثركم فاسقون ١١ إن الله يجمعهم يوم الحشر فلا يستطيعون  
الجواب حين يسألون ١٢ إن الجحيم مأواهم وإن الله عليهم حكيم  
١٣ يا أيها الرسول بلغ إنذارى فسوف يعملون ١٤ قد خسر الذين

كانوا عن آياتي وحكمى معرضون ١٥ مثل الذين يؤفون بعهدك  
إني جزيتهم جنات النعيم ١٦ إن الله لذو مغفرة وأجر عظيم  
١٧ وإن علياً لمن المتقين ١٨ وإنا لنوبيه حقه يوم الدين  
١٩ وما نحن عن ظلمه بغافلين ٢٠ وكرّمناه على اهلك اجمعين  
٢١ وآية وذريته لصابرون ٢٢ وإن عدوهم إمام المجرمين ٢٣ قل  
للذين كفروا بعد ما آمنوا طلبتم زينة الحيوّة الدنيا واستعجلتم  
بها ونسيتم ما وعدكم الله ورسوله وتقضتم العهود بعد توكيدها

وقد ضَرَبْنَا لَكُمْ الْأَمْثَالَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَهْتَدُونَ ٢٤ يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ قَدْ  
 أَنْزَلْنَا إِلَيْكَ آيَاتٍ بَيِّنَاتٍ فِيهَا مَنْ يَتَوَفَّهَ مَوْتًا وَمَنْ يَتَوَلَّهَ مِنْ بَعْدِكَ  
 يَظْهَرُونَ ٢٥ فَأَعْرَضَ عَنْهُمْ إِنْهُمْ مُعْرِضُونَ ٢٦ إِنَّا لَهُمْ مُخَضِّرُونَ  
 فِي يَوْمٍ لَا يُغْنِي عَنْهُمْ شَيْءٌ وَلَا هُمْ يُرْحَمُونَ ٢٧ إِنَّ لَهُمْ فِي  
 جَهَنَّمَ مَقَامًا عَنْهُ لَا يُعَدَّلُونَ ٢٨ فَسَبِّحْ بِاسْمِ رَبِّكَ وَتُنَّ مِنْ  
 السَّاجِدِينَ ٢٩ وَلَقَدْ أَرْسَلْنَا مُوسَىٰ وَهَارُونَ بِمَا اسْتُخْلِفَ فِيهِمَا

هَارُونَ فَصَبَّرْ جَمِيلٌ فَجَعَلْنَا مِنْهُمْ الْفِرْدَوْسَ وَالْخَنَازِيرَ وَأَعْنَاهُمْ إِلَىٰ يَوْمٍ  
 يُبْعَثُونَ ٣٠ فَاصْبِرْ فَسَوْفَ يُبَلِّغُونَ ٣١ وَلَقَدْ آتَيْنَا بَكَ الْحُكْمَ  
 كَالَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِكَ مِنَ الْمُرْسَلِينَ ٣٢ وَجَعَلْنَا لَكَ مِنْهُمْ وَصِيًّا لَعَلَّهُمْ  
 يَرْجِعُونَ ٣٣ وَمَنْ يَتَوَلَّ عَنْ أَمْرِي فَإِنِّي مُرْجِعُهُ فَلْيَتَمَتَّعُوا بِكُفْرِهِمْ  
 قَلِيلًا فَلَا تَسْأَلُ عَنِ الْنَاقِثِينَ ٣٤ يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ قَدْ جَعَلْنَا لَكَ فِي  
 أَعْنَاقِ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا عَهْدًا فَتُخَذَهِ وَتُنَّ مِنَ الشَّاكِرِينَ ٣٥ إِنَّ عَلَيْنَا  
 فِئْتَانًا بِاللَّيْلِ سَاجِدًا يُتَخَذَرُ الْآخِرَةَ وَيَرْجُو ثَوَابَ رَبِّهِ قُلْ هَلْ يَسْتَوِي  
 الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا وَهُمْ بَعْدَآبِي يَعْلَمُونَ ٣٦ سَيُجْعَلُ الْأَعْدَاءُ فِي أَعْنَاقِهِمْ  
 وَهُمْ عَلَىٰ أَعْمَالِهِمْ يَنْتَدِمُونَ ٣٧ إِنَّا بِشَرِّكَاءِ الْبَدْرِيَّةِ الصَّالِحِينَ  
 ٣٨ وَإِنَّهُمْ لَكَاِمْرُنَا لَا يَخْلِفُونَ ٣٩ فَعَلَيْهِمْ مَتَىٰ صَلَوةٌ وَرَحْمَةٌ أَحْيَاءِ  
 وَمَوَاتًا وَيَوْمَ يُبْعَثُونَ ٤٠ وَعَلَىٰ الَّذِينَ يَبْغُونَ عَلَيْهِمْ مِنْ بَعْدِكَ  
 غَضَبِي إِنَّهُمْ قَوْمٌ خَاسِرِينَ ٤١ وَعَلَىٰ الَّذِينَ سَلَكَوا مَسَلَكَهُمْ  
 مَتَىٰ رَحْمَةٌ وَهُمْ فِي الْغُرَفَاتِ آمِنُونَ ٤٢ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ آمِينَ

The Sūra of the Two Lights<sup>82</sup>

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate<sup>83</sup>

(1) O you who believe, believe in the two lights which We have sent down to recite to you My signs, and to warn you of the penalty of a mighty day. (2) It is two lights, one of them emanating from the other. Verily, We hear and know. (3) Those who keep the pact of God and his Messenger,<sup>84</sup> they will share delightful gardens. (4) And those who renounce their belief after having become believers by breaking their pact and the agreement with the Messenger will be thrown into hell-fire. (5) They have brought outrage upon themselves and opposed the agent of the Messenger, these will be made to drink from the bottomless pit. (6) It is God who illuminates heaven and earth with what He wanted,<sup>85</sup> made a selection from among the angels and messengers and ranked them with the believers. (7) These are part of His creatures, God does what He wills, there is no god but He, the Merciful, the Compassionate. (8) Already earlier peoples were perfidious vis-à-vis their messengers, so I seized them for their perfidy, verily, my seizure is strong and hurts. (9) God destroyed the ʿĀdites and Thamūdites because of what they (how they) deserved (it), and made them an example for you; will you not<sup>86</sup> be god-fearing? (10) And Pharaoh I drowned with all his followers, because he rebelled against Moses and his brother Aaron so that he (it) may be a sign for you, most of you are truly wicked. (11) Verily, God shall assemble them on the Day of Judgement, then they do not have an answer when they are asked. (12) Verily, the bottomless pit is their abode, and God knows and is wise. (13) O Messenger, let My warning reach them, they will soon know.<sup>87</sup> (14) Lost are those who turned away from My signs and My judgement.<sup>88</sup> (15) They are unlike<sup>89</sup> those who keep their pact, and whom I recompensed with gardens of bliss. (16) Verily, God offers forgiveness and large recompense. (17) ʿAlī is truly one of the god fearing. (18) On the Day of Judgement We shall give him his due. (19) We shall not ignore that he was wronged. (20) We also distinguished him and bestowed honour on him before his entire family. (21) He and his family are waiting confidently. (22) But their enemy is the *imām* of the sinners. (23) Speak to those who renounce their belief after having become believers: You desired the splendour of this life, you were in a hurry and forgot the promises of God and his messengers, and broke the contract after you had concluded

<sup>82</sup> In this translation I tried to retain the abruptness of the style as well as the ideas.

<sup>83</sup> For the most likely meaning of *rahīm* cf. above, p. 92.

<sup>84</sup> The words *fī āyātīn* do not make sense.

<sup>85</sup> *Bi-mā shā'a* cannot mean "according to his will" as translated by both, Kazem-Beg, and G. Weil, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran*, 2nd ed., p. 93.

<sup>86</sup> I read like Garcin de Tassy and Gustav Weil *a-fa-lā* instead *fa-lā* of the text; cf., e.g., sūra 7:33.

<sup>87</sup> Instead *ya'malūn* I read *ya'lamūn* like sūra 15:3 and 96 as well as Gustav Weil.

<sup>88</sup> *Mu'riḍūn* is wrong for *mu'riḍīn*.

<sup>89</sup> As also others have noted before, the beginning of the verse ought to start with something like *mataluhum lā ka-(mathali)*.



it, so We made parables that you might be guided. (24) O messenger, We sent you down conspicuous signs in which is a ...<sup>90</sup> who accepts him (it) or who after your death<sup>91</sup> turns away from it, they all shall see the light. (25) So turn away from them, they are apostates. (26) Verily, they shall be summoned on a day when nothing shall help them, and they shall not find mercy. (27) In hell they will be assigned a place from which there is no escape. (28) So praise the name of your Lord and be one of the adorers. (29) We sent Moses and Aaron with that which ...<sup>92</sup> they used violence on Aaron,<sup>93</sup> but steadfastness is good. Afterwards We made them apes and swine, and cursed them to the Day of Resurrection. (30) So be patient, one day they shall be afflicted.<sup>94</sup> (31) We gave you power like those of the messengers that were before you. (32) From among them<sup>95</sup> We gave you one as guardian, perchance they rescind. (33) Who turns away from my command, I shall bring him back. May they enjoy the brief period of their unbelief! Do not ask the perfidious! (34) O, messenger, on the neck of those who believe we have put a pact for you.<sup>96</sup> Keep to it and follow the thankful ones! (35) During his vigil 'Alī is afraid of the hereafter and is looking forward to the recompense of his Lord. Say! Are those indeed equal who ... and those who committed outrage? But they will come to know my punishment.<sup>97</sup> (36) Chains will be put around their neck, and they shall repent their deeds. (37) We announced to you pious<sup>98</sup> descendants. (38) They shall not disobey our command.<sup>99</sup> (39) Upon them from Me prayer and compassion, may they be dead or alive like on the Day of Resurrection. (40) Upon those which they violate after your death,<sup>100</sup> be My wrath, they are wicked people who perish. (41) But those who follow the right path upon them is My compassion, and they are terraced gardens<sup>101</sup> [lofty chambers] of Paradise. (42) Praise be to God, the Lord of the World; Amen.

<sup>90</sup> At least one word is missing here. Gustav Weil thinks, *'ahd* or *mīthāq*. This and similar expressions would of course be un-Koranic. The Koran, though, frequently speaks of happenings which might be a hint, but never of hints which contain something.

<sup>91</sup> I read *innahum la-muḥḍarūn* perhaps to be added *fi l-adhābi* following sūras 30:15 and 34:37. As an absolute the word stands in all the other passages, but always with reference to the Final Judgement.

<sup>92</sup> The words *bi-mā istukhlifa* by no means make any sense to me.

<sup>93</sup> *Baghā* with the apparently intended meaning "to use violence" is usually constructed in the Koran and elsewhere with *'alā*, which in this case should be added.

<sup>94</sup> If the graphic outline is correct, it can read only *yublawnā*. In this case the word cannot represent the end of the verse.

<sup>95</sup> This naturally does not refer to the earlier messengers of God mentioned previously as *waṣṣūy* undoubtedly refers to 'Alī. Possibly something is missing between the verses 31 and 32.

<sup>96</sup> The idiom "to put a pact on someone's neck" is nowhere found in the Koran.

<sup>97</sup> The verse is tailored to fit sūra 39:12. Something seems to be missing between *alladhīna* and *ḡalamū*. The last little phrase might also have a concessive meaning: "although they know my penalty."

<sup>98</sup> It is a faulty text: either it is *ṣāliḥīn* without article or *bi-l-dhurriyyati*.

<sup>99</sup> Read *yukhālīfūna*.

<sup>100</sup> A totally un-Koranic notion, cf. above on verse 24.

<sup>101</sup> This meaning of *ghurufāt* arises from sūra 39:21 [but not according to Arberry].

## سورة النورين

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

1. يا أيها الذين آمنوا آمنوا بالنورين أنزلناهما يتلوان عليكم آياتي ويحذرانكم عذاب يوم عظيم
2. نوران بعضهما من بعض وإنا لسميع عليم
3. إن الذين يوفون بعهد الله ورسوله في آيات لم جئات نعيم
4. والذين كفروا من بعد ما آمنوا بنتقضهم ميثاقهم وما عاهدكم الرسول عليه يقذفون في الجحيم
5. ظلموا أنفسهم وعصوا وصي الرسول أولئك يسقون من حميم
6. إن الله الذي تور السواوات والأرض بما شاء واصطفى من الملائكة والوسل [كذا] وجعل من المؤمنين
7. أولئك من خلقه يفعل الله ما يشاء لا إله إلا هو الرحمن الرحيم
8. قد مكر الذين من قبلهم برسلمهم فأخذتهم بمكرهم إن أخذني شديد ألم
9. إن الله قد أهلك عادًا وثمودًا بما كسبوا وجعلهم لكم تذكرة فلا تتقون
10. وفرعون بما طغى على موسى وأخيه هارون أغرقته ومن تبعه أجمعين ليكون لكم آية وإن أكثركم فاسقون
11. إن الله يجمعهم يوم الحشر فلا يستطيعون الجواب حين يسألون
12. إن الجحيم مأواهم وإن الله عليم حكيم
13. يا أيها الرسول بلغ إنذاري فسوف يعلمون
14. قد خسر الذين كانوا عن آياتي وحكي معروضون
15. مثل الذين يوفون بعهدك إني جزيتهم جئات النعيم
16. إن الله لذنو مغفرة وأجر عظيم
17. وإن عليًا لمن المتقين
18. وإنا لنوقيه حقه يوم الدين
19. وما نحن عن ظلمه بغافلين
20. وكرمانه على أهلك أجمعين
21. وإنه وذرتيته لصابرون
22. وإن عدوهم إمام المجرمين
23. قل للذين كفروا بعد ما آمنوا طلبتم زينة الحياة الدنيا واستعجلتم بها ونسيتم ما وعدكم الله ورسوله ونقضتم العهود بعد توكيدها وقد ضربنا لكم الأمثال لعلكم تهتدون
24. يا أيها الرسول قد أنزلنا إليك آيات بيتنا من يتوقه مؤمنًا ومن يتوآله من بعدك يظهرن
25. فأعرض عنهم إنهم معروضون
26. إنا لهم محضرون في يوم لا يغني عنهم شيء ولا هم يرحمون
27. إن لهم في جهنم مقامًا عنه لا يعدلون

28. فسبح باسم ربك وكن من الساجدين  
 29. ولقد أرسلنا موسى وهارون بما استخلف فبعوا هارون فصبوا جميل فجعلنا منهم القردة والخنازير  
 ولعناهم إلى يوم يُبعثون  
 30. فاصبر فسوف يُبلون  
 31. ولقد آتينا بك الحكم كالذين من قبلك من المرسلين  
 32. وجعلنا لك منهم وصيًا لعلهم يرجعون  
 33. ومن يتول عن أمري فإني مُرجعه فليمتنعوا بكفرهم قليلاً فلا تسأل عن الناكثين  
 34. يا أيها الرسول قد جعلنا لك في أعناق الذين آمنوا عهداً فخذه وكن من الشاكرين  
 35. إنَّ علياً قائماً بالليل ساجداً يحذر الآخرة ويرجو ثواب ربه قل هل يستوي الذين ظلموا وهم  
 بعذابي يعلمون  
 36. سيجعل الأعداء في أعناقهم وهم على أعمالهم يندمون  
 37. إنا بشرناك بذرية الصالحين  
 38. وإتهم لأمرنا لا يُخلفون  
 39. فعليهم متي صلاة ورحمة أحياء وأموالاً ويوم يبعثون  
 40. وعلى الذين يبعون عليهم من بعدك غضبي إتهم قوم سوء خاسرين  
 41. وعلى الذين سلخوا مسلكتهم متي رحمة وهم في الغرفات آمنون  
 42. والحمد لله رب العالمين آمين

It cannot be denied that a first glance at this sūra leaves one with the impression of good Koranic Arabic; most of the sentences and idioms are found literally or with minor differences in our Koran. However, it is particularly this fact that Kazem-Beg cites as proof of the forgery.<sup>102</sup> One may say by way of objection that the Koran, as already shown by Garcin de Tassy in his epilogue,<sup>103</sup> also abounds with repetitions, and that it contains passages that look almost as though they have been made up of scattered phrases of other passages. These arguments are thus not unambiguous, and do not allow a safe conclusion. They can be seen in their proper light only after we have traced back the relation of the Sūra of the Two Lights to the Koran according to other points of view. Nevertheless, the substantial congruency is in fact faced with a considerable number of lexical, stylistic, and factual exceptions.

Lexical cases: *anzala* "to send down" is connected in the Koran with objects only, whereas *nūrayn* in v. 1 indicates persons, Muḥammad and 'Alī.—*Nūr* "light", v. 1, is actually a common and harmless word (in the Koran "religious illumination"), but the application to persons, as in this

<sup>102</sup> Loc. cit., p. 425.

<sup>103</sup> Loc. cit., p. 429.

case, seems to have been used first among Shi'ite circles.<sup>104</sup> In the Koran only Allāh is once called "the Light of the heavens and the earth" (sūra 24:35.)—*Nawwara* "to illuminate" (v. 6) as well as the *verbum finitum*, *na-dima* "to repent" (v. 36) are foreign to the Koran.—For *tawaffā*, v. 24, the context demands the meaning "to comply with an agreement or obey a person," whereas in the Koran it applies only to God's acceptance of man after death.—*Waṣiyy* (vv. 5 and 32) "testator, mandatory" does not occur in the Koran.<sup>105</sup>—*Imām* is here unlikely to have the general meaning used already in the Koran of "model" or "leader"; rather it refers specifically to the head of a religious community who is empowered by birth and divine providence, except that in this case the word is not applied, as it usually is, to the pope of the Shi'ite community but rather, with sarcastic connotation, to the ruling caliph, who is the master of the secularized, ungodly, state church only by arbitrary human action.<sup>106</sup>

—*Aṣā* "to renounce one's obedience," which here (v. 5) is constructed with the dative, is in the Koran regularly followed by the accusative. The construction of the words, *wa-lā aṣī laka amran* (sūra 18:68) is not quite clear.—*Khalafa* with the dative of the person, and with the meaning required by the text (v. 38) "to disobey" is neither Koranic nor Arabic at all; correctly it ought to be the III. Form, *khālafa*, with the accusative.—The phrase *yawm al-ḥaṣhr* (v. 11) is never used in the Koran for the Final Judgment, although the verb *ḥaṣhara* "to assemble the people in Allāh" is very frequently used.—That the plural *'uhūd* (v. 23) cannot be documented in the Koran is surprising, particularly as the singular *'ahd* occurs so often. In the parallel passage, sūra 16:93, which the writer has in mind, we find *aymān* instead *'uhūd*.—*Baghā* "to violate" (v. 39) is connected in the Koran and everywhere in Arabic with *'alā* of the person, whereas with the person in the accusative it means "to seek."—*Maslak* "path" (v. 41) does not occur in the Koran, although the corresponding verb is found quite frequently.

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Also stylistically the text leaves something to be desired. If the words *bi-mā shā'a* (v. 6) are indeed intended to mean "as he wanted," it would be a poor substitute for *mā shā'a*.—The phrase *ataynā bi-ka l-ḥukma* "we gave you power" is definitely not Arabic; correctly it ought to read *ataynā-ka bi-l-ḥukm*.—The connection *balligh indhārī* "be warned" (v. 13) does not quite seem like Koranic Arabic, although *ballagha* as well as *andhara* are common; still, instead of the infinitive one would rather expect *mā andhartu(nā)*

<sup>104</sup> Cf. below, p. 301 sq.

<sup>105</sup> For details see below, p. 301.

<sup>106</sup> For this interpretation of *imām* cf. Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic theology*, p. 183.

*bi-hi*. If the text of the “Two Lights” had been better transmitted, perhaps some of these linguistic problems would not be present.

Not affected by this limitation is the mixture of style which runs through the entire chapter of the “Two Lights.” This consists of short verses, reminiscent of the late Meccan sūras, whereas the addresses “O, you who believe” (v. 1), and “O, Messenger” (vv. 13, 24, and 34) are peculiar to the Medinan sūras.

The least harmless among the violations of Koranic thought is probably the equation of the worshippers of idols, who are made apes and swine, with the enemies of Moses and Aaron (v. 29), whereas the corresponding sūra 5:65 does not supply a historical connection. Far more important is the thematic double character corresponding to the above-mentioned stylistic mixture of the chapter. Thus, the admonition to the Prophet to bear calmly the insults (v. 30) as well as the strong emphasis on the Final Judgement (vv. 1, 11, 18, 26, and 39) and the early peoples with their messengers<sup>107</sup> (vv. 8, 9, 10, 29), are some of the pet ideas of the Meccan sūras. On the other hand, ignoring the infidels completely and—to the author’s mind—dividing humanity exclusively into believers and those who renounced their belief (vv. 4 and 23), does not make sense, even on the basis of Muḥammad’s late Medinan period. On the contrary, this seems to refer to the conflict within Islam, which did not arise until long after the death of the Prophet (vv. 24 and 39).

This conjecture is confirmed by several comments in this chapter, which all culminate in the person of ‘Alī, the saint of the Shīʿa,<sup>108</sup> addressing him sometimes by his actual name (vv. 17 and 35), and sometimes by the common Shīʿite by-word *waṣīyy*.<sup>109</sup> This way the fate of ‘Alī and his house is predicted (vv. 5, 17 sqq., 24, and 40). The favourite Shīʿite name of honour, *imām*, for ‘Alī and his descendants does not occur in this sūra, yet the hostile caliph is once mockingly inserted as the “*imām* of the sinners” (v. 22<sup>110</sup>). The name *nūr* “light,”<sup>111</sup> added to the names of Muḥammad and ‘Alī (vv. 1 and 2), is related to a well-known Shīʿite theory under somewhat gnostic influence.<sup>112</sup> According to this, “since creation a divine, luminous substance

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<sup>107</sup> The chapter always uses the designation *rasūl* for Muḥammad as well as for earlier prophets. *Nabī* is not even used once.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. above, p. 291.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Th. Nöldeke, “Zur tendenziösen Gestaltung der Urgeschichte des Islāms,” p. 29; Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, p. 114; Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic theology*, p. 175.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. above, p. 300.

<sup>111</sup> The Koranic meaning of *nūr*, cf. above, p. 300.

<sup>112</sup> Goldziher, “Neuplatonische und gnostische Elemente”, pp. 328–336; Tor Andrae, *Die Person Mohammeds in Lehre und Glauben*, p. 319 sqq.

has been passing from one chosen descendant of Adam into the next until reaching the loins of Muḥammad's and 'Alī's common grandfather; here, this divine light split in two; one part entered 'Abd Allāh, the father of Muḥammad, and another the former's brother, Abū Ṭālib (IBN 'ABD AL-MUṬṬALIB), the father of 'Alī. From him this divine light passed on from one generation to the next into the particular *imām*."<sup>113</sup> From this easily follows the idea of the miraculous union of Muḥammad and 'Alī, which finds expression in the words "two lights, one from the other," similarly to what 'Alī says about himself in al-Shahraṣṭānī:<sup>114</sup> "I am from Aḥmad like light from light." The first verse of the Sūra of the Two Lights also says that it is intended to recite to man the Signs of God, and threaten torment and affliction. The functions here ascribed to 'Alī the Koran reserves exclusively to Muḥammad, the greatest and last of the prophets. Equally audacious is the invitation to "belief in the two lights" (v. 1). Muḥammad, of course, is met several times in the Koran as the subject of belief, but every time only after Allāh (sūras 7:158, 24:62, 48:9, 49:15, 57:7 and 28<sup>115</sup>).

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This ought to be the overwhelming evidence that the so-called Sūra of the Two Lights is a Shī'ite falsification, just as Kazem-Beg also recognizes it to be.<sup>116</sup> For the time being the exact date of its origin cannot be determined with precision, since little research has been done in Shī'ite apocryphal literature. The Shī'ite exegetes (Abū l-Ḥasan) 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm AL-QUMMĪ<sup>117</sup> and Muḥammad b. Murtaḍā [AL-KĀSHĪ<sup>118</sup>] (d. 911/1505 or 6) do not seem to have known the sūra, or else they would have mentioned it in the introduction to their commentaries to the Koran.<sup>119</sup> According to Kazem-Beg, there is no authentic work on the Imāmite tradition that mentions this sūra; and before the sixteenth century there is no writer who knows *nūrayn* as its title; after all, *nūrāni* as the name of the twin-constellation Muḥammad-'Alī does not appear until the fourteenth century.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>113</sup> Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic theology*, p. 183; Sprenger, *Leben und Lehre des Mohammed*, vol. 1, p. 294 sq. Somehow connected with this is likely to be the light (*nūr*) which according to Sunnite tradition (Ibn Hishām, p. 101; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1078; Ibn Sa'd, *Biographie Muḥammads bis zur Flucht*, p. 58 sq.) became visible in the face of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and another which appeared when Muḥammad was born, and radiated a long way. (Ibn Sa'd, *Biographie Muḥammads bis zur Flucht*, p. 36, with three variants.)

<sup>114</sup> Translated by Haarbrücker, vol. 1, p. 128. Cf. also Kazem-Beg, loc. cit., p. 411.

<sup>115</sup> Believe then in Allāh, and in His Messenger.

<sup>116</sup> Loc. cit., p. 428.

<sup>117</sup> A student of al-Kulīnī (d. 328/939); Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 45, no. 29.

<sup>118</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 200.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. the literary-historical appendix, p. 310 sq.

<sup>120</sup> Loc. cit., p. 424.

[ii/112] Just as obscure as the dating of the Sūra of the Two Lights are the name and person of its author. In any case, he masters his Koran as well as any theologically trained Muslim. Nevertheless, as we have seen, he confuses the literary periods of Muḥammad and occasionally fails to keep with the linguistic usage of the Koran and even, at times—assuming the accuracy of the transmitted text—against the rules of Arabic grammar in general, even in cases where it was not demanded by the formulation of new ideas or concepts. The overwhelming congruence with the language of the Koran is, thus, not natural and accidental but rather artificially created with the intentional aim to disguise the falsification.





ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES  
FOR THE REALIZATION OF THE  
‘UTHMĀNIC TEXT

This is a case where we are again faced with a dearth of information. Most of the sources for ‘Uthmān’s undertaking<sup>1</sup> utilized up to this point contain nothing but insignificant remarks about the number of copies produced or the places to which they were distributed, except the statement that a codex was sent to every region under the sun.<sup>2</sup> More precise information can be obtained almost exclusively from Muslim works related to the Koran. According to the most widespread view, one copy was retained at Medina and the three others were dispatched to Kūfa, Baṣra, and Damascus.<sup>3</sup> Other writers add Mecca, considering this to be in accordance with the general opinion.<sup>4</sup> Still others mention seven places, adding Yemen and Baḥrayn.<sup>5</sup> Ibn Wāḍiḥ [al-Ya‘qūbī] mentions even Egypt and Mesopotamia in his

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 251 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Fa-arsala ilā kull ufq bi-muṣḥaf*, from *al-Fihrist*, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Bukhārī, al-Tirmidhī, al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*; and ‘Alā’ al-Dīn AL-KHĀZIN al-Baghdādī [Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 232, col. 1, n. 3]. The scholiast of the *Rā’iyya* (Silvestre de Sacy, “Commentaire sur le poème nommé Raïyya”) puts it somewhat differently, but is equally general, *arsala’Uthmān ilā kull jund min ajnād al-Muslimīn muṣḥafan*.

<sup>3</sup> al-Dānī settles for these four places in *al-Muqni’*, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 419, fol. 5<sup>r</sup> (cf. Silvestre de Sacy, “Commentaire ... Akila”, p. 344) cited by al-Qaṣṭallānī on al-Bukhārī, Bulaq edition, 1303, vol. 7, p. 449. This edition is considered the best or most common edition by al-Nuwayrī (cod. Lugdun., 273), and (Abū l-Qāsim b. Firrukh b. Khalaf AL-SHĀṬIBĪ [Sezgin, *Geschichte*, vol. 9, p. 41 ii]); cf. Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 400; in the *Rā’iyya* (cf. Silvestre de Sacy, loc. cit., vol. 5 = p. 431), Ibn ‘Atīyya, al-Qurtubī, vol. 1, fol. 21<sup>r</sup>, the scholia of Muḥammad IBN AL-JAZARĪ (d. 833/1429–1430, cf. Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, vol. 2, p. 201) on the *Muqaddima* of Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān b. Sa‘īd AL-DĀNĪ (d. 444/1053–1054, cf. Brockelmann, loc. cit., p. 407) and *Sharḥ al-Muqaddima al-Jazarīyya*, MS Wien, no. 1630, fol. 309 b, in Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften ... zu Wien*, vol. 3 (1867), pp. 65–66.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Umar b. Muḥammad IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ, cod. Lugd., 674 Warner, no. MDCXXXIV (1634), fol. 2, versus al-Dānī, *Muqni’*; Silvestre de Sacy, “Mémoire ...”, p. 432. According to al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 141, and al-Qaṣṭallānī, loc. cit., this was the general opinion. [Brockelmann, *GAL*, suppl. vol. 2, p. 212 (*sic*)] it was already found in al-Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 437/1044–1045, Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, p. 251).

<sup>5</sup> ‘Umar b. Muḥammad IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>; al-Dānī, *Muqni’*; al-Nuwayrī, Ibn ‘Atīyya; al-Qurtubī. According to *al-Tibyān fī ādāb ḥamalāt al-Qur‘ān* (according to cod. Sprenger 403, W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*) by al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277–1278, cf. Brockelmann, loc. cit., vol. 1, p. 394) and according to *al-Itqān*, p. 141, this view

historical work.<sup>6</sup> (Ibn) al-Jazarī's statement that there were originally eight copies seems altogether to be a misunderstanding, as he makes no comments whatsoever.<sup>7</sup>

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Among these different views preference should be given to the one that corresponds best to the most reliable tradition on the genesis of the 'Uthmānic redaction. This tradition is known to connect with a disagreement between Iraqī and Syrian contingents during a military campaign over the different ways of reciting the Koran.<sup>8</sup> Most appropriate for our purpose is the very first of the afore-mentioned views, which mentions among the foreign places only Kūfa, Baṣra, and Damascus. They were the most important cities and garrisons of the period in the provinces Iraq and Syria. It would thus seem that the Caliph merely had in mind the settling of a dispute among his troops. There was apparently no need at all for the more distant goal of favouring his entire dominion with a uniform text of the Holy Book, although the idea was attributed very early to 'Uthmān that since there was in Islam only one God and one Prophet there ought to be also only one Koran. Such dogmatic considerations are likely to be primarily responsible for the growth of the oldest demographic statistics, even if all the minutiae cannot be explained this way. The mention of Mecca evidently owes to its importance as the birthplace of the Prophet and seat of the ancient sanctuaries, even though the people there likely always followed the first recension of Zayd b. Thābit, just as in Yemen. The province of Baḥrayn<sup>9</sup> probably followed the custom of Iraq, just as Egypt followed Syria, from where it had been conquered. The mention of seven localities might reflect the goal of making the number of standard texts equal to the number of *aḥruf*, or variant readings of the Koran, and the later Koranic recitations.<sup>10</sup>

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It is not recorded whether, according to the unanimous tradition, the copy retained at Medina was the codex of Ḥafṣa or one of its newly produced copies. Incidentally, this codex was allegedly destroyed by the Umayyad

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concurrent with the renowned grammarian ABŪ ḤĀTIM Sahl b. Muḥammad AL-SIJISTĀNĪ (d. 255/869 or 250), [*EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, pp. 93–96; vol. 9, pp. 76–77]; (cf. *Fihrist*, p. 58sq.; G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 87sq.).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibn Wadhīh qui dictur al-Ja'qubi Historiae*, ed. Houtsma, vol. 2, p. 197, where al-Jazīra takes the last place, and Miṣr (*sic!*) between Mecca and Syria.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *K. al-Nashr fī l-qirā'āt al-'ashr*, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, 657, fol. 3<sup>i</sup>, bottom.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. above, p. 251sq.

<sup>9</sup> The scholiast of the *Rā'yya* thinks that tradition does not report that Yemen and Baḥrayn were places to which copies were dispatched. Cf. Silvestre de Sacy, "Mémoire sur l'origine et les anciens monuments de la littérature parmi les Arabes", p. 432.

<sup>10</sup> Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, pp. 26–28.

Marwān b. Ḥakam while governor of Medina (45/665 or 47/667), since he suspected non-ʿUthmānic variant readings.<sup>11</sup> This account, however, is doubtful, for the stated motive cannot possibly be reconciled with the fact that the ʿUthmānic redaction was a copy of that codex.

The destruction of the codices of divergent recensions of the Koran, which ʿUthmān ordered, according to the same account in traditions, is likely to have been also limited to Iraq and Syria, given what was argued previously. As far as this concerned public property, the governors certainly had the means to enforce such a measure, although copies in private hands were practically beyond their reach. Some traditions state that the method employed was tearing up<sup>12</sup> the codices. This cannot possibly have been the case, as this would not have protected the individual pieces and shreds from further profanation. This interpretation could possibly be designed to load the obnoxious caliph with yet another sacrilege. The superstitious reserve and reverence displayed by Islam vis-à-vis the word of God demanded total destruction, best accomplished by burning. This is indeed what most authorities report.<sup>13</sup> If, according to the commentary on the Koran by Muḥammad b. Murtaḍā [AL-KĀSHĪ] (d. 911/1505), ʿUthmān had those codices first torn up (*mazaqa*) and then burned, this tale—as the Shīʿite character of the work would suggest—evidently aims to make the sacrilege appear even worse, although the burning might also have served as compensation for the mischievous tearing it up.

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It would seem that the general public recognized the utility of the administrative measures. Difficulties allegedly arose only at Kūfa. The old Companions living there were glad when the new model copy arrived,<sup>14</sup> although

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<sup>11</sup> So Abū Muḥammad Makkī, *al-Kashf ʿan wujūh al-qirāʾāt wa-ʿilalihā wa-ḥujajhā*, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 578; al-Qasṭallānī, vol. 7, p. 419, from IBN ABĪ DĀWŪD—probably from *K. al-Maṣāḥif* of Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. Sulaymān AL-SIJISTĀNĪ (Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 174–175, d. 316/971–972)—says Marwān: “I have done this only because I was afraid that in the course of time someone might doubt it.”

<sup>12</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 3, p. 87, and Abū Muḥammad Makkī, loc. cit., p. 503 express this with *kharaqa*, al-Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, p. 430, and al-Ṭabarī, vol. 2, p. 747, unmistakably with *shaqqa*, and Muḥammad b. Murtaḍā [AL-KĀSHĪ], *K. al-Ṣāfi*, Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*, no. 899, with *mazaqa*.

<sup>13</sup> al-Bukhārī, al-Tirmidhī, al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī, al-Khāzin, *Mishcāt*, al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 138, *al-Fihrist*, *Ibn Wadhīh qui dicitur al-Jaʿqubi Historiae*, vol. 2, p. 196, Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*, vol. 2, p. 135. For this reason this view is defended quite rightly in *al-Muqniʿ*, Ibn ʿAṭīyya, fol. 25ʹ, and al-Qurṭubī, vol. 1, fol. 20ʹ. As the word for to burn, *kharaqa* is in Arabic writing (حرق) distinguished from *kharaqa*, to tear up (خرق), only by the omission of one diacritical point, the written transmission is somewhat uncertain. It is commendable that some transmissions have instead of *kharaqa* unequivocal synonyms like *shaqqa* and *mazaqa*.

<sup>14</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, ed. Tornberg, vol. 3, p. 87; al-Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr* on sūra 9, end.

in other respects they were hostile to the Caliph. Ibn Mas'ūd, however, requested his supporters to resist and furtively hide their Korans.<sup>15</sup> In retaliation—according to one source—he was called to Medina and there subjected to heavy corporal punishment on the order of 'Uthmān.<sup>16</sup> Not much credibility ought to be attached to this account, as the same source contains another conspicuous note. Accordingly, the governor who demanded the copy of the Koran from Ibn Mas'ūd was 'Abd Allāh IBN 'ĀMIR<sup>17</sup> who, however, according to most accounts, was since 29/649 governor of Baṣra, whereas at that time Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ ruled at Kūfa, being recalled at the end of 34/654 and replaced by Abū Mūsā AL-ASH'ARĪ.<sup>18</sup> Among the other great Koranic authorities of the age who produced their own recensions Ubayy b. Ka'b was no longer alive.<sup>19</sup> A reflection of Miqdād b. 'Amr's attitude is the fact that, when he died in 33/653, 'Uthmān said the prayer for the dead.<sup>20</sup> If only we knew the year the canonical Koran was introduced.<sup>21</sup> It is certain that the third of the renowned collectors, Abū Mūsā AL-ASH'ARĪ,<sup>22</sup> saw the introduction of the 'Uthmānic Koran, as he did not die until 41/661 or 42/662.<sup>23</sup> However, we do not know whether this happened before his appointment as governor of Kūfa. In any case, preparations for a new redaction must have been well under way at that time. The Caliph would hardly have entrusted Abū Mūsā AL-ASH'ARĪ with such a high office, particularly in permanently unruly Iraq, if he had not been sure that the latter would carry out the anticipated innovation.

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The accounts of the disposal of the pre-'Uthmānic codices of the Koran reflect such certainty and unanimity, and are provisioned with so many details that could not easily have been fabricated, that it is difficult to doubt their historicity. For Christian scholars, this fact is so firmly established that they cannot visualize the enforcement of the new redaction without the support of the police. Conversely, I cannot quite see either the necessity of the measure or its purpose.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. above, p. 287 n. 41.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibn Wadhih qui dicitur al-Ja'qubi Historiae*, vol. 2, p. 197.

<sup>17</sup> 'Abd Allāh IBN 'ĀMIR b. Yazīd al-Yaḥṣubī, d. 118/736; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 6–7.

<sup>18</sup> L. Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica* on the respective years.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. above, pp. 235–236 and pp. 253–254.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. above, pp. 236–237.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. above, p. 251–252.

<sup>22</sup> A. Jeffery, *Materials for the history of the text of the Qur'ān*, pp. 209–211; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.v.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. above, pp. 236–237.

Most importantly, however, the objective, the realization of the canonical redaction, was not at all achieved by the destruction of the earlier recensions. In order to understand this one must begin with the conditions of the present. Our present reciters of the Koran present the revelation by heart, even if during the service they keep a copy in front of them in order to preserve its solemn form.<sup>24</sup> In teaching, too, written or lithographed copies serve only as an auxiliary; the important aspect is and remains the free verbal presentation of the teacher.<sup>25</sup> If this is the case still today, when there are numerous manuscripts and innumerable lithographs<sup>26</sup> available, how much more importance must have been attached to recitation from memory in the time of 'Uthmān, when complete codices of the Koran were a great rarity. Thus, it must apply to the past what can be observed everywhere in the Islamic Orient today, i.e. that the reciter of the Koran who once memorized his text according to a certain reading (*qirā'a*) is unable to learn anew. In such circumstances, the new recension could not prevail until a new generation of reciters had grown up. But in order to encourage this it would have sufficed to prescribe the use of the canonical recension in the public schools of the Koran. The older recensions would then gradually disappear of themselves, without the necessity to destroy them.

Another reason that would have made the disposal appear inexpedient is the consideration for the rarity and price of leather and parchment, the only contemporary writing materials for books, particularly in the case manuscripts of high quality and oversize. In view of such circumstances one could have simply corrected individual textual variants, rearranged pages or signatures, and, at worst, obliterated all writing and rewritten the page, a method that was common throughout the Middle Ages in the Orient as well as in the Occident.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> In Egypt many of the reciters of the Koran are totally blind.

<sup>25</sup> Quite similar, possibly even more so is the system of transmission among the Indians. In the *History of Indian literature* (vol. 1, p. 29) Maurice Winternitz says: "It is an interesting phenomenon that in India from time immemorial up to the present day what mattered for the whole literary and the scientific activity was the spoken word and not the script. Even today when Indians have known the art of writing for centuries, when there are innumerable manuscripts and these manuscripts enjoy even a certain degree of sanctity and veneration, when the most important texts are accessible even in India in cheap print—the entire literary and scientific activity in India is based on the spoken word. Not from manuscripts or books do they learn the texts, but from the mouth of the teacher—today as millennia ago."

<sup>26</sup> Ordinary printing of the Koran is prohibited.

<sup>27</sup> This is probably behind the idea in *Ibn Wadhīh qui dicitur al-Ja'qubi Historiae* (vol. 2, p. 196, bottom) when he reports that 'Uthmān had the old manuscripts of the Koran cleansed

[ii/119] However that may be, after the introduction of the 'Uthmānic redaction all forms of the older recensions, regardless of their reputation, disappeared, save some uncertain traces. This was undoubtedly a great blessing for the unity of the Islamic Church, but an irreparable loss for our knowledge of the beginnings of Islam and the genesis of its Holy Book.

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“with hot water and vinegar.” When once under the 'Abbāsīd ruler Amīn the chancellery was ransacked the people of Baghdad used the parchment documents for writing purposes after they had washed them; cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 21, l 18 sqq.

THE ISLAMIC CANON  
AND ITS RELATION TO ITS CHRISTIAN  
AND JEWISH COUNTERPARTS

*The Founders of Judaism*

The Jewish religion was not founded by a single person but rather developed gradually over the course of several centuries from an older first stage, the religion of the Israelites. The mutation of important religious documents of various periods of this development toward an authentic ritual prestige also proceeded gradually over a period of some five hundred years. The historical development, however, remained so much alive that the different parts of the canon, namely law, prophets, and hagiographies, retained a sequence corresponding to their chronological origin and were never amalgamated into one entity within Judaism. [ii/119]

*The Position of Jesus in Christianity*

Although the foundation of Christianity emanated from one person, Jesus cannot be considered its founder. In the Messianic community that sprang up after his death, Christ immediately became the object of religion.<sup>1</sup> Since Jesus left neither revelations nor other writings, nascent Christianity had no holy document of its own and instead had to content itself with the canon of its origin, the Synagogue. The New Testament, consisting of a great variety of Christian writings from different periods, did not reach a kind of literary completion in the Occident until the end of the fourth century, whereas the process in the Oriental Church took even longer. Afterwards, it also became customary for Christianity to recognize the triple Jewish canon as a unit and, unlike the New Testament, combine it under the name of the Old Testament.

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<sup>1</sup> Valuable related ideas can be found in Eduard Meyer, *Ursprung und Geschichte der Mormonen*, p. 279.

*The Development of Canonical Islam*

[ii/120] The genesis of the Islamic canon is entirely different; one might even say that it was the product of the opposite development. It is not the work of several authors but of only one man, and was therefore accomplished in the span of a lifetime. The form of the Koran as we now have it was essentially complete two to three years after the death of Muḥammad. The ‘Uthmānic redaction is only a copy of the collection of Ḥafṣa and was completed under Abū Bakr or in the reign of ‘Umar at the latest. This redaction was probably limited to the composition of the sūras and their arrangement. As far as the individual revelations are concerned, we can be certain that their text is transmitted generally in the form in which it was found in Muḥammad’s literary bequest.

Added to this considerably different development is a difference of literary form. The writings of the Jewish as well as the Christian canon are the work of man, although very early the conception prevailed that the Biblical writers “were moved by the Holy Ghost” (2 Peter 1:21) in an extraordinary way. The direct word of God is found only where He speaks to prophets or other chosen, pious men. In the Koran, the situation is entirely different. Muḥammad is, of course, objectively and actually the writer of the revelations recorded in this Book, although he does not consider himself to be the author but rather only the mouth-piece of Allāh and mediator of His word and will. In the Koran, therefore, only God is speaking, and God alone. Although the historian of religion will recognize this as mere fiction, for the Prophet it was utterly true, given his enthusiasm for the divine origin of the revelations, and his congregation believed it.

[ii/121] Muḥammad was as familiar with Judaism and Christianity as one could be during his time, becoming so dependent on these religions that hardly a single religious idea in the Koran is not derived from them. He was also aware that both religions were in possession of sacred writings and for this reason called their followers the “People of the Book.” In other respects, he had the strangest notions about historical relations. He imagined, for example, that Jews and Christians had received the same revelation, which in each case was falsified. For this reason, he, the Arab Prophet, was chosen by Allāh once again to recite the text of the ancient revelation from the Celestial Tablets. As soon as he was certain of his divine mission, he had those revelations recorded the way he received them.

The creation of a particular holy document was consciously envisaged at the birth of Islam. This is an artificial and unoriginal trait of the religion that would indicate close connections with certain gnostic sects. Islam



is also connected with them—in sharp contradistinction to Judaism and Christianity—insofar as Islam goes back to a particular person as its founder.

The peculiar theory of the relation of the Koran to the earlier revelation apparently stems from Muḥammad's accurate realization that all his religious and ethical ideas are borrowed from the "religions of the Book." As far as we know, this theory is certainly original. We would probably arrive at a different conclusion if the sectarian original literature of the first Christian centuries had been better preserved.



THE ISLAMIC SOURCES  
ON THE ORIGIN OF THE REVELATIONS AND THE  
GENESIS OF THE BOOK OF THE KORAN

*The Muslim Sources: The Foundations of the System of Transmission*

Islamic literature, insofar as it is relevant for our study, is almost exclusively in Arabic. It comprises biographies of Muḥammad and his Companions, canonical *ḥadīth*, history of the first caliphs, contemporary poetry, commentaries on the Koran, and prolegomena. It goes without saying that this survey must be limited to the most important works used in this *History of the Qurʾān*. The form and content of these works must be more thoroughly discussed than is possible in a general history of literature. A welcome aid in the field of canonical *ḥadīth* comes from Ignaz Goldziher,<sup>1</sup> and for the history of the Prophet the excellent studies of Eduard Sachau,<sup>2</sup> Carl Brockelmann,<sup>3</sup> and Leone Caetani are of great assistance.<sup>4</sup> In spite of this, the number of works devoid of details about concepts and sources still remains enormous. In such circumstances, and in order not to reduce this appendix to a scanty list of names and titles, I had no choice but to attempt myself, even without the support of comprehensive monographs, to establish the bare minimum in the hopeful expectation of the indulgence of the experts.

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It is in the nature of the subject that modern Christian studies take up only one fourth of the appendix. Works still important for the present [1918] generally do not date from before the middle of the nineteenth century. I shall consider older works only occasionally, provided they are of permanent influence on subsequent development, and endeavour to present all results and their characteristics, including their merits and shortcomings, objectively and impartially, so as to enable general historians and scholars of religion also to orientate themselves in the subject, even if they are not Arabists.

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<sup>1</sup> Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 2 (1977).

<sup>2</sup> Sachau in the introduction to his edition of Ibn Saʿd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 3, part 1): *Biographien der mekkanischen Kämpfer Muhammeds in der Schlacht bei Badr* [Biographies of Muḥammad's Meccan combatants in the Battle of Badr], pp. vi–xl.

<sup>3</sup> C. Brockelmann, *Das Verhältnis von Ibn el-Aṭīrs Kāmil fiʿt-Taʾrīḥ zu Tabaris Aḥbār er-rusul waʿl-mulūk* [sic.] Dr.phil. thesis, Straßburg, 1890.

<sup>4</sup> *Annali*, vol. 1 (1905), pp. 28–58.

*The Foundations of the System of Transmission*

The most reliable part of the extant sources on Muḥammad's life and work are undoubtedly archival documents such as treaties, letters, and official lists.

Arab chroniclers write with a confidence unknown in similar world literature, even when not supported by documents. As a sign of authenticity, the individual transmissions are normally headed by no more than the *isnād*, or chain of authorities. This consists of the strand of intermediaries between the author of a work and the eyewitness of the reported event. An illustration can be found in the section concerning Muḥammad's final illness in Ferdinand Wüstenfeld's edition of Ibn Hishām, *Das Leben Muhammed's* (سيرة رسول الله), p. 1005, l 16–19:

“Said (*qāla*) Ibn Ishāq (d. 151/768): I was told (*haddathani*) from Ya‘qūb b. ‘Utba al-Thaqafī (d. 128/745) from Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Zuhrī (d. 124/741) from ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Utba (d. 94/712) from ‘Ā'isha, Muḥammad's wife, she said: ‘The Messenger of God went out between two men of his family, Faḍl b. ‘Abbās and another man, with his head bandaged and his legs trailing on the ground, until he entered my room.’”

Such an account attested by a chain of authorities is called *ḥadīth*. These *ḥadīths* are connected with one another corresponding to the disposition followed by the authors, and the chronology of the events.

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The chain of transmitters is not always as complete as in this example. Not infrequently one link or another is missing, less because of negligence than because of literary principles, as shall be demonstrated in detail in the following two chapters. Still more typical of the *isnād* is that no distinction is made between oral and written transmission, with the result that a literary dependence upon an earlier work is considered a verbal account of its author. This is connected with the fact that the content (*matn*) of the tradition originally goes back to oral reports. It also has to do with the fact that later on, when transmitting had become a literary profession, a pupil's oral instruction by the teacher was of utmost importance, whereas the accompanying written notes were considered as no more than an aid to memory.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, no distinction is made between that part of the *isnād* derived from written sources and that part from their authorities, even though it is obvious that the former are a far more reliable guaranty, as they can be referred to at any time.

<sup>5</sup> For a different point of view see F. Sezgin, “Goldziher and hadith,” pp. xiv sqq.

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By no means did Muslim scholars accept an *isnād* uncritically,<sup>6</sup> although they applied formal criteria only and were generally satisfied when the chain of authorities was sound, when the individual reporters were known to have been in contact with one another, and when, at the end of the chain, the name of a Companion appeared. When these formalities were met, even the most glaring logical or historical absurdities of the text, called (*matn*), was quietly accepted. Christian research in the Occident only gradually freed itself from this spell during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. In reality even the most perfect *isnād* from the Arab point of view represents no more than the history of transmission of a given event and is thus of only textual-historical importance without any value judgement. It can be demonstrated that the names of eyewitnesses are not infrequently falsified and that, even more frequently, they are likely the fabrication of traditionists, who often recognize in this a legitimate means of stamping their accounts with the seal of absolute reliability. It is rather suspicious that those Companions who most frequently serve as authorities belong to the younger generation, whereas the earliest and most respected followers of the Prophet appear only rarely in such a role. For example, in the *isnāds* of Ibn Ishāq according to Wüstenfeld's edition, Ibn 'Abbās is mentioned thirty-eight times,<sup>7</sup> Abū Hurayra eight times,<sup>8</sup> Anas b. Mālik six times,<sup>9</sup> while 'Umar, the caliph, only twice.<sup>10</sup> In al-Ṭabarī's *Annals* the testimony of Ibn 'Abbās is referred to 286 times, Abū Hurayra's fifty-two times, and Anas b. Mālik's forty-seven times; the first four caliphs, however, are not even mentioned once.<sup>11</sup> Muslims, who are quite aware of these facts, think that the early Companions were preoccupied with spreading Islam, religious wars, and the salvation of their own souls.<sup>12</sup> This is certainly a pertinent observation.

The first generation of believers was too involved in the events to reflect on them historically. In spite of this, Muslims hold in no less esteem the reliability of the younger generation. Objections were raised only occasionally

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<sup>6</sup> Cf., e.g., Muslim in the introduction to his *ṣahīh*; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb al-rāwī*, Cairo, 1307/1889; Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, pp. 135–144.

<sup>7</sup> Pages 131, 138, 204, 207, 227, 302, 323, 368, 371, 376, 395*bis*, 428, 446, 449, 450, 470, 484, 551, 585, 604, 642, 749, 750, 789, 790*bis*, 796, 810*bis*, 927, 943, 960, 965, 1010, 1013, 1017, 1019.

<sup>8</sup> Pages 368, 400, 468, 579, 765, 964, 996, 1012.

<sup>9</sup> Pages 261, 571, 574, 757, 849, 903.

<sup>10</sup> Pages 64 and 463.

<sup>11</sup> Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, p. 139 sq.; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 43.

<sup>12</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba fī ma'rifat al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 1, p. 3, top.

against individuals such as Anas b. Mālik and Abū Hurayra. The criticism, however, was not directed against the subject of their traditions but rather against their lower social standing, for both of them had been servants; after all, the same Muslim criticism accepts without hesitation the most obvious falsehoods and farces of other authorities. To the younger generation also belongs ʿĀ'isha, who is frequently referred to, with more than 1,200 traditions to her credit. Although she had been married to Muḥammad for eight years, she was a young girl of eighteen years at his death. She became a mature woman and influential person only as a widow. What we know of her later life and career as an unscrupulous, political, scheming woman certainly raises serious doubts about the reliability of her statements. For Muslims, however, as the “mother of the believers,” and the apparent favourite wife<sup>13</sup> of the Prophet, she has always been held in high, almost sacred esteem. Thus, so many fabricated traditions were placed in her mouth that she cannot possibly be held responsible for everything that is currently attributed to her.

For obvious reason, and in contradistinction to the procedure of Muslims, the *isnād* can only be considered the secondary or final criterion when judging the historicity of the *matn*; the main criterion, of course, remains the criticism of the content of the tradition.

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The reliability of the Arab chroniclers is generally no greater or less than other early historical sources that cover related matters from the same distant remove. Accordingly, critical research is in every case governed by identical principles. For instance, the accounts from the time when Muḥammad was the recognized head of the Medinan ecclesiastic state are more reliable than those concerning his childhood and the beginning of his career, since interest in his vicissitudes during the Meccan period can have developed only much later. With respect to both periods it must not be forgotten that outstanding personalities, particularly founders of religions, are, for personal, political, or dogmatic motives, affected especially early and easily by the tendentious twists of transmitted material. Since the driving forces are rarely evident or extant, it is always difficult to determine the form and direction of the transformation. It is likely to require decades of work until the most glaring distortions of the Prophet's biography have all been recognized.

The early development of proper historical writing in Arabic is nearly inconceivable without the mighty impetus of Islam, although, on the other

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<sup>13</sup> This wide-spread opinion, too, must be tantamount to a colossal swindle of the enterprising widow.

hand, this presupposes the existence of an Arabic national literature. In the first instance there is poetry, which was quite advanced, even in pre-Islamic Arabia. Without this background, the Holy Book of the new religion would have rather appeared in a Syriac or Ethiopic form. The transmission of poetic products from one place to another, and from one generation to the next, was in the hands of professional men whom we might even consider rhapsodists. The indigenous name is *rāwī*, which originally meant “water carrier” and later became “transmitter;” their profession thus became known as *rīwāya*. Since these technical terms later became common expressions in the historical field of tradition as well—even though they did not penetrate the *isnād* scheme—from a practical point of view a dependence on the rhapsodist guild cannot be excluded.

But all these facts—provided they are correct—are at best nothing but an explanation of certain peculiarities of historical prose, like the Arabic diction and the *isnād*, the poetic accessories and some technical terms, but not at all conducive to the rise of historiography. Given the cultural situation in Arabia of the time, such an activity cannot have appeared spontaneously but must have arisen from a related literary genre. The question that poses itself is: where should one look for it? In this regard, there is nothing available on Arab soil except an ancient narrative prose that, being an explanation of the songs, was likely also recited by the rhapsodists. It generally dealt with the armed quarrels of individual heroes and the feuds between families and tribes. A dependence on foreign literature, which one finds among contemporary Byzantine chroniclers of foreign lands, seems to be absent in the Orient, unless one considers the Middle Persian chronicles, of which we know hardly anything at all.

Joseph Horowitz<sup>14</sup> attempted to trace the *isnād* back to a Jewish origin. Although he offers some surprising parallels, the evidence leaves something to be desired. On the one hand, the chain of authorities never played the same role in Jewish literature as it did the Arabic *ḥadīth*, even at the end of the first century AH. On the other hand, the Jewish usage has no history either within Jewry proper or in Israelite thinking, facts which are likely to point to a foreign influence. And finally, the question of the Arabic *isnād* can hardly be separated from the older historical literature of the Arabs, which no one would want to blame the rabbis for.

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<sup>14</sup> “Alter und Ursprung des Isnād” in *der Islam*, vol. 8, pp. 39–47.

*The Biography of the Prophet*

[ii/129] The interest in the life of the Prophet first centred on the military campaigns. Among the earliest authors of such *maghāzī* books there is mention of Abān, a son of Caliph ‘Uthmān (d. 105/723–724), ‘Urwa,<sup>15</sup> the son of the familiar Companion al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām (d. between 91/709–710 and 101/719–720) as well as the two freed slaves, Shuraḥbīl b. Sa’d [Sa’īd<sup>16</sup>] (d. 123/740–741) and Mūsā b. ‘Uqba<sup>17</sup> (d. 141/758–759). Their books, apart from a small fragment of the latter,<sup>18</sup> have been lost, although they have partially survived in later works and are now their most precious parts.

The predominance of that interest becomes evident immediately in the earliest extant work of Muḥammad IBN ISHĀQ, a Medinan client, who, however, was writing at the court of the second ‘Abbāsīd caliph and died in 151/768–769. Since more than half of the work is devoted to the campaigns, though it is usually entitled *Sīra*, it is occasionally also called “Book of the Maghāzī”.<sup>19</sup> The book is no longer extant in its original version but only

<sup>15</sup> *EP*; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.v.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 278–279.

<sup>16</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 279.

<sup>17</sup> *EP*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.v.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 286–287.

<sup>18</sup> See E. Sachau, “Das Berliner Fragment des Mūsā b. ‘Uqba.”

<sup>19</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, Hyderabad edition, vol. 1, p. 155; al-Dhahabī, *Tajrid asmā’ al-ṣahāba*, vol. 1, p. 4; ‘Izz al-Dīn IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Usd al-ghāba fi ma’rifat al-ṣahāba*, vol. 1, p. 11; according to J. Horowitz, “Aus den Bibliotheken von Kairo, Damaskus und Konstantinopel,” (p. 14sq.) in a manuscript of the Köprülü Kütüphanesi, Constantinople; al-Mas’ūdī, *Les Prairies d’or* (vol. 4, p. 116) it reads *Kitāb al-Maghāzī wa-l-sayr*. However, I am sceptical of the reading and think that سير ought to be changed to سرايا.

(August Fischer adds the following remarks: Ibn Ishāq’s work is not “occasionally,” but commonly called “Book of the Maghāzī.” As far as I know, *Sīra* it is called merely in Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 399, l 4 [صاحب السيرة]. Conversely, Ibn Hishām’s excerpt regularly has this title.) Cf. M. Hartmann, “Die angebliche *sīra* des Ibn Ishāq”; further, Ibn Sa’d in Ibn Hishām, *Das Leben Muḥammad’s*, vol. 2, p. vii, bottom; Ibn Qutayba, *Handbuch der Geschichte*, p. 247, M. [sic]; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 399, ll 10 and 16, 400, l 9, 401, l 9; Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, vol. 5, p. 454; Ibn Khallikān, *Bulāq* ed. 1299/1881, vol. 1, p. 612, l 15; Abū l-Fidā’, *Annales moslemicis*, vol. 2, p. 26; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās [EP], Ibn Hishām, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 19, l 16; al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāz* Kl. V. 12 [sic]; Ibn Taghrībīrdī, *Annales*, vol. 1, p. 388, l 4; Ḥājjī Khalifa, vol. 5, p. 646, etc., [and the following additions: “Loc. cit., same note: The form of the title, كتاب المغازي والسير is found not only at the passage indicated by Schwally but also in Ibn Khallikān, vol. 1, p. 611, 1st line, p. 365, l 13; Abū l-Fidā’, *Annales*, vol. 2, p. 150; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, vol. 1, p. 156, l 1, and *Khulāṣa*, p. 326, l 2 from bottom (cf. also علم المغازي والسير, Ḥājjī Khalifa, vol. 5, p. 646)]. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, p. 401, l 9, reads instead علم المغازي والسير. The *al-sīra* alone in Ḥājjī Khalifa, vol. 3, pp. 629 and 634; al-Fihrist, p. 92, l 1, has والمغازي (in Ibn Hishām, vol. 2, p. x, Ibn Sayyid al-Nās’ biography of the Prophet is entitled عيون الأثر في المغازي والسير). This establishes the accuracy of the *al-sīra*. But this is not, as Schwally wants, to be read *al-sayr* but *al-sīyar* (= ‘way of life’, ‘biography’; see Brünnow-Fischer, *Chrestomathie aus arabischen Prosaschriftstellern* (1913), the available translations of the passages cited, as well as Martin Hartmann, loc. cit.”).



in the edition of ‘Abd al-Malik IBN HISHĀM,<sup>20</sup> a South Arabian scholar later living in Egypt (d. 218/833–834), from a copy made by Ziyād b. ‘Abd Allāh AL-BAKKĀ’Ī,<sup>21</sup> a private pupil of the master. Unfortunately, Ibn Hishām did not limit himself to comments and additions, instead considerably abridging the text as well. As he himself stated in his preface,<sup>22</sup> he omitted all accounts that did not mention Muḥammad, which are unrelated to Koranic verses, and which can be considered neither cause, explanation nor evidence of other events mentioned in the book; furthermore, he left out poems which no other scholar knew, and, finally, passages which to him seemed objectionable or likely to offend others or were not authenticated by al-Bakkā’ī. Still, it might be possible to establish Ibn Ishāq’s original version, since other copies circulated that were used by later historians like al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Sa’d, and Ibn al-Athīr.<sup>23</sup>

The abundant literary use of Ibn Ishāq by outstanding writers is a reflection of posterity’s gratitude. Nevertheless, derogatory remarks about the author were also current among Muslims. In the science of tradition he is allegedly “weak” or “unsound”, frequently merging several traditions with one another without supplying details of the deviation, citing useless accounts of unknown persons, attributing false names, and being called an outright liar.<sup>24</sup> Since these verdicts aim at the form of the *isnād*, they are based on the pertinent observation that Ibn Ishāq does not conform to the requirements that were instituted a century later. Whereas a model *isnād* of al-Bukhārī or al-Ṭabarī consists of an uninterrupted chain of transmitters from a reported event down to these two authors, Ibn Ishāq follows no fixed system, sometimes omitting links, sometimes supplying an allusion

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<sup>20</sup> *Das Leben Muhammed's*, Arabic text edited by F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1858–1860, p. 1026 [followed by an illegible rest of a numeral, possibly 8, referring to line?]. G. Weil’s 1864 translation is awkward, and philologically leaves much to be desired. The importance of the work would warrant a new translation. In English there is now the translation by Alfred Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad* (1955), a work which has been repeatedly reprinted.

<sup>21</sup> *EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, p. 119: al-Bukā’ī.

<sup>22</sup> Wüstenfeld’s edition, p. 4, l 6 sqq.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Sachau’s lucid exposition in his edition of Ibn Sa’d (*Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 3, part 1): *Biographien der mekkanischen Kämpfer Muhammeds*, p. xxv sq. This desideratum has now been realized by Gordon D. Newby with his *The Making of the last prophet; a reconstruction of the earliest biography of Muhammad, the Kitāb al-Mubtada’* (1989). This is a work of great importance. Prof. Newby has managed to reconstruct much, perhaps nearly all, of the lost first book of Ibn Ishāq’s *Sīra*. This reconstruction should encourage scholars to look again in detail at the early development of Muslim attitudes to the older religions.

<sup>24</sup> Wüstenfeld’s edition, *ibid.*, pp. xx–xxiii.

instead of the actual name<sup>25</sup> or even omitting everything.<sup>26</sup> These irregularities and inconsistencies cannot be attributed to Ibn Hishām's irresponsibility. Instead, they are connected with the mutation of the *isnād* from the undefined to the particular form, so that Ibn Ishāq is the intermediary in the historical development. This had already been known not only to his principle predecessors (Muḥammad b. Muslim) Ibn Shihāb AL-ZUHRĪ and 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr,<sup>27</sup> but most likely can be traced back to the very beginning of the *ḥadīth*. No matter how complete or incomplete the *isnād* might be, the historical value of the respective account will never depend on it.

[ii/131] The other objection of Muslim criticism, which concerns the form of the account, also appears to be immaterial. Although it is correct that Ibn Ishāq frequently created a coherent account, consisting of a variety of traditions,<sup>28</sup> this is not serious since the variants are frequently very minor and do not affect the meaning. But even where greater deviations are glossed over by harmonizing methods, it is hardly appropriate to criticize outright a method that would be applauded as artistic expression in other types of literature.

[ii/132] Ibn Hishām's importance is not only based on the chronological precedence by being the author of the earliest extant *maghāzī* history, but also in his unrivalled abundance of good information, which is far from being sufficiently explored by research. I am thinking first of all of the numerous genuine contemporary poems. The fact that he permits the opposition to give vent to their partially malignant abuses of the Prophet is evidence of an astounding impartiality. These and his other merits are best reflected in his recognition by his successors. He demonstrated his sense of historicity by transmitting the most important document of early Islam in its entirety, the so-called constitution of Medina,<sup>29</sup> whereas later writers—

<sup>25</sup> For example, "a man", "men", "a shaykh", "a client", "some one", "some" (fifty-three times), "someone who I trust" (four times), "someone who I do not distrust" (thirty-three times), according to the lists compiled by Wüstenfeld in his edition, *ibid.*, pp. lviii–lxix.

<sup>26</sup> Most of the time it merely says: "Ibn Ishāq says."

<sup>27</sup> Goldziher, "Neue Materialien zur Literatur des Überlieferungswesens," p. 474.

<sup>28</sup> For example, in Wüstenfeld's edition, p. 263, Muḥammad's Night Journey; p. 428, the Battle of Badr; p. 555, the Battle of Uḥud; p. 699, the siege of Medina; p. 725, the campaign of al-Muraysī; p. 894, the campaign of Tabūk; I. Goldziher, "Neue Materialien zur Literatur des Überlieferungswesens," p. 474, points out that already al-Zuhrī (d. 124/741) did not list the individual authorities separately, instead he combined them whenever he saw fit.

<sup>29</sup> Edition by F. Wüstenfeld, *ibid.*, pp. 341–344.

because of dogmatic prejudices, it would seem—either ignored it altogether or have only poor references to this document.<sup>30</sup> The only work that contains the unabridged text after Ibn Ishāq appears in the Prophet's biography by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr IBN SAYYID AL-NĀS (d. 734/1333–1334).<sup>31</sup>

The second oldest extant historical work on the Prophet was written in Baghdad by the Medinan Muḥammad b. ʿUmar AL-WĀQIDĪ<sup>32</sup> (d. 207/822–823) and contains nothing but the campaigns. Alfred von Kremer's edition<sup>33</sup> has the text proper only up to page 369, line 16; the rest is nothing but a worthless addition of a later period.<sup>34</sup> Thanks to two newly discovered London manuscripts, Julius Wellhausen then published a brilliant German version.<sup>35</sup> This, however, cannot be a substitute for the Arabic original, particularly since the Calcutta edition is philologically insufficient and represents only a third of the actual work. As is the case with Ibn Ishāq, we also do not have al-Wāqidī in its original form but only in the recension of (Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās) IBN ḤAYYUWAYH,<sup>36</sup> a scholar of the fourth century [295/907–381/991]. The omission of several poems promised in the text must be ascribed to him or to one of his predecessors. Wherever there are deviations from Ibn Ishāq, in most cases Ibn Ḥayyuwayh offers the better or more original alternatives. In general, numerous passages look like shortened versions of Ibn Ishāq, although he is never mentioned as authority.<sup>37</sup> Al-Wāqidī's main merit is the complete collection of the material but not its chronological parts, where his comments are not infrequently contradicted by odd remarks in the accounts. Although the material added is largely legendary and anecdotic, it still offers much local flavour and natural colour. The *isnād* is a bit more regular and complete than in Ibn Ishāq. The general indication of sources, which are so dear to the latter, are totally wanting. Where the majority of the sources agree, he refers to them at the

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<sup>30</sup> The passages from biographers have been collected by Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 376 sq. A.J. Wensinck, *Muhammad and the Jews of Medina*, p. 59 sqq. completed them, particularly with parallels from the collections of *ḥadīths*.

<sup>31</sup> The book is entitled *ʿUyūn al-āthār (fī funūn) al-maghāzī wa-l-shamāʿil wa-l-siyar* Cod. Leiden, 340, fol. 62<sup>v</sup>; W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, nos. 9577 and 9578. Cf. Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 71; F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 1, p. 301; *EF*.

<sup>32</sup> *EF*; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 294–297.

<sup>33</sup> Calcutta, Bibliotheca Indica, 1856.

<sup>34</sup> In addition, also p. 7, l 9 (*qāl al-Wāqidī*) to p. 9, 2 (*al-āya*) is an unknown substitute.

<sup>35</sup> *Muhammad in Medina; das ist Wakidis Kitāb al Maghāzī in verkürzter deutscher Wiedergabe*. The following description I took partly literally from Wellhausen's preface.

<sup>36</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 206, no. 247.

<sup>37</sup> The only passage of Kremer's edition where he is mentioned is not genuine; cf. above, foot-note 29.

beginning of the section, followed by the common text.<sup>38</sup> Variant readings he indicates in between, supplying their origin; and he introduces the continuation of the main text by *qālū* “they said.”

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The Baṣra-born Muḥammad IBN SAʿD (d. 230/844–845), a pupil and secretary of al-Wāqidi, is the author of a biography of the Prophet, which has been transmitted as manuscript together with a book of classes (*ṭabaqāt*), but originally probably did not constitute an independent work. In the *Fihrist* (on page. 99) it is called *Akhbār al-nabī*, a name that fits the subtitle, which in the London Ms. appears in the colophon;<sup>39</sup> but it is commonly called *Sīra*. The Berlin [i.e. Leiden] edition (*al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*) consists of vol. 1, part 1 (161 p.), vol. 1, part 2 (186 p.), vol. 2, part 1 (137 p.), vol. 2, part 2 (pp. 1–98). As far as the volume is concerned, the work ranks even considerably behind Wüstenfeld’s abridged Ibn Ishāq. The missing portion, according to my estimate, amounts to 213 and 152 pages respectively, depending on the page size of Ibn Hishām or Ibn Saʿd. The abridgements apply to the first part—early history,<sup>40</sup> Muḥammad’s childhood,<sup>41</sup> first events after the *hijra*, where Ibn Hishām has nearly twice as much—as well as the campaigns, where Ibn Saʿd has three times as much. On the other hand, Ibn Saʿd is again more comprehensive in early Biblical history (vol. 1, part 1, pp. 5 to 26), Muḥammad’s genealogy (pp. 2–8 and 27–36), and the signs of prophethood (pp. 95–126). He treats Muḥammad’s character in particular detail [*ṣifa*] (vol. 1, part 2, pp. 87 to 186,<sup>42</sup> appearance, dress, habits, etc.) to which Ibn Hishām (pp. 149sq. and 266sq.) devotes but two pages, the last illness and Muḥammad’s death (vol. 2, part 2, pp. 1 to 98, which get five times less coverage in Ibn Hishām, pp. 999–1027), and Muḥammad’s correspondence, including the messages<sup>43</sup> to him (vol. 2, part 2 (pp. 15 to 86), which receive twice as many pages as in Ibn Hishām). The great value of the *Sīra* is its last mentioned section, consisting almost exclusively of documents. Although the content is by no means complete, and some parts

<sup>38</sup> Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 1, p. 34sq.

<sup>39</sup> *Ākhir khabar al-nabī*, Ibn Saʿd (*al-Ṭabaqāt* vol. 2, part 2): *Letzte Krankheit, Tod und Bestattung* [final illness, death and funeral], edited by Fr. Schwally, p. 98.

<sup>40</sup> Totally omitted is nearly everything related to pre-Islamic Arabia, and which, in Ibn Hishām up to p. 100, takes up so much space.

<sup>41</sup> Still, also in in this part there are complete legends, or legendary traits that are missing in Ibn Hishām. All these problems await monographic research.

<sup>42</sup> In this section to page 166 al-Wāqidi is not even once mentioned as a source, conversely, repeatedly on the last twenty pages.

<sup>43</sup> The most recent study of Muḥammad’s letters is Jakob Sperber’s thesis *Die Schreiben Muḥammads an die Stämme Arabiens* (1916).

are wanting, which have been preserved in Ibn Hishām,<sup>44</sup> here—as Wellhausen<sup>45</sup> says—you get a much better idea of the course of conversion of the Arabs. This is partially the result of the systematic presentation of the material, for which Ibn Sa‘d displays an undeniable inclination. Let me recall the list of persons named Muḥammad before the rise of Islam,<sup>46</sup> then the chapter on the signs (*‘alāmāt*) of prophethood, which later became the impetus to the extensive literature of *dalā’il al-nubuwwa*, and, finally, the chapter on Muḥammad’s character (*ṣifa*), which likely served al-Tirmidhī as a model for his *al-Shamā’il*.

Ibn Sa‘d’s main source for the campaigns is of course al-Wāqidī, his lord and master. How he made use of him cannot be determined until this work is completely available in the original Arabic version. Not only in the campaigns<sup>47</sup> but also in other parts of the *sīra*<sup>48</sup> the pupil vindicates Ibn Ishāq’s work, which al-Wāqidī made use of without advertising so. In this case, it is of great importance that he had at his disposal two different versions,<sup>49</sup> neither of which was identical with the one available to Ibn Hishām, for in this case we can avail ourselves of the important help for the reconstruction of Ibn Ishāq’s original text. As far as the composition of the *isnād* is concerned, Ibn Sa‘d is roughly equal with al-Wāqidī, although the latter’s compressed narratives are made still more uniform by his consistently placing the variants at the end, which Ibn Sa‘d spreads over the entire article. In this respect, the comparison of larger sections is extremely informative, especially the presentation of the battles of Badr and Uḥud in both writers.

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<sup>44</sup> Ibn Hishām, pp. 963sq., 940sq., 971sq., and 944.

<sup>45</sup> *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, 4th Heft (1898), p. 88.

<sup>46</sup> Ibn Sa‘d (*Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, part 1): *Biographie Muḥammads bis zur Flucht* [biography of Muḥammad to his flight], p. 111sq.

<sup>47</sup> For example, Ibn Sa‘d (*Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, part 1): *Die Feldzüge Muhammeds* [Muḥammad’s campaigns], p. 1, l 11; p. 3, l 2; p. 39, l 7; p. 40, l 13; p. 57, l 9; p. 134, l 16.

<sup>48</sup> For example, Ibn Sa‘d (*Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, part 1): *Biographie Muhammeds*, p. 25, 4; p. 29, l 11; p. 108, l 4; p. 122, l 21; (*Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, part 2): *Letzte Krankheit, Tod und Bestattung Muhammeds* [Muḥammad’s last illness and death], p. 19, l 19; p. 48, l 6; p. 78, l 20; p. 105, l 10; p. 171, l 5; (*Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, part 2): *Letzte Krankheit, Tod und Bestattung Muhammeds* [Muḥammad’s last illness and death], p. 3, l 12; p. 35, l 4; p. 44, l 26; p. 79, l 18.

<sup>49</sup> These are the copies of IBRĀHĪM IBN SA‘D b. Abī Waqqāṣ al-Zuhrī al-Madanī (d. 183/798–799) [Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 1, p. 95, no. 14], and Hārūn b. Abī ‘Isā al-Sha‘mī. Cf. the passages listed in the preceding notes 43 and 44; Ibn Sa‘d (*Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 3, part 2): *Biographien der medizinischen Kämpfer Muhammeds in der Schlacht bei Badr* [Medinan combatants at Badr], pp. 17–19; and E. Sachau in the introduction to Ibn Sa‘d, vol. 3, part 1, *Biographien der mekkanischen Kämpfer Muhammeds in der Schlacht bei Badr* [Meccan combatants at Badr], p. xxv.

In that case also the structure of the composition is most solid in the chapters on the early history as well as in the letters and missives, whereas the Prophet's characteristics (*ṣifa*) and his death constitute something more like a loose conglomeration of traditions.<sup>50</sup>

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A most useful complement to the *sīra* are the biographies of the Companions in the *ṭabaqāt*. The relevant sections of Ibn Sa'd's Berlin (Leiden) edition, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, are as follows: vol. 2, part 2, pp. 98–136; vol. 3, parts 1 and 2; vol. 4, parts 1 and 2; vol. 5, pages 328–341, 369–379, 382–390, 400–403, 406–412; vol. 6, pp. 6–43; vol. 7, part 1, pp. 1–63, part 2, pp. 64–65, 99–101, 111–151, 176–177, 188–199; and vol. 8, which deals exclusively with women. The total of these accounts (1213 pages) constitute nearly three times the size of the entire *sīra* (445 pages).

The entry for the Prophet in Ibn Qutayba's<sup>51</sup> *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif* (*Ibn Coteiba's Handbuch der Geschichte*) is too short (pp. 56–83) to be of any help. The author does not present a cohesive account of the events and limits himself to compressed statistical surveys, devoting a disproportionately large space, two thirds of the pages (pp. 56–74), to Muḥammad's character—his descent, family relations, women, children, slaves, and riding animals. The sources are rarely supplied: al-Wāqidi (p. 59), and Ibn Ishāq (p. 75) once each, Abū l-Yaqzān<sup>52</sup> three times (p. 69, ll 1 an 6, p. 76), Zayd b. Akhzam (d. 257/870) with following *isnād* (pp. 80 and 83). 'Abd Allāh b. [al-]Mubārak<sup>53</sup> (d. 181/797, p. 77, l 4) and, unknown to me, one Ja'far of Ibn Abī Rāfi' (p. 83). More useful are the chapters on Muḥammad's Companions (pp. 83–174), which contain many important details.

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The compendium of world-history, *Ibn Wadhih qui dicitur al-Ja'qubi Historiae*, by al-Ya'qūbī (d. 278/891–892), edited by M.Th. Houtsma (1883), is remarkable not only because it is the only Shī'ite work of history from the earlier period but also because it is based on sound, early sources. In its interest in cultural-historical matters it reminds us of Ibn Qutayba and the

<sup>50</sup> This connection becomes evident in some similarities to the linguistic usage. For example, the phrases *raja'a l-ḥadīth ilā* and *dakhala l-ḥadīth ba'duh fi ba'd* never once occur in Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*) *Letzte Krankheit, Tod und Bestattungen* (vol. 2, part 2), pp. 1–98, and only once each in (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographie Muhammads; Ereignisse seiner medizinischen Zeit* (vol. 1, part 2), pp. 87–187. Conversely, in Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*), vol. 1, part 2, pp. 1–86, the first phrase is found nine times and the last twice in (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographie Muhammads; Ereignisse seiner medizinischen Zeit* (vol. 1, part 2), whereas both phrases together occur twelve times in (*al-Ṭabaqāt*): *Biographie Muhammads bis zur Flucht* (vol. 1, part 1).

<sup>51</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 154–158.

<sup>52</sup> Sezgin, *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 266–267, no. 3.

<sup>53</sup> 118/736–181/797; Juynboll, *Encyclopaedia*, p. xxxii, col. 2, etc.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 95.

later al-Mas'ūdī.<sup>54</sup> The section on the life of the Prophet (vol. 2, pp. 1–141) contains nothing new. Still, it does contain some compilations that were not taken into account in earlier biographies, such as, for example, a list of the Meccan and Medinan sūras (pp. 32–34), of Muḥammad's amanuensis (pp. 87–92), and a rich anthology of his alleged sermons (pp. 98–121). As regards astrology—which here probably makes its first appearance in the biography of Muḥammad—there is the regular reference to one Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī<sup>55</sup> (pp. 5, 21, and 126). This is an invented narrative and refers only now and then to the sources listed systematically at the beginning of the second volume (p. 31). Following his Shī'ite leaning, the author most frequently quotes the sixth *imām* of the Twelver Shī'a (d. 148/765), Abū 'Abd Allāh JAFAR b. Muḥammad AL-ṢĀDIQ (d. 148/765)<sup>56</sup>—pp. 7, 8, 21, 34, 44—conversely, he cites Ibn Ishāq—whom, according to the preface, he used in the recension of Ibn Hishām from [Ziyād] al-Bakkā'ī—as well as al-Wāqidi but only twice each (pp. 20, 45; 43, 121) and four other traditionists<sup>57</sup> twice each. He otherwise refers to his sources; in the case of a difference of opinion he resorts to general expressions.<sup>58</sup>

On the history of the caliphs the reports on the recension of the Koran by Abū Bakr—'Umar (p. 152) and 'Uthmān (p. 196sq.) deserve particular attention as well as—his presentation is again typically Shī'ite—a detailed description of 'Alī's collection of the Koran (pp. 153–154).

The famous work, “the conquest of the countries” (*Futūḥ al-buldān*), of Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā AL-BALĀDHURĪ<sup>59</sup> (d. 279/892–893)—a Persian-born resident at the court of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs Mutawakkil and Mustafīn—refers to the Prophet (pp. 1–94), although not exclusively, since the conquests are dealt with beyond the Umayyad period. Also relevant are some sections of the final chapter, “penmanship,” about literate men and women among Muḥammad's acquaintances (p. 472sq.). The work abounds in

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<sup>54</sup> Sezgin, *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 332–336.

<sup>55</sup> In the introduction to the second volume, p. 4 l 6, called *al-munajjim*, “the astrologer.” This of course cannot refer to a namesake of his who died in 428/1036–1037, to whom C. Brockelmann refers in *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 225.

<sup>56</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 260–262.

<sup>57</sup> Abū 'Abd Allāh Faḥl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Muḥammad IBN KATHĪR, Muḥammad b. Sā'ib, and Abū l-Bakhtarī.

<sup>58</sup> For example, *wa-rawā ba'duhum, wa-qad ruwīya, wa-qīla, wa-yuqālu*, pp. 7, 8, 15, 18–23, 33, 34, 37, 40–46, 49, 52, 58, 59, 64, 73, 79, 92, 97, 98, 121, 125, 127.

<sup>59</sup> *Liber expugnationis regionum* (Leiden, 1866). There is a cheap Cairo reprint, and a German translation by Oskar Rescher, *El-Belāḍori's "kitāb futūḥ el-buldān" (Buch der Eroberung der Länder)*, based on de Goeje's edition.

valuable additions to the accounts of older works. The form of the chain of authorities is very precise. The numerous sources used would warrant a separate investigation. Among the parts that are relevant for us, he refers six times to Ibn Ishāq,<sup>60</sup> seven times to Ibn Sa'd, and twenty-three times to al-Wāqidī.

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In al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/923 in Baghdad) world-history, the era of Muḥammad is covered in vol. 1, pp. 1073–1836, of the Leiden edition.<sup>61</sup> What Ibn Ishāq relates in his early history naturally appears in al-Ṭabarī spread over different places. For a comparison of the two works it is best to limit oneself to the sections dealing with the Medinan period, namely al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, pp. 1227–1836 (609 pages), and Ibn Hishām, pp. 314–1026 (712 pages). But since al-Ṭabarī's 609 pages—without the foot-notes—are equivalent to only 430 pages of the layout of the Wüstenfeld edition, al-Ṭabarī's presentation is 282 pages shorter. Of his predecessors he uses primarily Ibn Ishāq—who, with two hundred references, far outdistances al-Wāqidī (47) and Ibn Sa'd (15)—and it is to him that the strand of the narrative always returns.<sup>62</sup> Included in his numerous references are many that are wanting in Wüstenfeld,<sup>63</sup> since al-Ṭabarī made use of a different recension.<sup>64</sup> Because of

<sup>60</sup> On p. 10, Ibn Ishāq refers to two transmissions that are not found in either Ibn Hishām or al-Ṭabarī.

<sup>61</sup> *Annales [Akhbār] quos scripsit ... cum aliis edidit* M.J. de Goeje, 13 volumes totalling 8054 pages in Arabic. The period relevant for us has been edited by Pieter de Jong. The Arabic title of the Leiden edition is given as *Akhbār al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, or simply *Tārīkh (Fihrist, p. 234; al-Mas'ūdī, vol. 4, p. 145.)*

<sup>62</sup> *Raja' al-ḥadīth ilā ḥadīth Ibn Ishāq*: p. 1299 l 5; p. 1301 l 6; p. 1308 l 9; p. 1315 l 3; p. 1389 l 18; p. 1392 l 6; p. 1398 l 1; p. 1465 l 13; p. 1487 l 13; p. 1492 l 14; p. 1514 l 17; p. 1532 l 6; p. 1540 l 3; p. 1620 l 12; p. 1770 l 18.

<sup>63</sup> al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1126 l 11–1127 l 8; 1142 ll 16–19 and 1143 l 3 respectively; 1162 l 8–1163 l 2; 1171 l 1–1173, l 1; 1192 l 4–1191 l 10; 1253 ll 7–16; 1318 ll 2–6; 1321 ll 13–15; 1340 l 10–1341 l 15; 1344 l 9–1345 l 6; 1357 ll 10–14; 1365 l 15–1366 l 9; 1369 ll 8–15; 1398 ll 14–16; 1400 ll 9–14; 1416 l 9–1417 l 6; 1419 ll 8–12; 1441 l 5–11; 1454 l 9–1455 l 2; 1496 ll 9–14; 1560 ll 3–6 and 17–19; 1561 l 8–1568 l 2; 1569 l 1–1570 l 7; 1572 ll 10–13; 1574 l 4–1575 l 5; 1576 ll 2 and 3; 1578 ll 5–9, 13–1579 l 1; 1617 ll 4–7; 1640 l 17; 1641 l 7; 1642 l 17–1644 l 13; 1657 ll 11 and 12; 1683 ll 3–12; 1705 ll 14, 15; 1809 l 17–1810 l 1; 1834 ll 13–16. Best known of these passages is p. 1190 sqq. on the temporary acceptance of the Meccan idols in the Islamic cult, and p. 1441 on the capture of 'Abbās [IBN AL-MUTṬALIB], Muḥammad's uncle, in the Battle of Badr. The historicity of this event—for which Sprenger pleaded at the time in his *Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 3, p. 131—Leone Caetani tried to challenge in his *Annali dell'Islam*, vol. 1, p. 517. Cf. against this, Nöldeke's review of *Annali dell'Islam* in *WZKM*, 21 (1907), p. 309 sqq.

<sup>64</sup> The *isnād* consistently runs as follows: "Ibn Ḥumayd from Salāma b. al-Faḍl from Muḥammad b. Ishāq." The former's full name is Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd b. Ḥayyān Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Rāzī (d. 248/862.) Salāma b. al-Faḍl Abū 'Abd Allāh AL-RĀZĪ died after 170/786 (*Khulāṣa*).



such circumstances, and because of the numerous variants in the two texts, al-Ṭabarī is the most important aid in the re-establishment of the original Ibn Ishāq.<sup>65</sup>

Al-Ṭabarī's next merit is the communication of new material as well as the conscientious separation of divergent reports, either by listing all traditions known to him directly one after another or only a single tradition but including all the divergent readings.<sup>66</sup> Before a group of related transmissions—or occasionally at the end—he readily supplies a comparative or statistical table of contents,<sup>67</sup> whereas a direct personal comment on the respective question is rare.<sup>68</sup> It happens occasionally that general references like “some people think,” “others say,” “it is claimed,” etc.<sup>69</sup> are not followed up with a reference to a specific source. On the other hand, al-Ṭabarī avoids altogether the favourite habit of previous writers, namely incorporating various traditions into a uniform narrative, unless such a harmonization is already part of his original, in which case he makes an appropriate note.<sup>70</sup>

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As can be seen, al-Ṭabarī's traditionalist formalism took a shape that had never existed before. Although this is a step back artistically, it enhances the usefulness of his work for the historian.

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Other parts of his world-history that deal with the first caliphs contain many important reports concerning Muḥammad and his time. Of prime importance are, for example, the accounts of the appearance of the prophet Maslama, which, despite their fragmentary condition, are unique in their

<sup>65</sup> See above, p. 325sq.

<sup>66</sup> Cf., for example, al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1565 l 12sq.

<sup>67</sup> For example, from the text pp. 1245 l 7–1247 l 3, the following scheme can be uncovered: *qāla Abū Ja'far wa-ikhtalafal-salaf min ahl al-'ilm fi ... dhikr man qāl dhālik ... fa-qāl ba'duhum ... wa-qad wāfaq qawl man qāl ... dhikr man qāl dhālik ... wa-qāl ākharūn ... qāl Abū Ja'far wa-qad wāfaq qawl man qāl*. This system is changed in the most variant ways as becomes obvious from the following passages: p. 1227 l 16sqq.; p. 1242 l 10sqq.; 1249 l 16sqq.; 1250 l 12sqq.; 1256 l 12sqq.; 1259 l 10sqq.; 1281 l 8sqq. [sic;] 1262 l 12sqq.; 1263 l 4sqq.; 1270 l 12sqq.; 1273 l 6sqq.; 1276 l 15sqq.; 1279 l 9sqq.; 1281 l 4sqq.; 1296 l 13sqq.; 1357 l 15sqq.; 1362 l 11sqq. and 16sqq.; 1367 l 9sqq.; 1375 l 8sqq.; 1502 l 9sqq.; 1767 l 14sqq.

<sup>68</sup> For example, al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1259 l 14, *wa-al-ṣaḥīḥ 'indanā fi dhālik*. In other parts of the annals still other expressions are to be found, for example, *ana ashukk*, “I have doubts” (vol. 1, p. 522 ll 3 and 13).

<sup>69</sup> For example, p. 1297 l 12, *wa-qad za'ama ba'duhum, qāl ākharūn, qīl, yuqāl*, p. 1233 and 1245 l 5, p. 1248 l 9.

<sup>70</sup> For example, al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1291 l 17–1292, l 1 = Ibn Hishām, p. 428 ll 2 and 3; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1384 ll 3–6 = Ibn Hishām, p. 555 l 12sqq., hence follows the account of the battles of Badr and Uhud.

form.<sup>71</sup> Al-Ṭabarī everywhere shows himself to be an industrious and conscientious collector, although nowhere does he display a particular historical aptitude.

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We have a Persian adaption from 352/963 of al-Ṭabarī's annals by Abū 'Alī Muḥammad AL-BAL'AMĪ,<sup>72</sup> vizier of the Sāmānid ruler, Abū Ṣāliḥ Maṣṣūr b. Nūḥ, or possibly by an unknown author on the order of this vizier. Although this translation is considerably abridged and omits the chain of authorities, it adapted much from other sources. If we had a critical edition of the work it would be of no small usefulness for the Arabic original. Its French translation by H. Zotenberg<sup>73</sup> does not serve the purpose, particularly as it is based solely on Paris manuscripts,<sup>74</sup> whereas other manuscripts seem to contain significant variants. Hence, a text edition on a broad manuscript base still remains a desideratum. The Turkish edition, which is said to have been printed in 1260/1844 in Constantinople,<sup>75</sup> remained inaccessible to me.

The famous work *Murūj al-dhahab* (Meadows of gold), by the widely travelled, learned and intelligent Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn AL-MAS'ŪDĪ (d. 345/956), is a mine of political, cultural, and literary history. The space allotted to the Prophet in the French edition, including a translation, pp. 114–175,<sup>76</sup> is, however, far too limited to permit the author to present new material, not to mention his literary qualities. He narrates freely and rarely makes use of the cumbersome technicality of the *isnād*. Of the earlier biographers he mentions Ibn Hishām, p. 116, Ibn Ishāq, p. 144 ll 6 and 11, p. 145 l 4, al-Wāqidī, p. 144 ll 6 and 10, p. 145 ll 1 and 8, Ibn Sa'd, p. 145 l 8, and al-Ṭabarī, p. 145, l 8. The details of the first caliphs are also inadequate. The author's interest is not aroused until he comes to 'Alī, whose brief rule takes up three times as many pages as that of his three predecessors in office.

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In the great world-history (*al-Kāmil fī l-ta'rikh*) of ('Izz al-Dīn) Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī IBN AL-ATHĪR (d. 630/1232–1233), which consists of twelve volumes in the Leiden edition,<sup>77</sup> the life of Muḥammad takes up only a little space, namely vol. 2, pp. 1 to 252. As the author states in the preface (vol. 1,

<sup>71</sup> al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, pp. 1738, 1916 sq., 1933 sq., and 1951.

<sup>72</sup> *El'*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 327.

<sup>73</sup> *Chronique de Abou-Djafar Mohammed ben Djerir ben Yezid Tabari, traduite sur la version persane d'Abou 'Ali Mo'hammed Bel'ami par Herm. Zotenberg*, t. I–IV, Paris, 1867–1874.

<sup>74</sup> Here, Schwally overlooked the subtitle, *traduite sur la version persane d'Abou-'Ali Mo'hammed Bel'Ami d'après les manuscrits de Paris, de Gotha, de Londres et de Canterbury*.

<sup>75</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 143; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 327, Auszüge.

<sup>76</sup> Maçoudi, *Les prairies d'or*, texte et traduction par Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille (1861–1877).

<sup>77</sup> Ibn-el-Athiri *Chronicon* quod perfectissimum.

p. 4), he complements and continues al-Ṭabarī, whose annals he uses as the basis of his own work. Unlike the latter, he does not attempt to list as many traditions as possible on one event, instead opting for a coherent account. To this end, he fuses the traditions and tries to express himself as simply and briefly as possible, omitting unimportant secondary details in order to streamline the narrative. In the interest of this presentation he likewise omits the chain of authorities and citations. If, for exceptional reasons, he does want to supply a reference, he adds only the author of the work or one of his authorities. For example, regarding the life of the Prophet, he refers only ten times to Ibn Ishāq,<sup>78</sup> eight times to al-Wāqidī,<sup>79</sup> and only once to his main source, al-Ṭabarī.<sup>80</sup> Even the general indications of sources like *qīla*, “it is said,” are rare.<sup>81</sup> Disproportionately many authorities are cited in the chapters on the prophetic mission, the early converts, and Muḥammad’s biography.<sup>82</sup> Brockelmann, to whom we are indebted for an excellent [doctoral] thesis on the relation of Ibn al-Athīr’s *al-Kāmil* to al-Ṭabarī’s *Akhbār al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, documents numerous passages that have been borrowed directly and without credit from Ibn Hishām and al-Wāqidī.<sup>83</sup> All things considered, Ibn al-Athīr is a great advancement, although he cannot claim independent recognition vis-à-vis older works. On the other hand, the sections on the first caliphs contain important material not found in his predecessors, such as, for example, the detailed account of Abū Bakr’s and ‘Uthmān’s collection of the Koran.<sup>84</sup>

### *The Canonical Ḥadīth*<sup>85</sup>

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The biographic *ḥadīth*, including their origin and development, which we traced through the centuries in the preceding chapter, are quite different from the canonical *ḥadīth*.<sup>86</sup> The former lists the sayings and deeds ascribed

<sup>78</sup> Vol. 2, pp. 29, 42, 43, 44, 86, 107, 111, 112, 144, and 155.

<sup>79</sup> Pp. 28, 36, 44, 86, 107, 111, 174, and 131 [*sic*].

<sup>80</sup> P. 144.

<sup>81</sup> For example, pp. 33, 34, 36, 234, 236, 237, 238, and 239.

<sup>82</sup> Pp. 32–36, 41–44, and 231 sq.

<sup>83</sup> Straßburg thesis, 1890, *Das Verhältnis von Ibn el-Aṭīr’s Kāmil fi’t-ta’rīḥ zu al-Ṭabarīs Aḥbār ...*, p. 31 sq. (see above, p. 315).

<sup>84</sup> Vol. 3, pp. 85–87.

<sup>85</sup> There is now the most useful *Encyclopedia of canonical ḥadīth* by G.H.A. Juynboll (2007).

<sup>86</sup> The canonical *ḥadīth* is occasionally called in Western Islamology “*ḥadīth* proper” or “in the proper sense.” Whenever there is mention of the literature of *ḥadīth* in general, this is meant.

to the Prophet Muḥammad, which are the binding models for Muslims' religious exercises and ritual behaviour, and which also serve as the basis for the canonical and ethical handbooks.<sup>87</sup> The public events, which dominate the *sīra*, yield far less for such purposes than the Prophet's private affairs. Although this is not altogether without interest for the *sīra* as well, it remains much in the background. The canonical *ḥadīth*, however, are in their proper element here and do not stop at either private matters, like the secrets of intercourse, or relieving oneself.<sup>88</sup> If in both *ḥadīth* and *sīra* the same material is being used, it is not arranged chronologically but rather according to dogmatic, ethical, or ritual aspects, with the result that what is grouped together in the *sīra* is widely dispersed in the *ḥadīth*. The public events in the life of Muḥammad, which earlier works of *ḥadīth* still consider, gradually recede and have totally disappeared when we come to *sunna*-books. As we can see, there is a basic difference when dealing with the two types of *ḥadīth*—not in the subject itself but in the way it is treated.

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Although reports on the behaviour of historical persons at home and in the family are generally quite suspicious because of problems of evidence, Western scholars have been particularly impressed by this aspect of the canonical *ḥadīth*. What struck them most was the unbelievably broad spectrum of the traditions, the long chains of authorities, the intimacy of the content as well as the often touching, naïve, and candid style.<sup>89</sup> Even a distinguished scholar like R.P.A. Dozy, the historian of the Moors of Spain, without hesitation used half of al-Bukhārī as a historical source.<sup>90</sup> But as had been shown by Goldziher—to whom we are indebted for the basic criticism of the canonical *ḥadīth*<sup>91</sup>—all movements and counter-movements in the life of Islam have been precipitated by the form of the *ḥadīth*, including not only the dogmatic and canonical party rivalries of the first centuries, but also the political confrontations. This is to say that theological defenders of doctrines or customs traced their opinions back to freely fabricated traditions, and to alleged sayings and deeds of the Prophet, all for the purpose of more

<sup>87</sup> Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, German pagination in the margin, p. 5.

<sup>88</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.v. (46 and 4 references respectively).

<sup>89</sup> Cf. for example, the frequently used phrases *wa-ka-annī arā l-nabiyya*, "it seems to me as if I were seeing the Prophet," *wa-ka-annī wāqif bayn yadayh*, "it seems to me as if I were standing before him."

<sup>90</sup> Dozy, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'islamisme*, Leiden, 1879, p. 124.

<sup>91</sup> *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, "On the development of the *ḥadīth*" (1977), pp. 17–251. See also Fuat Sezgin, "Goldziher and *ḥadīth*," translated from his *GAS*, vol. 1 (1976), pp. 53–84, in Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators* (2006).

effective popularization of their view. The public in general did not perceive this as a pious trick but merely as a legitimate literary device. The rise of Muslim criticism of the tradition—which has almost always been concerned with the form only, swallowing the most absurd content provided the *isnād* was sound—was unable in this case, as in the case of the biographical *ḥadīth*, to effect a change for the better. This, however, is not to deny that underneath the learned veneer of errors and lies there might still lie hidden some credible traditions. Still, until mention is made to the contrary, every canonical *ḥadīth* must *a priori* be considered a falsification.

This *ḥadīth* takes an exceptional position also as far as the treatment of the *isnād* is concerned. Despite all the changes undergone by the judgement of authorities in the course of history—which will be shown when reviewing individual works—the canonical *ḥadīth* remained all along the domain of the complete and uninterrupted chain of authorities. In contrast, within the biography of the Prophet, as well as historiography in general, this form reached its pinnacle in al-Ṭabarī, later declining to the point that, in the end, all reference to the sources disappears. On the other hand, the *isnād* of the canonical *ḥadīth* is even far more conspicuous, since here the text (*matn*) consists of many small sections, each required to be preceded by its verification. This is why, in collections of *ḥadīth*, the *isnād* takes up at least the same space as the actual text.

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### *The Literature of Ḥadīth*<sup>92</sup>

The high esteem accorded to *isnād* in the canonical *ḥadīth*, as just shown, led early on to the development of the so-called *musnad* literature, where the traditions are arranged according to *isnāds*, more particularly to the Companion in its final link. The earliest of the *musnad* works, and the only one up to now that is available in a printed edition, is by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad IBN ḤANBAL (164/780–241/855).<sup>93</sup> Within the general framework of this arrangement some individual categories are listed in additional subsections according to either relationship or sex, such as, for example,

<sup>92</sup> The following presentation is based mostly on Ignaz Goldziher's *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, "The hadīth literature," pp. 189–251, as well as his article, "Neue Materialien zur Literatur des Überlieferungswesens" [new facts on the literature of ḥadīth]. Cf. also F. Sezgin, "Goldziher and hadīth," in: Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators* (2006), pp. xiii–xxxviii.

<sup>93</sup> Cairo, 1311/1893–1894, four volumes in large quarto amounting to 2,888 pages. F. Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 504–505.

the traditions of the Companions of Muḥammad's family, of the *anṣār*, of women, or according to place of residence or birth, such the Companions from Iraq, Baṣra, Kūfa, Mecca, and Medina, etc. As we might guess, this structure is not an invention of the author but rather a remainder of an earlier period when the literature of *ḥadīth* consisted of such small, independent collections. This is the easiest way to explain that not only the complete work of Ibn Ḥanbal, but also each one of the above-mentioned categories of tradition, is called *musnad*. The content "extends to all matters that have ever been the subject of *ḥadīth* information, to ritual laws and regulations, legal norms, moral sayings, legends, and fables. Also, historical transmission, *maghāzī*, takes up a large space." Criticism never exceeds the bounds of moderation common among Muslims, clinging to the mere external aspects, and usually stops far short of the limits. Yet when Ibn Ḥanbal goes so far as to include even sayings of the Prophet in praise of the generosity of al-Saffāh, the first 'Abbāsīd caliph, or which predict the conquest of India or proclaim the fame of his hometown Merv, one is tempted to think of a joke rather than carelessness.

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The concept of the *musnad* books complicates matters greatly, especially since the general system of arranging by Companion's<sup>94</sup> name, as pointed out above, is then further subdivided into special groups of people, so that a tradition might appear in different places or, if it appears only once, in a place that no one would expect it. These difficulties were conducive to the appearance of another type of *ḥadīth* literature, the so-called *muṣannaf* books, in which the transmissions are arranged by content and brought together in chapters.<sup>95</sup> Of course, this system also has its drawbacks, for when a tradition's content suits two different subject categories it is usually assigned to different places, either partially or wholly, whereas if secondary considerations determined its classification, it ends up in a place where one would never expect to find it.

The most esteemed *muṣannaf* work is *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*<sup>96</sup> of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl AL-BUKHĀRĪ (194/810–256/870). The title of the book, meaning "sound," might be an indication that the author endeavoured to present his material in a better form than his teacher Ibn Ḥanbal. In any case, he made it a point to eliminate traditions from suspicious authorities or of doubtful content, to present both the text of the tradition as well as the *isnād* with conscientious

<sup>94</sup> *alā l-rijāl* so the Arabic technical term.

<sup>95</sup> *alā l-abwāb*.

<sup>96</sup> It is also called *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, cf. al-Qaṣṭallānī in the preface to his *Irshād*, Bulaq, 1303.

fidelity, to identify explanations and additions, particularly if they were his own, and to list at the end, and under his name, his personal opinions regarding various parallel transmissions. Yet all these improvements are nothing but external features and are not in the least related to what we call historical criticism. Even if we credit him with having considerably reduced the learned jumble of tradition-related material—his book makes up only one third of Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*—one must not believe that the remainder is worth more than the discarded material. His teacher's pet authorities, Anas b. Mālik, the mendacious 'Ā'isha, and the evil-disposed Abū Hurayra, are also preferred by al-Bukhārī. The second part of the book, *Bad' al-khalq*,<sup>97</sup> and, most of all, the great *maghāzī* book, which has no equal among the *ḥadīth* works, contain considerable historical material. This is followed by commentary on the Koran. All the rest—in the edition I used,<sup>98</sup> 670 and 856 pages—is made up of the canonical *ḥadīth*, intermixed with historical material here and there.

Another of Ibn Ḥanbal's pupils, Abū l-Ḥusayn MUSLIM IBN AL-ḤAJJĀJ al-Naysābūrī (d. 261/875<sup>99</sup>), also left us a highly esteemed collection entitled [*al-Jāmi'*] *al-ṣaḥīḥ*.<sup>100</sup> The order of chapters differs from that of al-Bukhārī. Additionally, the latter's characteristic headings are missing, although [Yaḥyā b. Sharaf] AL-NAWAWĪ (d. 676/1277)<sup>101</sup> later added these to his own commentary. Whereas al-Bukhārī often sprinkles identical traditions with differing *isnād* throughout the respective chapters,<sup>102</sup> Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj lists all

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<sup>97</sup> Starting with the chapter "*manāqib aṣḥāb al-nabī*." The chapter headings (*bāb*) are from al-Bukhārī himself and constitute an integral part of the work, only the text differs according to the respective recension. Conversely, the overall appellation, book (*kitāb*), seems to be a later addition. Cf. Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, p. 220.

<sup>98</sup> Cairo (Ḥalabī), 1309, in 4<sup>v</sup>. On the numerous other editions cf. Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 158, [and Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 118, no. 4, etc.] The Leiden edition by L. Krehl and Th.W. Juynboll (1862–1908) is not particularly good. Ever since this first attempt no Christian scholar tried to edit a work of *ḥadīth*, probably for the proper realization that Orientals are best qualified for this task. We should restrict ourselves to producing alphabetical indices to the traditions. The French translation, *Les Traditions islamiques*, by O. Houdas and W. Marçais does not conform with modern requirements.

<sup>99</sup> *EF*; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 136–143.

<sup>100</sup> Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, p. 226sq. On the various editions see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 136–143. I quote books and chapters according to al-Nawawī's usage. Only in the case of voluminous works I supply volume and page numbers of the edition I am using—in the margin of the Bulaq edition of al-Qaṣṭallānī on al-Bukhārī, *Irshād al-sārī ilā Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* ... (Bulaq, 1303) 10<sup>v</sup>. [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 123, no. 29.]

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 394; Goldziher, *The Zāhīrīs* (1971), p. 97.

<sup>102</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. xxx, col. 1.

variants in the first relevant place, without later again using this material. The work is of little merit for our purpose, since, apart from a partial section of *Kitāb al-faḍā'il* and isolated passages, it does not contain a historical section. The concluding chapter, "interpretation of the Koran," is a miserable truncation which even in the marginal edition I used—as well as the equally long commentary—amounts to no more than ten pages. The rather extensive introduction to the science of tradition, which precedes Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj's collection,<sup>103</sup> deserves considerable praise.

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The *sunan* works of Abū Dā'ūd [al-Sijistānī] (d. 279/892 [or 275/888]), Ibn Mājah<sup>104</sup> (d. 273/886), and Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Shu'ayb AL-NASĀ'Ī (d. 303/915)<sup>105</sup> display a far greater interest in canonical and ritual affairs, but they are referred to only when they preserve a tradition that does not appear elsewhere.

Abū 'Īsā Muḥammad b. 'Īsā AL-TIRMIDHĪ (d. 279/892 or 3) can pride himself on being the pupil of three famous traditionists: Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Bukhārī, and Abū Dā'ūd [al-Sijistānī]. His work is entitled sometimes *Sunan*, sometimes more appropriately *al-Jāmi' al-sunan*,<sup>106</sup> as from its content it is more related to Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj. Like the latter, it also contains historical material in the *abwāb al-manāqib*,<sup>107</sup> albeit with a much longer commentary on the Koran.<sup>108</sup> Its special place in the critical science dealing with the *isnād* is remarkable. Al-Bukhārī and Muslim recognize only such authorities on whose reliability there is unanimous agreement among scholars. Abū Dā'ūd [al-Sijistānī] and his pupil al-Nasā'ī, however, are even content when the sole witness is not generally rejected. Al-Tirmidhī goes still one step further and accepts any tradition which, at any time, has been the accepted canonical practice. On the other hand, he feels obliged to grade the reliability of any tradition he is using.<sup>109</sup> However, as in all Muslim criticism, this applies only to the form of the tradition, so that the most audacious fabrications might receive a splendid grade.

<sup>103</sup> In the edition which I used, vol. 1, pp. 60–184.

<sup>104</sup> *EP*; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.v.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 147–148.

<sup>105</sup> Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 1, p. 225 sqq.; Brockelmann, loc. cit., vol. 1, p. 161 sq.

<sup>106</sup> In the edition which I used—Delhi, 1315/1897, two folio volumes—the title page has *Jāmi'*, whereas the body of the text has the heading, *Sunan*. The introduction to the science of tradition (*al-Risāla fī fann uṣūl al-ḥadīth*), which now commonly appears at the beginning of the edition, is not from al-Tirmidhī but from the well-known scholar 'Alī b. Muḥammad AL-JURJĀNĪ (d. 816/1413); *EP*.

<sup>107</sup> Vol. 2, pp. 201–234.

<sup>108</sup> Vol. 2, pp. 111–172.

<sup>109</sup> For example, good (*ḥasan*), weak (*da'if*), sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*), strange (*gharīb*), sounder (*aṣaḥḥ*). Combined grades are: *ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*, and *ḥasan gharīb*.



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Al-Tirmidhī also composed a short study on the person and character of Muḥammad (*al-Shamā'il*), consisting of fifty-six chapters.<sup>110</sup> Monographic editions seem to exist only in connection with commentaries.<sup>111</sup> The copy I used was printed as an appendix to *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* but with separate pagination.<sup>112</sup> It is entitled simply *al-Shamā'il* or now *al-Shamā'il al-muṣṭafā* or *al-Shamā'il al-nabawiyya wa-l-khaṣā'il al-muṣṭafawiyya*. The *isnāds* are numerous and extensive, although, unlike *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, without critical comments. The content is a lively reminder of the compilation Ibn Sa'd placed at the end of his *Sīra*, entitled *Ṣifat rasūl Allāh* on this subject,<sup>113</sup> and likewise consists almost solely of apocryphal, useless bits of historical information. The arrangement of the material, as well as the headings, is quite different. The number of chapters—*al-Shamā'il*, fifty-six, and Ibn Sa'd, fifty-eight—is remarkably similar. The more exact relation of the two works would be worth particular research.

Walī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh [AL-KHAṬĪB] AL-TIBRĪZĪ's *Miṣcāt-ul-maṣābiḥ*<sup>114</sup> is a 737/1336 revision of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn b. Mas'ūd al-Farrā' AL-BAGHAWĪ's (d. 510/1117 or 516/1122)<sup>115</sup> *Maṣābiḥ al-sunna*. It purports to educate non-specialists, yet it also serves specialists well. The material is selected accordingly. What remained of a sense of historical matters was included in the chapters "*Faḍā'il al-nabī*" and "*Manāqib*."<sup>116</sup> In the individual sections we find first the traditions from al-Bukhārī and Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, classed as *ṣaḥīḥ*, followed by excerpts from the *sunan* works classed as *ḥasan*, and finally some strange (*gharīb*) or weak (*ḍa'īf*) traditions appear on occasion.<sup>117</sup> Thanks to this arrangement, the book offers convenient access

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<sup>110</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 156.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 154–159.

<sup>112</sup> 30 lithographed folios of the afore-mentioned Indian lithograph.

<sup>113</sup> Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*), vol. 1, part 2: *Biographies Muhammed's; Ereignisse ...*, pp. ٧٨-٩٨; see above, p. 325 sq.

<sup>114</sup> *Miṣcāt-ul-maṣābiḥ*; or, *A collection of the most authentic traditions, regarding the actions and sayings of Muhammed ...* translated by A.N. Matthews, vol. 1, pp. 510–584.

<sup>115</sup> *EF*; *EQ*; Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, p. 247 sq.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 155.

<sup>116</sup> In my Indian lithograph (Dehli, 1310/1892), pp. 510–584.

<sup>117</sup> According to a pencil note in Schwally's manuscript he here wanted to comment on the *sunan* work to which he repeatedly referred, *Kanz al-'ummāl fi sunan al-aqwāl wa-l-af'āl* of 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī AL-MUTTAQĪ al-Hindī (d. 975/1567), Hyderabad, 1312–1314, parts 1–8. (2707 pp.) This work is based on the following three collections of traditions: First.—*Jam' al-jawāmi'* (or *al-Jāmi' al-kabīr*), a work which was planned to include possibly all of the *ḥadīths*. Its first part was alphabetically arranged by the first line of the sayings (*aqwāl*) of the Prophet; the second part was basically arranged alphabetically by the names of the earliest authorities and presents the traditions of Muḥammad's deeds (*af'āl*); (cf. on this Ḥajjī Khalifa, vol. 2, p. 614,

to extant transmissions on a given subject in the seven main collections of *ḥadīth*. Given the lack of other systematic reference works, the book is quite useful for research.

All the works treated in this chapter are preceded chronologically by *al-Muwattaʿ* of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795).<sup>118</sup> This, however, is not a *ḥadīth* book but a *corpus juris* which presents law and justice, rites and praxis of the cult according to the consensus and usage at Medina. Of course it refers to *ḥadīth*, although by no means in every chapter, and without attaching decisive importance to them. For this reason, the work deserves to be referred to only when it is necessary to prove the prevalence of a particular transmission in such an early period.

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*The Biographies of the Companions of Muḥammad*

The earliest sources regarding the Companions of the Prophet are his own biographies, compendiums, and world-histories, as well as works of *ḥadīth*, particularly their chapters entitled *manāqib* or *faḍā'il*. Nowhere in the early literature are the Companions treated in such detail as in Ibn Saʿd's book of classes (*al-ṭabaqāt*).<sup>119</sup> Although al-Ṭabarī also devoted a greater work to this subject, it seems that only an insignificant excerpt survived, which now appears at the end of his *Annales*.<sup>120</sup> More convenient reference works are the writings of the subsequent period, which are arranged alphabetically.

The latest of these, which is available in a printed edition, is *al-Istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb*, by the famous Spanish scholar, Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf IBN ʿABD AL-BARR al-Qurṭubī (d. 463/1071).<sup>121</sup> More comprehensive is *Usd al-*

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and W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*, vol. 2, p. 155). Second.—*al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*, an excerpt of no. 1 (repeatedly printed in Egypt, partly with the commentary of ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-AZĪZĪ or the one of Munāwī). Third.—*Zawāʿid* (or *Ziyādat*, also *Dhayl*) *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*. Al-Muttaqī al-Hindī in his *Kanz al-ʿummāl* presents the complete compilation of the *ḥadīths* contained in these three collections but—for the convenience of jurists— in a systematic arrangement conforming to the prevailing legal categories, however, retaining the separation of *aqwāl* and *afʿāl*, and in the case of the *aqwāl* differentiating between those from *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr* and *Zawāʿid*. [From A. Fischer's additions and corrections, Seite ii/222–223.]

<sup>118</sup> Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, p. 197 sq.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 457–464.

<sup>119</sup> See above, p. 326.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. M.J. de Goeje in the introduction to the Leiden edition of *Annales quos scripsit Abu Djaʿfar Mohammed Ibn Djarir At-Tabarī*, p. xiii sq.

<sup>121</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 363 sq.; printed, Hyderabad, 1318/1895.

*ghāba fi ma'rifat al-ṣaḥāba* ("lions of the thicket")<sup>122</sup> of 'Izz al-Dīn IBN AL-ATHĪR (d. 630/1232) the author of a world-history.<sup>123</sup> As he remarks in his preface, he depends on the above-mentioned Ibn 'Abd al-Barr as well as three Isfahani scholars, Abū 'Abd Allāh IBN MANDAH (d. 395/1004)<sup>124</sup> ABŪ NU'AYM Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ (d. 430/1038)<sup>125</sup> and Abū Mūsā Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Abī 'Īsā [al-Madīnī] (d. 581/1185).<sup>126</sup> For this reason he acknowledges at the start which articles he borrowed from one or several of these authors, using the corresponding letters (س, ب, ع, د.) It is very strange that Ibn al-Athīr developed the principles of the alphabetical arrangement to such detail,<sup>127</sup> as if it were something new, when already Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, who lived a hundred and fifty years before him, was familiar with this method.<sup>128</sup> Of the historical works consulted by Ibn al-Athīr, I merely mention Ibn Ishāq's *al-Maghāzī*, which he used in the recension of Yūnus b. Bukayr [Ibn Wāṣil al-Shaybānī],<sup>129</sup> so that we have here yet another aid for the reconstruction of the original text of this important book.<sup>130</sup> Whereas Ibn Sa'd's book of classes treats some 1,860 Companions, this number grew to 7,554 in Ibn al-Athīr.<sup>131</sup> This was achieved by including a wider circle of contemporaries in addition to the Companions.

Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī AL-DHAHABĪ (d. 748/1347) produced from Ibn al-Athīr's work a short excerpt<sup>132</sup> entitled *Tajrīd asmā' al-ṣaḥāba*, using also other books that he meticulously enumerates in his preface, and to which—by means of particular letters—he traces back every new contribution to its source. In the case of women, he made particular use of the last part of Ibn Sa'd's famous book of classes (vol. 8: *Biographien der Frauen* [biographies of the women]). In this way al-Dhahabī seems to have

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<sup>122</sup> Cairo edition, 1280/1863, in 5 volumes.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. above, p. 330 sq.

<sup>124</sup> *EF*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 214–215.

<sup>125</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 362; *EF*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. xxxiii; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 88 etc., vol. 8, pp. 83, and 273.

<sup>126</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 355, last line; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 205, 215, 504.

<sup>127</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 5 l 20 to p. 6 l 11.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 6 l 22 and 23, would indicate that the arrangement had predecessors ("and I saw much of the latest as soon as a book was arranged alphabetically ...").

<sup>129</sup> Cf., *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 11 l 9 sq. The same recension has partially been used also by al-Wāḥidī in *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, cf. Cairo edition of 1315/1894, p. 165 l 12. [*EF*; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.v.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 289 l 3.]

<sup>130</sup> Cf. above, p. 321 sq.

<sup>131</sup> According to Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fi tamyiz al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 1, p. 3.

<sup>132</sup> Two volumes, Hyderabad, 1315/1897.

succeeded in increasing the number of listed entries vis-à-vis Ibn al-Athīr by four to five hundred.<sup>133</sup> Because of its extreme brevity, the book can only serve as an index to the works he was using.

The most comprehensive of all the known collections is *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba* by Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ‘Alī IBN ḤAJAR (d. 852/1448),<sup>134</sup> from al-‘Asqalān in Palestine. Here, the number of entries has again been increased, since, as stated in the preface, vol. 1, p. 4, he also has included those who might possibly have seen the Prophet, either shortly before his death or during the first years of their life. The Calcutta edition,<sup>135</sup> despite its volume, displays not inconsiderable gaps, since no perfect manuscript could be procured.

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Since chains of authorities are rarely supplied in the later historical literature of the Arabs, as pointed out above, and yet Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn al-Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī made an effort to produce a coherent description;<sup>136</sup> the *isnāds* in their large biographical collections take up much space. The reason for this conspicuous phenomenon is that these works are not the result of independent historical interests; they are, rather, totally in the service of the critical tradition.<sup>137</sup> The traditions on which religious judgements hinge, the knowledge of what is permitted and what is not, as well as other matters, are considered sound only when the strands of their *isnāds* and the transmitters are known beforehand. First and foremost, there are the Companions of the Messenger of God. When someone does not know them, his ignorance regarding other matters will be even greater. It is therefore necessary to “determine their origin and their circumstances of life; otherwise one cannot know whether the application of what the authorities transmit is correct, and the evidence ascertained. In this respect, transmissions from unknown persons must not be used.”<sup>138</sup> That a book pretending to be an aid in the criticism of *isnāds* follows this formality also in its own presentation hardly comes as a surprise.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. the preface, vol. 1, p. 4 l 3, where the total is estimated to amount to be eight thousand.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. Brockelmann, *GAL*, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 67 sq. *EF*; *EQ*.

<sup>135</sup> Calcutta, 1856–1873, 4<sup>v</sup>, 4,800 p. (*Bibliotheca Indica*.)

<sup>136</sup> Cf. above, p. 330 sq.

<sup>137</sup> Connected with this is the small biographical compendium, *Ma‘āl fī asmā’ al-rijāl*, of Muḥammad AL-KHAṬĪB AL-TIBRĪZĪ (d. 737/1336) that was destined particularly for his *ḥadīth* work entitled *Mishkāt al-maṣābiḥ*, and is appended to the Indian edition. Cf. above, p. 330 sq.

<sup>138</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba fī ma‘rifat al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 1, p. 3 ll 14–19.

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*The Peculiarity of the Islamic Exegesis  
of the Koran: The Exegetic Ḥadīth*

The analysis of the sūras in the first part of our work offers hundreds of examples<sup>139</sup> that allow us to appreciate properly the Muslim interpretation of the Koran. Here it is necessary to summarize systematically the mistakes that, it would seem, had appeared already in the earliest period:

1. Verses are attributed to historical events on the basis of a more recent tradition, even though they had already been revealed earlier.<sup>140</sup>
2. Insufficient attention to the sense of a word leads to overlooking the obvious. For example, the words of sūra 7:184 *qad iqtaraba ajaluhum* (that it may be their term is already nigh), which clearly indicate the general fate awaiting men after death, is considered in al-Wāqidi (ed. by A. von Kremer, p. 132) to be a reference to the Battle of Badr,<sup>141</sup> whereas verses that undoubtedly prophesy a military success—like sūra 110—are interpreted as an announcement of the death of Muḥammad.<sup>142</sup>
3. The origin of many sayings and laws in Jewish or Christian sources is not realized and leads to distorted explanations as well as the presupposition of impossible situations.<sup>143</sup>
4. The habit of attributing every single revelation to a definite event of contemporary history when in fact this attribution is based on a misunderstanding of the general sense of most of the Koranic passages.

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This mistake must be considered the most serious and disastrous of all, not only because it is the one that occurs most frequently and is the most peculiar mark of the Muslim commentaries, but also because it includes what is for us the most important part of its content, namely information on the life of Muḥammad. As Aloys Sprenger once remarked, the traditions contained in the commentaries are so numerous and detailed that apart from genealogy and military campaigns, it would almost be easier to write the life of Prophet without the biographies than without the commentaries.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>139</sup> Cf. above, pp. 63–188.

<sup>140</sup> For example, loc. cit., p. 108, on sūra 16:126sq; and pp. 147–148 on sūra 65:1.

<sup>141</sup> A similar inaccurate interpretation by the exegetes occurs with the imperatives *adkhillni* and *akhrijni* in sūra 17:82; cf. the Commentators.

<sup>142</sup> The commentaries; Ibn Qutayba, p. 82; note on Ibn Hishām, p. 933; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, pp. 45 and 910.

<sup>143</sup> For example, above, p. 161sq. on sūra 4:46.

<sup>144</sup> Sprenger, *Leben und Lehre des Mohammad*, vol. 3, p. cxx.

The traditions of the Commentators that are somewhat sound can be divided into two groups. (1) Those that relate verses to important public events, such as, for example, parts of sūra eight to the Battle of Badr; parts of sūra three to the Battle of Uḥud; parts of sūra fifty-nine to the expulsion of the Jewish tribe of the Naḍir; sūra 48:1 to 7, to the Pact of Ḥudaybiyya; sūra 49:1 to 5, to the embassy of the Tamīm; sūra 9:1sq., to the pilgrimage of 9/630; and sūra 5:1sq., to the Farewell Pilgrimage of 10/631. (2) Those that relate to private affairs and throw an unfavourable light on the reputation of the Prophet or members of his household and which for this reason are considered particularly reliable. Here belong the occasions of narration of sūra 24:1sq.; ʿĀ'isha's<sup>145</sup> escapade with Ṣafwān b. al-Mu'aṭṭal of sūra 33:37; Muḥammad's marriage to Zaynab [Bint Ka'b b. ʿUjra], the wife of his adopted son Zayd [Ibn Ḥāritha]; and sūra 66:1sq., Muḥammad's treatment of his slave girl Mary(am) in the quarters of his wife Ḥafṣa.<sup>146</sup>

The reliability of the transmissions of these passages we may indeed not generally doubt, even if some details might be fictitiously embellished. On the other hand, the meaning of the first sentence of sūra 3:155 is too vague for us to give the least amount of credibility to any of the transmitted traditions.<sup>147</sup> Muḥammad's encounter with the blind Ibn Umm Mak-tūm<sup>148</sup> of a respected Meccan family, can hardly be the background to sūra eighty, since the blind man, whose despicable treatment was the reason that the Prophet was rebuked by God, was a poor man from the lower class. The tradition, which reproaches the Prophet for having temporarily included the pagan goddesses in the Islamic cult, must still remain suspicious although no cogent proof for its inaccuracy has been supplied—so far. But so long as the contemporary circumstances are not better known, and, in the final analysis, the judgement is dependent solely on the two questions of whether or not such a crude throw-back to paganism can be attributed to Muḥammad, or the fabrication of such an accusation against Muslims—questions which in all appearances can equally well be answered negatively or affirmatively—research will never come up with an unani-

<sup>145</sup> According to one *ḥadīth* ʿĀ'isha is affectionately reminded on her death bed of her early accusations from which she was splendidly exculpated. But in her old age she does not care to hear much of the event. Cf. Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt* vol. 8): *Biographien der Frauen*, p. 25; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 721, col. 1.

<sup>146</sup> See above, p. 171, 168, and 175sq; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 396, col. 1.

<sup>147</sup> Loc. cit., pp. 139.

<sup>148</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 494, col. 1.

mous agreement.<sup>149</sup> As far as the declarations of the two respective groups are applicable, they are based not only on accompanying traditions but also on Koranic hints that were clear enough to protect these traditions from falling into oblivion, and, at the same time, serve as their confirmation.

Conversely, the great majority of the original narratives is quite suspicious, for to all appearances most of the revelations of the Koran are of a rather general nature and give no indication that they were revealed on a particular occasion, which, in the rarest of cases,<sup>150</sup> Muslim exegetes will admit. That this cannot be called an accompanying tradition becomes evident from setting the most contradictory traditions side by side, which we did in numerous examples previously,<sup>151</sup> as well as from the routine-like pattern of fabrication. It is thus popular to present the same typical persons, such as ʿUṣayyid b. Ḥabīb as the thief,<sup>152</sup> for example, or Ibn Umm Maktūm as the blind man<sup>153</sup> or ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy as the hypocrite.

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Generally, the number of persons who are claimed to be the subject of revelations is extremely large. They belong to the most diverse classes and circles, freedmen and slaves, Meccans and Medinans, *muhājirūn* and *anṣār*, believers and hypocrites, Jews and pagans. ‘Alī is reported to have said that there is no Quraysh who was not the subject of revelation.<sup>154</sup> Some have attempted to explain this fact by remarking that the creators of the exegesis of the Koran were largely slaves or freedmen who, in order to enhance the prestige of their patrons or belittle their enemies, inserted the respective names in the earlier *ḥadīths* or simply coined new ones.

The mania to discover at all costs a precise historical occasion for every revelation was, it seems, not influenced from outside, as Jewish exegesis of the Bible was too far away from the events of its creation to dare to offer descriptions of situations. On the contrary, this mania is of genuine Arab growth, with roots intimately entwined with those of *ḥadīth*. Since the Koran contains a certain number of totally reliable contemporary allusions,

<sup>149</sup> Loc. cit., pp. 72–74. Apart from Leone Caetani, all scholars have opted for the tradition, lately Th. Nöldeke, “Die Tradition über das Leben Muhammeds,” p. 164. I only met with reservations from Leopold von Ranke, who says in *Weltgeschichte*, part 5, vol. 1, p. 64: “The narrative is in sharp contradiction with everything authentically known of Muḥammad so that I dare not accept it.”

<sup>150</sup> For example, loc. cit., p. 100 on sūra 17:32.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. above, pp. 72, 75–76, 101–103, 104–105, 108–109, 119–120, 121, 126, 132–133, 151, 156–157, 159–161, 163–167, 170, 173–174, 176–177, 178–179, 182, and 184–188.

<sup>152</sup> Loc. cit. p. 145 sqq., 165 on sūra 4:106 sqq., and 5:141.

<sup>153</sup> Loc. cit. p. 96 on sūra 80.

<sup>154</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 822.

which are connected with incontestable accompanying traditions, this led to a general exegetic principle. As a consequence, the exegetes, on the one hand, search for *ḥadīths* that are best suited to shedding light on a revelation and, if need be, go even further by incorporating in the *ḥadīth* words from the respective Koranic passage. On the other hand, if these attempts were futile, people did not hesitate freely to invent suitable situations (exegetic *ḥadīth* in the wider sense). So long as we lack more precise investigations, it is difficult to determine where one or the other precondition is applicable. Yet this does not mean much, since both cases are untenable and historically worthless combinations. Our judgement attains greater reliability only when a legend can be shown in a satisfactory way to have derived from the text of a Koranic passage (exegetic *ḥadīth* in the narrow sense), as applies to some traditions on Muḥammad's childhood and the beginnings of his prophetic activity. This reminds me of the legends of Muḥammad's cleansing of the heart and the splitting of the moon, as well as the circumstances of the revelation of sūra 74, all of which have probably been derived from sūras 94:1, 54:1 and 74:1.<sup>155</sup> But these reliable cases are rare. Henri Lamens<sup>156</sup> far overshoots the mark when he has the entire *ḥadīth* relating to Muḥammad's life and appearance originate from Koranic indications; it is, after all, unlikely *a priori* that a literature so diverse in content, form, and tendency should have sprung up from one root.

### *The Exegetic Ḥadīth*

[ii/161] Whereas the bulk of the exegetic *ḥadīths*—no matter what sort of miserable invention they might be—still rests on the facts of contemporary history, some others can occasionally be found that transcend the barriers of time and space without hesitation, and see the occasion of revelations in the conditions of a remote future. Strictly speaking, we are dealing here with prophecies and not, by any means, revelations on a particular occasion. Here belong, for example, Abū Umāma Ṣudayy al-Bābīlī's<sup>157</sup> solemn declaration to have personally heard Muḥammad saying that sūra 54:47–49 was revealed with reference to the Qadarites.<sup>158</sup> Whether the claim—asccribed to Ibn

<sup>155</sup> Cf. above, p. 77–78, 99, and 72.

<sup>156</sup> "Qoran et tradition, comment fut composée la vie de Mahomet," according to C.H. Becker, "Islam: [bibliographischer Jahresbericht,]" p. 540sq.

<sup>157</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 160, 170, 286, 627.

<sup>158</sup> al-Wāḥidī. *Asbāb al-nuzūl* (Cairo, 1315/1897), s.v., p. 300. Cf. also Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in



al-Kalbī—that sūra 6:100 goes back to the Zindīq<sup>159</sup> reflects nothing but the personal opinion of this scholar or is covered by a *ḥadīth*, I cannot say. Such interpretations are on the same level as the numerous prophecies about the future of the Muslim empire, which *ḥadīth* literature puts in the mouth of Muḥammad.<sup>160</sup>

The legends concerning the occasion of revelation are customarily introduced with the formula *nazalat al-āya fī*, “the verse was revealed about.” When al-Suyūṭī believes that the narrated event was placed in merely an approximate relation to the text of the Koran,<sup>161</sup> his opinion is untenable, as it not only contradicts the wording of the phrase but would also be difficult to reconcile with its very sense, given that this type of literature generally does not make concessions or limitations, instead presenting even the most audacious lies as simple and plain facts. However, we can also identify al-Suyūṭī’s basic inclination, which apparently amounts to putting into a more favourable light the responsibility of the earliest authorities, usually that of the Companions, for what he considers to be inaccurate interpretations.

It is extremely rare that authorities present statements about the occasion of a revelation as being nothing but their own subjective views, or limit their comments in any way. Al-Suyūṭī points out such an instance when the familiar al-Zubayr (Ibn al-‘Awwām) says with reference to sūra 4:68, “By God, I reckon (*aḥsibu*) that the verse was revealed only on this occasion.”<sup>162</sup> Ibn ‘Abbās on sūra 2:278, says: “The news reached us—but God knows best—that this verse was revealed with reference to Banū ‘Amr b. ‘Umayr.”<sup>163</sup> It seems to be equally rare that authorities confirm their truthfulness. The only reference that I recall concerns the preposterous tradition that relates sūra 54:47–49 to the sect of the Qadarites, where each of the nine links of the *isnād* substantiate their evidence with a solemn *ashhadu bi-Allāhi*, “I swear by God.”<sup>164</sup>

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his commentary, s.v. The old Persian—non-Shī‘ite—commentary of the Koran—originating probably from the end of the third century AH—of Cambridge University Library—formerly owned by Thomas van Erpe(nius)—considers 54:53 to be from the Qadarites, cf. E.G. Browne, “Description of an old Persian commentary of the Ḳur‘ān,” p. 504. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.v.

<sup>159</sup> Loc. cit., p. 165.

<sup>160</sup> Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, pp. 121–125.

<sup>161</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 70 toward the end.

<sup>162</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 70; al-Wāḥidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, s.v., p. 122; al-Suyūṭī, *Lubāb al-nuqūl fī asbāb al-nuzūl*, in the margin of *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (Cairo, 1301), vol. 1, p. 3; al-Bukhārī, *musāqāt*, § 7; al-Tirmidhī in the *tafsīr*, p. 65, l 2.

<sup>163</sup> al-Wāḥidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, p. 65, l 2.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. above, p. 344 n. 158.

When explanations of Koranic verses are put in the mouth of Muḥammad they deserve no more credibility than all of his apparent sayings in *ḥadīth*. Some Muslim authorities think that, apart from the last revealed verse (sūra 2:276), he continually interpreted all of the Koran. According to others, however, this activity applies only to a certain number of verses.<sup>165</sup> The rather long list that al-Suyūṭī put together in *al-Itqān* (pp. 918–954) does not contain a single remark that goes beyond the common ground of the Commentators. How little comprehensive the list really is can be seen from the fact that, of the four interpretations attributed to Muḥammad by al-Wāḥidī in relation to sūras 2:275, 5:71, 54:47 sqq., and 73, not a single one is listed in al-Suyūṭī's *al-Itqān*.

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*The Creators of the Exegesis: Ibn 'Abbās and His Pupils*

As a result of the close relation between the exegetic *ḥadīth*, the biographical *ḥadīth* and canonical *ḥadīth*—as well as the congruence of the content of tradition in the widest sense—the interpreters of the Koran are, to a large extent, identical with the leading personalities of the other two types of *ḥadīth*. Consequently, Muḥammad's earliest Companions here recede farther off from the members of the younger generation, such as 'Ā'isha, 'Abd Allāh b. 'UMAR [IBN AL-KHAṬṬĀB], Abū Hurayra, Anas b. Mālik, and Ibn Mas'ūd.<sup>166</sup> No one is mentioned more often than 'Abd Allāh IBN 'ABBĀS, however.

A direct cousin of Muḥammad, he was thirteen or fifteen years old at the time of the prophet's death, or, according to others, ten years old.<sup>167</sup> He never played a role in politics. The governorship of Baṣra, to which he was appointed in 39/659 under 'Alī, he seems to have received only on account of his family relation to the ruling caliph.<sup>168</sup> However, he left this post one year later, retiring to al-Ṭā'if in the Ḥijāz, either in tacit agreement with Mu'āwiyā, the governor of Syria, who was reaching for the caliphate, or to ascertain how

<sup>165</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 955.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 908, says that ten Companions in particular made themselves a name in exegesis, and in this class reckon the four first caliphs, the editors of the pre-Uthmānic recension of the Koran, Ibn Mas'ūd, Ubayy b. Ka'b, Abū Mūsā, and Zayd b. Thābit, further 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, and Ibn 'Abbās. This is a rather unfortunate selection as 'Ā'isha, Abū Hurayra, Ibn 'Umar, and Anas appear infinitely more often as sources of exegetical opinions than the eight persons reckoned by al-Suyūṭī at the first place.

<sup>167</sup> al-Mas'ūdī, *Les prairies d'or*, vol. 5, p. 232; Ibn Qutayba, p. 32; al-Nawawī; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*.

<sup>168</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, vol. 1, p. 3449.

he might in time ingratiate himself with the rising dynasty. There he lived for another twenty or thirty years, enjoying the large income he received from the Umayyads in exchange for his betrayal of the family of the Prophet. He devoted himself entirely to scholarship, the exegesis of the Koran and the related historical, antique and philological studies, becoming a celebrity in his field.<sup>169</sup> Despite his prominent social position, he did not disdain teaching. It is said that he lectured every day on a different subject, sometimes canonical law,<sup>170</sup> sometimes exegesis or Muḥammad's campaigns or poetry or the battle days of the pagan Arabs. Finally, mention must be made of genealogy and pre-Islamic Arabia, which, strangely enough, he intermixed with Koranic and biblico-apocryphal elements, tracing them back to the time of the patriarchs.<sup>171</sup> Everywhere, however, his main field is always given as the exegesis of the Koran and the related *ḥadīth*. Muḥammad himself is said to have asked Allāh to teach Ibn 'Abbās *ta'wīl*. No wonder that he excelled in this field and was honoured with the by-name "interpreter of the Koran."<sup>172</sup> Nevertheless, whenever biographers take a close look at the type and dimension of his exegetic activity, they display no little contradiction. It is claimed sometimes that he interpreted the second *sūra* verse by verse and sometimes that he did this with the entire Koran.<sup>173</sup> Others even have him count the verses and letters of the Holy Book.<sup>174</sup> He acquired his enormous proficiency in traditions by persistent interviews with the old Companions who, no matter how reserved and peevish they might have been otherwise, they readily supplied information to the cousin of the Prophet. He received other material from Jews who frequented his home.<sup>175</sup> Among his authorities we also encounter the learned Yemenite rabbi Ka'b [Ibn al-Aḥbār],<sup>176</sup> although we do not know whether the two men met in person. Some writers ascribe no less than 1,660 *ḥadīths* to Ibn 'Abbās, of which

<sup>169</sup> The particulars are based on Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, part 2): *Letzte Krankheit, Tod und Bestattung Muḥammads* [last illness and death], pp. 119–124; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī; and al-Nawawī.

<sup>170</sup> Particularly mentioned among them were law of inheritance, permissible and prohibited matters as well as ceremonies of the pilgrimage.

<sup>171</sup> As far as I can make out, nothing on this can be found in the biographies. Still, the fact is firmly established by traditions on the legendary history of ancient Arabia in al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, and the book of idolatry of Ibn al-Kalbī in Yāqūt, the *isnāds* of which generally are headed by the name of Ibn 'Abbās. Cf. also J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2nd ed., p. 15.

<sup>172</sup> Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*), loc. cit.; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 709sq.

<sup>173</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, vol. 1, p. 80, 11; Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 5): *Biographien der Nachfolger in Medina*, p. 343, 22; al-Nawawī, p. 541.

<sup>174</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, pp. 157 and 164.

<sup>175</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, vol. 1, pp. 62sq., and 424; al-Wāḥidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, p. 141 l 10.

<sup>176</sup> al-Nawawī, p. 523 l 7.

ninety-five are transmitted from both al-Bukhārī and Muslim (Ibn al-Ḥajjāj), apart from one hundred and twenty and forty-nine, respectively. Some one hundred exegetic *ḥadīths* are said to come from Ibn ‘Abbās.<sup>177</sup>

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Ibn ‘Abbās aided his memory with notes on leaves that eventually amounted to an entire camel’s load.<sup>178</sup> Yet he left nothing actually written. The results of his collecting and research are rather to be found in the books of his pupils and their successors. Nevertheless, if we were to attempt to reconstruct his opinion from the remarks of those writers who refer to him, this attempt would be condemned to failure, as these persons contradict one another in nearly every verse. In order to explain this conspicuous fact, several avenues are open to us. One might think that the teacher’s opinions are either erroneously or purposely misrepresented by the pupils, or that Ibn ‘Abbās himself permanently changed his opinion. But one of these views is as unlikely as the other, since nowhere are there any clues to be found for such a senseless and arbitrary action. Thus, there remains no other answer but to consider this reference to Ibn ‘Abbās’ authority a fiction. This would correspond to a common contemporary literary habit that exegetes—even if not pupils of that master—be it because of modesty or in order to honour the oldest and most respected head of the profession, forgo their own claim to authorship and attribute to him what they themselves devised.

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There is yet another consideration that necessitates such a decisive corrective of the Muslim tradition on Ibn ‘Abbās. It is totally unthinkable that he really mastered all the fields of knowledge ascribed to him—canon law, pre-Islamic history and antiquity, philology, and poetry—and cultivated research and teaching. This would not only be beyond the ability of a single person but would also apply to branches of knowledge that were either not yet established or still at their inception. We must thus conclude that for partisan motives the achievements of several younger scholars are, in many cases, shifted back to the past and attributed to a single person. Naturally, tradition could not have followed this course if Ibn ‘Abbās had not made himself a name in one or several of the respected fields, although on account of his high social standing, his reputation exceeded the bounds of his true merit. That his main field was exegesis seems to be proved by the unanimous agreement of biographies, commentaries, and literary as well as historical works; but the extent of this activity, on which there are variant reports, remains to be seen.

<sup>177</sup> al-Nawawī, p. 353.

<sup>178</sup> Ibn Sa‘d, (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 8): *Biographien der Nachfolger in Medina*, p. 216, 16.

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Whereas Ibn ‘Abbās’ authority within Islam remains untouched and unshakeable to this very day, ever since Aloys Sprenger<sup>179</sup> it has become customary in the West to consider him a liar. This judgement could not be accepted even if all the lies and nonsense attributed to him were really true, since in most cases it would be just as difficult to identify the motive of the falsification as it would be to contest the credulity of their authors. On the other hand, the justification of an opinion with a fictitious saying of the Prophet or a Companion was at that time a legitimate form of voicing subjective truths.<sup>180</sup>

Of the immediate pupils of Ibn ‘Abbās, the most frequently mentioned are:<sup>181</sup> Sa‘īd b. Jubayr (died 95/713),<sup>182</sup> Mujāhid b. Jabr (d. 103/721),<sup>183</sup> ‘Ikrima [al-Barbarī] (d. 106/724),<sup>184</sup> ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 114/732),<sup>185</sup> and Abū Ṣāliḥ Bādḥām.<sup>186</sup> Apart from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, they were all of slave origin. Only ‘Ikrima and Sa‘īd seem to have left independent works,<sup>187</sup> whereas the lectures of the others were published as books by later editors only. There are, for example, different commentaries that are traced back to Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muḏāḥim (d. 105/723),<sup>188</sup> a pupil of Sa‘īd,<sup>189</sup> or to Ibn Jurayj (d. 150/767),<sup>190</sup> a pupil of ‘Aṭā’.<sup>191</sup> Mujāhid b. Jabr’s interpretation must have been highly

<sup>179</sup> “Notes on Alfred von Kremer’s edition of Wakidy’s Campaigns,” p. 72.

<sup>180</sup> Cf. above, pp. 317 and 333.

<sup>181</sup> A more comprehensive list can be found in Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Usd al-ghāba fi ma‘rifat al-ṣaḥāba*, vol. 3, p. 194; cf. also al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 909sq.

<sup>182</sup> Ibn Sa‘īd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 6): *Biographien der Kufier*, pp. 178–187; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz*, vol. 1, pp. 65–67 *EP*; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 430–431.

<sup>183</sup> Ibn Sa‘īd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 5): *Biographien der Nachfolger in Medina* [biographies of the Followers at Medina], p. 343sq.; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, vol. 1, p. 80sq.; *EP*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 430–431; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, p. 22.

<sup>184</sup> Ibn Sa‘īd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 5): *Biographien der Nachfolger in Medina*, pp. 212–216, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, part 29, *Letzte Krankheit, Tod und Bestattung*, p. 133; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz*, vol. 1, p. 83sq.; al-Nawawī; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 241.

<sup>185</sup> Ibn Sa‘īd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, part 2): *Letzte Krankheit, Tod und Bestattung*, p. 133sq.; (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 5): *Biographien der Nachfolger in Medina*, pp. 344–346 al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz*, vol. 1, pp. 85–87; al-Nawawī; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 139–140; Sezgin, *GAS*, p. 31.

<sup>186</sup> Ibn Sa‘īd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 6): *Biographien der Kufier*, p. 207, but without date of death. Cf. also *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 516, n. 4.

<sup>187</sup> *al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 34 ll 1 and 7. Regarding later recensions of ‘Ikrima compare A. Sprenger, *Mohammad*, vol. 3, p. cxiii, no. 1.

<sup>188</sup> Ibn Sa‘īd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 6): *Biographien der Kufier*, p. 210sq.

<sup>189</sup> *al-Fihrist*, p. 33, and *al-Itqān*, p. 914; A. Sprenger, loc. cit., p. cxvi, no. 2.

<sup>190</sup> Ibn Sa‘īd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 5): *Biographien der Nachfolger in Medina*, p. 361; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz*, vol. 1, p. 152; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 212–225; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 91.

<sup>191</sup> Sprenger, loc. cit., p. xciv. Numerous *isnāds* in al-Wāhidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, attest to this.

appreciated, as *al-Fihrist* knows of three different recensions of this work alone.<sup>192</sup>

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Let us mention only a few of the Commentators of the first century whose scholastic background is somewhat uncertain. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728)<sup>193</sup> has no documented relation to the school of Ibn ‘Abbās, but his commentary is frequently cited; in the recension of ‘Amr b. Ubayd [d. 143/760<sup>194</sup>] it is heavily used by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm AL-THA‘LABĪ (d. 427/1035).<sup>195</sup> As for Qatāda b. Dī‘āma (60/679–118/736),<sup>196</sup> born blind but endowed with a splendid memory, the biographers are at variance as to whether or not he heard lectures from Ibn ‘Abbās’ pupils, such as ‘Ikrima,<sup>197</sup> Sa‘īd b. Jubayr and Mujāhid b. Jabr.<sup>198</sup> His commentary circulated in several recensions.<sup>199</sup> Conversely, a man of Jewish descent, Muḥammad b. Ka‘b AL-QURAZĪ (d. 118/736),<sup>200</sup> whose commentary was frequently consulted by Abū Ma‘shar [Najīh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sindī] (d. 170/786)<sup>201</sup> as well as by other biographers of the Prophet,<sup>202</sup> is alleged to have studied under Ibn ‘Abbās.<sup>203</sup>

Of the representatives of the younger generation deserving of particular mention are Muḥammad b. Sā‘ib AL-KALBĪ<sup>204</sup> (d. 146/763), Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna<sup>205</sup> (d. 198/814), Wakī‘ b. al-Jarrāh<sup>206</sup> (d. 197/812), Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj<sup>207</sup> (d. 160/776), Yazīd b. Hārūn al-Wāsiṭī<sup>208</sup> (118/736–206/821), ‘Abd al-Razzāq b.

<sup>192</sup> *al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 33, ll 21–23; Sprenger, loc. cit., p. cxv sq.

<sup>193</sup> Ibn Sa‘d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 7, part 2): *Biographien der Basrier*, vol. 7, part 1, pp. 116–129; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 176–177.

<sup>194</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 31–32; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 568, col. 2.

<sup>195</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 67.

<sup>196</sup> Juynboll, loc. cit., pp. 438–449; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 31–32.

<sup>197</sup> al-Nawawī, p. 509, l 15.

<sup>198</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, vol. 1, p. 110, l 6.

<sup>199</sup> *al-Fihrist*, Flügel’s edition, p. 34, ll 3 and 4; Sprenger, *Mohammad*, vol. 3, p. cxvi, no. 7.

<sup>200</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 32; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 61, col. 2, p. 505, col. 1.

<sup>201</sup> *EF*<sup>2</sup>; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 291–292.

<sup>202</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, vol. 1, p. 575, l 4, p. 1195, l 2, p. 1721, l 14; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 291–292.

<sup>203</sup> al-Nawawī, p. 116, l 12.

<sup>204</sup> *al-Fihrist*, p. 95; Ibn Sa‘d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 6): *Biographien der Kufier*, p. 249 sq. In the selection of the following name I am following al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 916, centre.

<sup>205</sup> Ibn Sa‘d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 5): *Biographien der Nachfolger in Medina*, p. 364; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, vol. 1, p. 238 sqq.; al-Nawawī, p. 289; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, 569–622.

<sup>206</sup> Ibn Sa‘d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*) (vol. 6): *Biographien der Kufier*, p. 275; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, vol. 1, p. 280 sqq.; al-Nawawī, p. 614 sqq.; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 646–649.

<sup>207</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, vol. 1, p. 174 sqq.; al-Nawawī, p. 315 sq.; *EF*<sup>2</sup>; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 471–566; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 92.

<sup>208</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, vol. 1, p. 290 sqq.; al-Nawawī, p. 636 sq.; *EF*<sup>2</sup>; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 684–685; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 40.

Hammām<sup>209</sup> (126/749–211/827), Ādam b. Abī Iyās<sup>210</sup> (132/749–220/835), etc. With the exception of Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna and Ādam b. Abī Iyās, all these scholars were slaves or freedmen. That they left independent works is partially attested elsewhere, although none of them has come down to us.<sup>211</sup>

Since the first somewhat reliable traces of grammatical studies among the Arabs point to the middle of the second century,<sup>212</sup> even the latest of the aforementioned commentaries cannot have contained much of this branch of science. Etymology seems to have been older than actual grammar. It is thus quite conceivable that the lexical remarks in al-Bukhārī’s *tafsīr* are correctly attributed to Mujāhid (Ibn Jabr). Conversely, it is by no means certain that Ibn ‘Abbās was a scholar in this field.

In contrast to Ibn ‘Abbās, whose reputation was always above suspicion, his pupils and their successors had to suffer adverse judgement. This, however, contains little importance for us, since, as we pointed out above when discussing *ḥadīths*,<sup>213</sup> Muslim criticism is partly personal prejudice, partly adherence to different political or religious parties, and partly formalities of the construction of the *isnād*. Thus, while ‘Ikrima is recognized as an expert in the Book of God,<sup>214</sup> his reliability is nevertheless questioned,<sup>215</sup> probably because his *ḥadīth* does not serve as evidence in canon law, since he was considered a Khārijite.<sup>216</sup> Abū Ṣāliḥ Bādhām was held in low esteem because he was no “reciter of the Koran.”<sup>217</sup> Even al-Kalbī, the great expert in genealogy and pre-Islamic history, is considered weak in transmission (*riwāya*),<sup>218</sup> or even an outright liar;<sup>219</sup> the *isnād* of Muḥammad b. Marwān AL-SUDDĪ—Muḥammad AL-KALBĪ—Abū Ṣāliḥ Bādhām is called the chain of lies.<sup>220</sup> By

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<sup>209</sup> Ibn Sa’d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 5): *Biographien der Nachfolger in Medina*, p. 399; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, vol. 1, p. 333; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. xxxii, 24–38.

<sup>210</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, vol. 1, p. 375; Sezgin, *GAS* vol. 1, p. 102, no. 32.

<sup>211</sup> Whether there is really a Persian translation of Yazīd b. Hārūn’s commentary in an Istanbul library—Nuruosmaniye, no. 474—still needs to be investigated. *al-Fihrist* lists among the aforementioned commentaries only those of al-Kalbī and Wakī’ b. al-Jarrāḥ.

<sup>212</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 99.

<sup>213</sup> Cf. above, pp. 317 sq. and 333.

<sup>214</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, vol. 1, p. 84 l 7; Ibn Sa’d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 5): *Biographien der Nachfolger in Medina* [biographies of the Followers at Medina], p. 212, l 19 sqq.

<sup>215</sup> Ibn Qutayba, p. 224 l 5, and p. 231 sq.; Ibn Sa’d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 5): *Biographien der Nachfolger in Medina*, p. 213 l 9 and 12.

<sup>216</sup> Ibn Sa’d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 5): *Biographien der Nachfolger in Medina* [biographies of the Followers at Medina], p. 216, ll 6, 10, and 12.

<sup>217</sup> O. Loth, “Tabarī’s Korankommentar,” p. 598.

<sup>218</sup> Ibn Sa’d (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 6): *Biographien der Kufier*, p. 250, l 9.

<sup>219</sup> al-Qurtubī.

<sup>220</sup> *Silsilat al-kadhib*, al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 914, beginning. Al-Suyūṭī uses equally strong

the same token and without further substantiation, the reproach of falsehood is brought against Muqātil b. Sulaymān<sup>221</sup> (d. 150/767), who transmitted from Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim and, according to others, from Abū l-Ḥajjāj IBN MUJĀHID as well,<sup>222</sup> and whose commentary is given as an independent work.<sup>223</sup>

### *The Extant Commentaries*

[ii/170] The oldest remains of the exegetic literature can be found in the historical works of Ibn Ishāq<sup>224</sup> (d. 151/767) and al-Wāqidi (d. 207/822), who, when relating events, not only refer to pertinent passages of the Koran and occasions of revelation but also supply detailed explanations of entire sūras.<sup>225</sup> As a rule, these explanations consist of brief paraphrases and narratives of occasion. Only now and then—in al-Wāqidi more frequently than in Ibn Ishāq—are rare words glossed with better known synonyms. Lexical notes of philological relevance first appear in Ibn Hishām's (d. 213/828) usually very extensive additions and are accompanied there by examples from poetry.

[ii/171] The fragment of a commentary on the Koran ascribed to al-Kalbī<sup>226</sup> offers a paraphrase of the text but pays little attention to historical aspects, ignoring altogether variant readings and grammar. The *isnāds* point to an origin in the third century AH. It still awaits more precise investigation to determine whether the work really goes back to this famous scholar. In any case, al-Kalbī's transmissions included in other exegetic works are usually longer than this one.

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language in his *Lubāb al-nuqūl fi asbāb al-nuzūl* on sūra 2:13: "This *isnād* is disabled (*wāḥin*) because al-Suddī, the Younger, is a liar, and al-Kalbī likewise, and Abū Ṣāliḥ (Bādhām) is weak (*daʿīf*)."

<sup>221</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 36–37; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 431–432.

<sup>222</sup> al-Nawawī, p. 574sq.; al-Khazrajī, *Khulāṣat tadhhīb*, p. 386; *EP*; *EQ*, Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, pp. 38, 39, etc.; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 431–432; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 36–37.

<sup>223</sup> *al-Fihrist*, p. 34, l 5.

<sup>224</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 419–423.

<sup>225</sup> For example, sūra 2 (Ibn Hishām, *Sūra*, pp. 363–380); sūra 3 (Ibn Hishām, pp. 403–411, 592–607, al-Wāqidi, *al-Maghāzī*, edited by A. von Kremer, pp. 310–317 = Wellhausen, *Muḥammed*, p. 145); sūra 8 (Ibn Hishām, pp. 476–485, al-Wāqidi, edited by A. von Kremer, pp. 126–132, Wellhausen, p. 77sq.); sūra 9 (Ibn Hishām, pp. 919–929, Wāqidi Wellhausen, p. 415sq.); sūra 18 (Ibn Hishām, pp. 193–202); sūra 48 (Ibn Hishām, pp. 749–751, Wāqidi Wellhausen, p. 260).

<sup>226</sup> Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*, no. 732 (= Sprenger, 404); *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān*: This *rivāya* goes back to Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, d. 204/819; other Mss, Ayasofya, 113–118, and Nuruosmaniye, 167–183; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1, p. 190, lists a Bombay printed edition of 1302/1884, which I have not been able to locate; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 34–35.



*Important Writings Containing  
Commentaries on History and Exegesis*

The two oldest systematic collections of *ḥadīth* that we have, those of al-Bukhārī (d. 256/869),<sup>227</sup> and al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892),<sup>228</sup> both contain a relatively extensive commentary on the Koran. They are in the same vein as the exegeses of Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidi.

Al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/922) great work<sup>229</sup> is the turning point in the history of interpretation. Unlike its two precursors, this work does not limit itself to advancing the comprehension of the text through convenient paraphrasing, lexical explanations—the first work to do so since Ibn Hishām, and also by means of poetic examples—and narratives of origin, but also deals with grammatical questions and the connections between dogma and canon law. On the other hand, the book endeavours to be a synopsis of the work of earlier generations and thus cites for each revelation every other interpretation available, even listing insignificant, divergent traditions. At the same time, when reproducing the authenticated strands of authorities he observes the same, painful exactitude familiar to us from his annals. “The *isnāds* are generally the same as in his annals. In general, the traditions can be identified with the schools of Ibn ‘Abbās—within which Mujāhid b. Jabr occupies an independent position—of Qatāda (Ibn Dī‘āma) (Muḥammad b. Marwān) AL-SUDDĪ, and Ibn ‘Abbās (on legends).” At the end of an entry al-Ṭabarī finally gives his own opinion on the proper or most likely interpretation.<sup>230</sup> In the introduction to the commentary (vol. 1, p. 1sq.), he lists the vague outline of his plan: the language of the Koran, the “seven readings,” the collection, sources, and history of interpretation, the names of the Koran and its individual parts, such as sūras, verses and the logograms. He disregarded the

<sup>227</sup> Cairo edition, 1309/1891, vol. 3, pp. 63–144.

<sup>228</sup> Delhi folio edition of 1315/1897, vol. 2, pp. 119–172. Whereas al-Bukhārī deals with all the sūras, al-Tirmidhī lacks altogether no less than twenty-one, viz. sūras 45, 65, 67, 71, 73, 76, 77, 78, 79, 82, 86, 87, 90, 100, 101, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, and 109.

<sup>229</sup> Commonly entitled *Tafsīr*. In the author's world-history, vol. 1, p. 87, l 2, the title reads *Jāmi‘ al-bayān fi ta’wīl al-Qur‘ān*; cf. M.J.de Goeje's edition, *introduction*, p. xii. This is one of the oldest examples of a bombastic title of a book in rhymed prose I know of. The fashion—starting with the fifth century AH—which became firmly established in Arabic literature, is likely to originate from Persia. The work was first published in thirty volumes at Maymūniyya Press, Cairo, 1321/1903. An improved edition appeared a few years later at the bookseller ‘Umar Ḥusayn Khashshāb.

<sup>230</sup> We have an excellent appreciation of the work from Ibn ‘Asākir by M.J. de Goeje in his *introduction* to al-Ṭabarī's *Annales*, p. lxxix. Otto Loth was the first European to present an exposition of the commentary, based on manuscript studies at the Viceroyal Library, Cairo; cf. his “Tabarī's Korancommentar,” p. 588sq.

variant readings, probably because he devoted a monograph to this subject, which unfortunately seems to have been lost. Muslims consider al-Ṭabarī's commentary an unequalled achievement.<sup>231</sup> Given its scope, versatility, and the reliability of its content, it is indeed the most instructive work of its type that the Muslim world produced. Yet we must immediately voice our reservation that, for us, it is only useful as a collection of data, since it is completely under the spell of dogmatic prejudice and therefore cannot reach the heights of an objective historical approach. Historical criticism was also foreign to Muslims in subsequent times—even down to the present day.

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The way al-Ṭabarī summarized the achievements of earlier generations of exegetes made his thesaurus the eternal source from which later scholars derived their wisdom. Such a mammoth work, which can have circulated in only a few complete copies at a time, frequently occasioned the preparation of excerpts. One of the best known is the *Tafsīr (al-Qurʿān)* of ABŪ LAYTH NAṢR b. Muḥammad AL-SAMARQANDĪ, who died 373/983, 375/985, or 393/1002.<sup>232</sup> The work has survived in manuscripts, mostly fragmentary, and has not yet found an editor. Abū Ishāq Aḥmad b. Muḥammad AL-ṬHALĀBĪ's (d. 427/1035)<sup>233</sup> *al-Kashf wa-l-bayān ʿan tafsīr al-Qurʿān* is based not only on al-Ṭabarī but also on some one hundred other works. Al-Ṭhalābī maintains in his preface<sup>234</sup> that his predecessors either followed newer or false directions, were uncritical and restricted themselves to the *riwāya*, or omitted the *isnād*, thus raising doubts as to the reliability of their facts. Others, like al-Ṭabarī and Abū Muḥammad ʿABD ALLĀH IBN ḤĀMĪD AL-IṢBAHĀNĪ, would present all sorts of superfluous information, intimidating potential critics by sheer overload.<sup>235</sup> Still others offer nothing but explanations without descending to the overwhelming factual difficulties. Because of the lucidity of these reasons, the commentary—which does not spare examples from poetry, and is of moderate volume, twice the size of al-Bayḍāwī—is likely to be one of the most useful, which makes it surprising that it has not yet been published in the Orient.

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The *Maʿālim al-tanzīl* of Ḥusayn b. Masʿūd al-Farrāʾ AL-BAGHAWĪ<sup>236</sup> (died 510/1117 or 516/1122), whom we already met as the author of a clear com-

<sup>231</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, vol. 2, p. 278, l 10 sq., *alladhī lam yuṣannaf mithluḥ*; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 916, centre, *ajall al-tafsīr wa-aʿzamuhā*.

<sup>232</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 446, lists a Turkish translation by Ibn ʿArabshāh.

<sup>233</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 350; *EQ*; *EP*.

<sup>234</sup> Cf. Ahlwardt in his *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*, vol. 1, no. 739 (= cod. Sprenger, no. 409).

<sup>235</sup> I know no more of this author.

<sup>236</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 155, "Kommentare" (2). There is a Bombay lithograph of 1269/1852.

pendium of *ḥadīth*,<sup>237</sup> is said to be an excerpt from al-Tha'labī. 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad [AL-KHĀZIN] al-Baghdādī (d. 727/1326), who in his commentary made much use of the *Ma'ālim al-tanzīl*, is full of praise for this work.<sup>238</sup>

It comes as no surprise that Maḥmūd b. 'Umar AL-ZAMAKHSHARĪ (died 538/1143), the author of excellent grammatical, lexical, and stylistic works,<sup>239</sup> also devotes much space to these subjects in his commentary on the Koran, *al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq al-tanzīl*,<sup>240</sup> which pays attention to the variant readings. When it comes to explanations of individual words, he, like al-Ṭabarī, refers not infrequently to evidence (*shawāhid*)<sup>241</sup> from poetry. Nevertheless, he displays little interest in the origin of the legends. If he does refer to them, it is extremely briefly, omitting the *isnād* by using, typically, the empty formula "it is transmitted" (*ruwīya*). In rare instances, however, particularly when he contrasts different divergent traditions, he likes to identify the individual tradition by the name of a prominent link in the chain of authorities.<sup>242</sup> The reader looks in vain for a section that, like al-Ṭabarī, discusses introductory questions; the author does not even hint at the relation to his predecessors. He focuses his attention on theological and philosophical matters, which he handles competently, wisely, and with spirit. These deliberations, which take up most of the space, are unfortunately without value for the exegesis, as they impose ideas from a later period onto the Koran. It is precisely for this reason, accompanied by splendid dialectics,<sup>243</sup> that the *Kashshāf* attained great eminence and displaced the previous commentaries, despite the fact that its author was not orthodox, being a rather outspoken Mu'tazilite. Consequently, the work saw frequent editions, excerpts, and glosses.<sup>244</sup> The orthodox had no scruples whatever in meddling

<sup>237</sup> Cf. above, pp. 337–338.

<sup>238</sup> Cairo, al-Khayriyya, 1309/1891, in 4<sup>v</sup>. Vol. 1, p. 3, ll 9–12:

من أجلّ المصنفات في علم التفسير وأعلّاه وأنبهها وأسناها، جامعاً للصحيح من الأقاويل عارياً عن الشبه والنسب والتبديل محلياً بالأحاديث النبوية مطوّراً بالأحكام الشرعية موشقاً بالقصص الغريبة وأخبار الماضين العجيبة مرصعاً بأحسن الإشارات مخترجاً بأوضح العبارات مفترقاً في قالب الجمال بأفصح المقال.

<sup>239</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, p. 135, etc.

<sup>240</sup> There are a Calcutta edition of 1856, and many Egyptian editions.

<sup>241</sup> It is for this reason that frequently books explaining these verses and supplying references to the relevant diwans are added to the *Kashshāf*.

<sup>242</sup> Cf., for example, on sūra 17:1.

<sup>243</sup> A much liked wording—also when discussing other kinds of questions—is the formula *fa-in qulta ... qultu*.

<sup>244</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 289sq. lists sixteen glosses alone and five excerpts. Because of the not insignificant difficulties frequently posed by the author's sophistic line of argument, the glosses are preferably put in the margin. For example, the edition which I used, Cairo, 1308/1890, contains the glosses of 'Alī b. Muḥammad AL-JURJĀNĪ (d. 816/1413).

with the text in order to hide the sectarian position of the celebrated master and to deprive the literary polemics of arguments. For example, the beginning of the commentary, which al-Zamakhsharī, being a true Muʿtazilite had opened with the words “Glory to God Who created the Koran,” the word “created” was later changed to “sent down.”<sup>245</sup> As far as Ibn Khaldūn is concerned, al-Zamakhsharī’s work is a towering model far beyond the so-called *tafsīr naqlī*, the exegesis laden with traditional material.<sup>246</sup>

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ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar AL-BAYDĀWĪ’s (died 685/1286, 692/1292, or 710/1311)<sup>247</sup> commentary, though largely dependent on al-Zamakhsharī, evidently uses so many other sources that Ḥājji Khalifa,<sup>248</sup> with some exaggeration, called him an epitomist. Unfortunately, he does not identify these sources, neither in the brief and general preface nor anywhere else in the book. The problem can thus be solved only by a detailed literary-historical analysis. The bulk of the subject matter is overwhelming and covers everything that needs to be considered in a commentary of the Koran. However, both accuracy and comprehensiveness leave something to be desired. Al-Baydāwī pays more attention to readings and grammar than al-Zamakhsharī; philology is probably best represented. When it comes to information concerning traditions, he is shorter and more casual, citing far less frequently the authenticated strand of transmitters. The Muslim view that considers this commentary to be the best<sup>249</sup> and most sacred is unwarranted.

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The merit of the first printed edition of the work is due to a Christian, the great Leipzig Arabist, Heinrich L. Fleischer,<sup>250</sup> whereas the editions of Būlāq (1282/1865) and Constantinople (1296/1878) seem to be reprints. Still, it is unfortunate that he wasted his splendid linguistic competence on a task that any Egyptian or Indian scholar of average intelligence could also have achieved. As in the field of *ḥadīth*, Islamic science is best qualified to deal with the traditional literature of *tafsīr*, whereas when it comes to the edition of secular works in history, geography, and poetry it fails completely.

Although the later commentaries are instructive for the history of exegesis or for theology in general, we can hardly expect them to contain new or

<sup>245</sup> Cf. *al-Kashshāf*, Cairo ed., 1308, vol. 1, p. 2, glosses of al-Jurjānī.

<sup>246</sup> *al-Muqaddima*, Beirut edition of 1886, p. 384 sq.

<sup>247</sup> Cf. Brockelmann, loc. cit., vol. 1, p. 416. The book is entitled *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-taʿwīl*, or short, *Tafsīr al-qāḍī*.

<sup>248</sup> G. Flügel’s edition, vol. 5, p. 192.

<sup>249</sup> Ḥājji Khalifa, loc. cit., calls him “the shining sun in the height of the day.”

<sup>250</sup> Two volumes, Leipzig, 1846–1848. Very valuable are the alphabetical indices which Winand Fell contributed in 1878.

unknown matters regarding tradition. Foremost among them<sup>251</sup> is probably the *Jāmi' aḥkām al-Qur'ān* of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad AL-QURṬUBĪ (d. 671/1272 or 668/1268).<sup>252</sup> However, none of the known collections of manuscripts seems to have a complete copy.

We next come to two large works printed in the Orient. The first, entitled “The great *tafsīr*” (*al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*) or “The keys to the secret” (*Mafāṭīḥ al-ghayb*), is from the pen of the Persian FAKHR AL-DĪN Muḥammad b. ‘Umar AL-RĀZĪ<sup>253</sup> (d. 606/1209). According to al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 917, it is full of sayings from wise men and philosophers, jumping from one subject to another and leaving the reader at a loss, since he lacks a presentation that conforms with the verses of the Koran. As ABŪ ḤAYYĀN Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (d. 654/1256 *sic*) remarks, Imām Rāzī combined in his commentary several scattered subjects that are, unfortunately, unrelated to exegesis. Others even claim that this book contains everything except *tafsīr*.

Amid such speculative excesses, the Egyptian scholar Jalāl al-Dīn AL-SUYŪṬĪ<sup>254</sup> (d. 911/1505) re-established the honour of old-fashioned exegesis based on the good old tradition. The giant work, *Tarjumān al-Qur'ān fī l-tafsīr al-musnad*, seems to have been lost, although its excerpt, entitled *Durr al-manthūr fī l-tafsīr al-ma'thūr*, has only the titles of the literary sources instead of the *isnāds*. The work still consists of six volumes in the only Cairene edition (1314/1896) I am aware of.

Most widespread in the contemporary Islamic Orient—particularly among educated laymen—is a compendium entitled “*Tafsīr* of the two *Jalāls*.”<sup>255</sup> In this work the exegesis of sūras 18 to 114 and the *Fātiḥa* is from

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<sup>251</sup> The greatest commentary of all times was probably the *Tafsīr* of Abū Yūsuf ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad AL-QAZWĪNĪ (d. 488/1095 in Egypt [EQ]) about whom nothing else is known. The work is said to have consisted of three hundred or four hundred, according to other sources even seven hundred volumes (*mujallad*) and was a *waqf* of the mausoleum of Abū Ḥanifa (d. 150/767) near Cairo. Cf. Abū l-Maḥāsīn IBN TAGHRĪBIRDĪ, ed. by Popper, p. 313 top. According to Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh*, ed. by Tornberg, vol. 10, p. 173, the author died in 486/1093. Typical for the way Muslims speak of the volume of a commentary of the Koran is that ‘Alī allegedly boasted that the *tafsīr* on the first sūra alone would amount to seventy camel loads [Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, p. 143 n. 127]. Al-Suyūṭī in *al-Itqān*, p. 906 sq., does not even consider this an exaggeration as this sūra practically provokes vast excurses.

<sup>252</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 415.

<sup>253</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 506. The work has been repeatedly printed in the Orient, lately at Cairo in eight volumes (1307–1309/1889–1891).

<sup>254</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 145.

<sup>255</sup> *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, of which there are numerous Oriental editions. The one I used was published at Cairo in 1301/1883 in two volumes.

JALĀL AL-DĪN Muḥammad b. Aḥmad AL-MAḤALLĪ<sup>256</sup> (d. 864/1459), while the remainder was completed by his well-known pupil, Jalāl al-Dīn AL-SUYŪṬĪ. The peculiar position of the *Fātiḥa* at the end of the book can be explained by the goal of not separating the contributions of the elder scholar. The work is far more useful than its brevity would suggest—approximately two fifths of al-Bayḍāwī's commentary. Since the work supplies not only a continuous paraphrase and grammatical, particularly syntactic, explanations but also considers the narratives of occasion and variant readings, it is—especially in comparison with the poor arrangement of the great commentaries—an excellent aid when trying to understand the Muslim view of a particular Koranic passage.

### *Shī'ite Commentaries*

[ii/179] The earliest Shī'ite scholar to whom a commentary of the Koran has been ascribed is Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, called AL-BĀQIR (d. 114/732, 117/735 or 118/736).<sup>257</sup> It is by no means certain that the book ever existed as an independent work and not only in the recension of his blind<sup>258</sup> student, Abū l-Jārūd Ziyād b. al-Mundhir.<sup>259</sup> Somewhat younger is Abū Ḥamza Thābit b. Dinār Abī Ṣafiya,<sup>260</sup> who died in the reign of the 'Abbāsid Caliph Manṣūr.<sup>261</sup> These works probably do not reflect the Shī'ite leanings of their authors any more than the *Maghāzī* of al-Wāqidi who, after all, was also suspected of *tashayyu'*.<sup>262</sup> The peculiar Shī'ite tendency of considering the *ahl al-bayt* to be the only true source of all tradition and of connecting half of the Koran with the family of 'Alī and the creed of the sect infiltrated into the exegesis only in later times, or at least emerged only later in literature. For example, 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm AL-QUMMĪ,<sup>263</sup> the fourth-century

<sup>256</sup> Cf. Brockelmann, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 114; *EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, p. 232, no. 18.

<sup>257</sup> al-Nawawī, p. 113; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. by Flügel, p. 33; Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 5): *Biographien der Nachfolger in Medina* [biographies of the Medinan Followers], p. 235sqq.; *EP*; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 260, col. 2.

<sup>258</sup> al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist kutub al-Shī'a*, p. 178.

<sup>259</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, p. 33; al-Shahrastānī, *Religionsparteien und Philosophenschulen* [religious parties and schools of philosophy], vol. 1, p. 178; al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist kutub al-Shī'a*, no. 308; *EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 528, 552.

<sup>260</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, p. 33; Ḥājji Khalifa, *Lexicon*, vol. 2, p. 357; al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist kutub al-Shī'a*, p. 71; Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 6): *Biographien der Kufier*, p. 253.

<sup>261</sup> al-Khazrajī, *Khulāṣat tadhhīb al-kamāl fī asmā' al-rijāl*, s.v.; Tusy, no. 308.

<sup>262</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, p. 98.

<sup>263</sup> al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist kutub al-Shī'a*, p. 209; *Tafsīr* in Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 929 (= cod. Sprenger, no. 406); Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 45, no. 29.

commentator, interprets the words of sūra 2:1, *dhālika l-kitāb*, to refer to ‘Alī, ascribes actions during the Battle of Uḥud to ‘Alī that in reality were performed by ‘Umar, and, in the same vein, understands the frequent Koranic expression, *munāfiqūn* (“doubters”), as referring to the first caliphs, so that Nöldeke calls the book “a miserable interweaving of lies and stupidity.” A Shī‘ite *ḥadīth* mentioned by al-Suyūfī interprets the sun at the beginning of sūra 91 as Muḥammad, the moon as ‘Alī, the day as al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī and Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, and, conversely, the night as the Umayyads.<sup>264</sup> Others apply the “kinsfolk” of sūras 42:22, and 59:7 to the ‘Alid family, but the “cursed tree” [*zaqqūm*, Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 552] of sūra 17:22 to the House of Umayya;<sup>265</sup> in sūra 16:78, the words *khayr* and ‘*adl* to ‘Alī, *jibt* and *ṭāghūt* (sūra 4:54) to Abū Bakr and ‘Umar; and finally, the religious duties of the prayer liturgy, alms, and pilgrimage to the accomplishments of the Imāms.<sup>266</sup>

If the benefit of Sunnite commentaries for the historical contextualization of revelations turn out to be rather limited, that of the Shī‘ite counterparts we saw is absolutely null. In view of the eccentric allegory (*ta’wīl*),<sup>267</sup> which totally ignores the context of the texts, one might be inclined to raise the question of whether audacity or stupidity predominates in each lie. Nevertheless, the extravagances of the Shī‘a are supported by such systemization and method that one is hard-pressed to challenge their intelligence. It would also be difficult to prove that the Shī‘ite exegetes were less honest than their Sunnite counterparts who, when it came to fabricating traditions, were by no means timid. If, in spite of this, the *sunna* does not present the facts in quite such a distorted form, this is not due to the superior character of their *līterati* but rather to the sounder historical grounding of their entire school of thought. In contrast, the starting point of the Shī‘ite interpretation was a smack in the face to the true facts, a disadvantage which the representatives of this sect had to compensate for with a still more fanatic presentation of their point of view.

Muḥammad b. Murtaḍā AL-KĀSHĪ’s<sup>268</sup> (ca. 911/1505) book, *al-Ṣāfī fī tafsīr al-Qur’ān*, deals in particular with the dogma of the ambiguity of Koranic passages, a point on which Shī‘ites approach Sufis, whose treatment of the

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<sup>264</sup> *al-La’ālī l-maṣnū’a fī l-aḥādīth al-mawḍū’a*, Cairo, 1317/1899, vol. 1, p. 184, according to I. Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic theology and law*, p. 182 n. 43.

<sup>265</sup> Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, p. 110 sq.

<sup>266</sup> Isr. Friedlaender, *Heterodoxies of the Shī‘ites* I 35 [*sic*]. Cf. also above, pp. 254–266, regarding Shī‘ite reproaches of the ‘Uthmānic Koran and the apocryphal Sūra of the Two Lights.

<sup>267</sup> al-Jurjānī, *Definitiones*, edited by Gustav Flügel, p. 52.

<sup>268</sup> Brockelmann, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 200. The Berlin manuscript [Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der*

Koran al-Suyūṭī considered to be devoid of any exegetic merit.<sup>269</sup> The great mystic poet, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273), expresses this theory with the following words:

Know that the words of the Koran are simple, yet they conceal beneath the outward meaning an inner, secret one.

Besides this secret meaning there is yet a third one that bewilders the subtlest intelligence.

The fourth meaning none has discerned but God, Who is beyond comparison and is the source of all sufficiency for all.

In this way one can advance to seven meanings, one after the other.

So, my son, do not confine your view to the outward sense as the demons did who saw only clay in Adam.

The outward sense of the Koran is like Adam's body; only its exterior is visible, but its soul is hidden.<sup>270</sup>

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One of the oldest Sufi commentaries is the *Ḥaḡā'iq al-tafsīr* of Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān AL-SULAMĪ from Naysābūr<sup>271</sup> (d. 412/1021). The earliest printed *tafsīr* is from Muḥyī l-Dīn IBN AL-'ARABĪ (d. 638/1240) from Murcia.<sup>272</sup> In the Middle Ages, the dogma of the ambiguity of the Scriptures was also decisive for Christian, Biblical exegesis and dominated the field until the Reformation.<sup>273</sup> It is also to be found in Jewish writings of the thirteenth century, such as, for example, the commentary on the Pentateuch of Baḥyā ben Asher of Zaragoza [died 1340] and the Book Zohar.<sup>274</sup> It is amazing how much spirit and sagacity mankind occasionally displayed in the name of warding off the plain sense of religious documents.

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*arabischen Handschriften*, no. 8607,8] (= 1 Petermann, 653) is incomplete and contains only the interpretation of the sūras 1 to 17.

<sup>269</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 901: *ammā kalām al-Ṣūfiyya fi l-Qur'ān fa-laysa bi-tafsīr*.

<sup>270</sup> *Maṣnavī* (Whinfield), p. 169, after Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic theology and law*, p. 223.

<sup>271</sup> Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic theology and law*, p. 139 n. 74; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 671–672.

<sup>272</sup> Goldziher, loc. cit., p. 139 n. 74.

<sup>273</sup> The hermeneutic handbooks commonly condense this wisdom in the following verse:

“littera esta docet,  
quid credas, allegoria,  
moralis, quid agas,  
quid speres, anagogia.”

Thus, for example, Jerusalem actually means the city, allegorically, the Church, morally, an orderly community, and analogically, eternal life.

<sup>274</sup> J. Frederic McCurdy, “Mystic exegesis,” in *Jewish encyclopedia*, vol. 3, p. 171.



*Writings on the Occasion of Revelation*

The writings entitled *asbāb al-nuzūl* differ from the commentaries in so far as they contain only material relevant to the occasion of revelations. However, since this constitutes the most important religious and literary parts of the commentaries, and is liberated here from all the annoying additions that often stand in the way of quick survey, the merit of these books for research purposes is obvious. Muslims seem to have had less appreciation of this or the number of known relevant works would not be so small. Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*<sup>275</sup> knows of only two such works. The author of the first one, Ḥusayn b. Abī Ḥusayn, is not otherwise known, although in the case of such names not much reliance should be attached to a hand-written transmission. The second work is said to have been composed by 'Ikrima from a sermon by Ibn 'Abbās. However, given the dubious role played by the Prophet's cousin in the history of Arabic literature,<sup>276</sup> this statement is to be approached with utmost caution. Al-Suyūṭī apparently does not know of an earlier book than that of 'Alī b. al-Madīnī<sup>277</sup> (died 234/848), one of al-Bukhārī's<sup>278</sup> authorities. According to him, the most famous of its kind originates from 'Alī b. Aḥmad AL-WĀḤIDĪ of Naysābūr<sup>279</sup> (d. 468/1075); it is also the oldest of which we have a printed edition.<sup>280</sup> As the author explains in the preface (p. 3 sq.), he considers familiarity with the occasion of revelations to be the basis of exegesis and, for this purpose, opposes the excessive prevarication of his time, instead endeavouring to re-establish expertise based on the study of tradition. The sources to which he usually refers are the works of biography, exegesis, and *ḥadīth*. Whether he concurrently resorted to actual books of the *asbāb* type can be brought to light only after thorough research. Wherever he relies on literary sources, it is rarely done without supplying in each and every case the complete strand of authorities. Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) follows in his footsteps with his *Lubāb al-nuqūl fī asbāb al-nuzūl*.<sup>281</sup> As the introduction boasts, the work is distinguished by excellent points. It omits all of al-Wāḥidī's material that is not strictly relevant. In exchange, it incorporates new material from other sources, *ḥadīth* as well as the commentaries,

<sup>275</sup> Flügel's edition, p. 38.

<sup>276</sup> See above, p. 348 sq.

<sup>277</sup> al-Nawawī, p. 443 sq.; *EF*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 423, col. 1, l 3.

<sup>278</sup> al-Qaṣṭallānī on al-Bukhārī, vol. 1, p. 33, l 6.

<sup>279</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 411 sq.; *EF*; *EQ*.

<sup>280</sup> Cairo, al-Hindiyya, 1315/1897, 334 p.

<sup>281</sup> Printed in the margin of the commentary on the Koran, *Jalālayn*, Cairo, 1301/1883, vol. 1, 152 p., vol. 2, pp. 1–144.

although—quite remarkably—not from the *asbāb* type of works. It devotes more attention to identifying the literary sources used than the *isnāds*, and contains assessments of the content of the traditions listed. There cannot be any doubt that this work represents quite a useful supplement to al-Wāḥidī's work. Conversely, we could readily do without the last of the contentions, namely the harmonization of contradicting traditions.

*The Introductions to the Koran*

[ii/184] Whereas most commentaries proceed immediately to the actual task, following the customary praise of the Prophet and a brief exposition, there are others that include chapters of Koran-related material. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad AL-THA'LABĪ,<sup>282</sup> for example, treats on a few pages the merits of the Koran and its science as well as the difference between ordinary and allegorical exegesis. 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad (AL-KHĀZIN) al-Baghdādī<sup>283</sup> also examines the collection of the Koran, the so-called seven readings, and the prayer of danger (*ṣalāt al-khawf*), used when reciting revelations. The earliest commentary to display a comprehensive exposition of the Koranic sciences is, as far as we know, al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*.<sup>284</sup> The work is followed by the *K. al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*,<sup>285</sup> which, according to the manuscript, was started in 425/1033. It contains so much useful information that a printed edition is a desideratum. Equally valuable is the introduction to *K. al-Jāmi' al-muḥarrar al-ṣaḥīḥ al-wajīz fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'azīz* of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Muḥārībī al-Gharnāṭī IBN 'AṬĪYYA<sup>286</sup> (d. ca. 542/1147), whereas al-Qurṭubī's<sup>287</sup> *Jāmi' aḥkām al-Qur'ān* follows it pretty closely, even literally in some places.

[ii/185] Such encyclopaedic treatises were occasionally published independently as well, i.e., without connection to exegesis. If the work listed in *al-Fihrist*, p. 34, l 14sq., *Madkhal ilā l-tafsīr*, of Ibn [al-]Imām al-Miṣrī—who cannot be later than the fourth century AH—is indeed such an introduction, it apparently was of no influence upon the production of the subsequent

<sup>282</sup> See above, p. 354sq.

<sup>283</sup> Vol. 1, pp. 3–11; cf. above, p. 355 n. 238.

<sup>284</sup> Vol. 1, p. 1sqq.; see above, p. 353.

<sup>285</sup> Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*, no. 8790 (= cod. 1 Wetzstein, no. 94). In this manuscript the introduction consists of fol. 1–89<sup>r</sup> in ten sections (*faṣl*); this is followed by the commentary to sūras 1–15; the rest is wanting.

<sup>286</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 412; *EP*. The introduction in the Berlin Ms., Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*, no. 800 (= Sprenger, 408), consists of fol. 1–92<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>287</sup> Berlin, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, 810 (= cod. Sprenger, 436), fol. 2<sup>a</sup>–36<sup>a</sup>; cf. above, p. 356sq.

period. Al-Suyūṭī<sup>288</sup> is outright surprised that the early period did not produce a book on the types (*anwāʿ*) of Koranic science when so much attention had been paid to the science of *ḥadīth*. Of the works of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries AH al-Suyūṭī can mention<sup>289</sup> only those that display a very distant resemblance to *al-Itqān*. These are: *Funūn al-afnān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʿān* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān IBN ʿAlī AL-JAWZĪ<sup>290</sup> (d. 597/1200), *Jamāl al-qurrāʾ* of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Sakhawī<sup>291</sup> (died 643/1245), *al-Murshid al-wajīz li-ʿulūm tataʿallaq bi-l-Qurʿān al-ʿazīz* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ismāʿīl ABŪ SHĀMAH<sup>292</sup> (d. 665/1266), and *al-Burhān fī mushkilāt al-Qurʿān* of Abū l-Maʿālī ʿAzīzī b. ʿAbd al-Malik SHAYDHALAH<sup>293</sup> (d. 494/1100). On the other hand, al-Suyūṭī<sup>294</sup> considers his direct predecessors to be two later appearances, *Mawāqīʿ al-ʿulūm min mawāqīʿ al-nujūm* of Jalāl al-Dīn AL-BULQĪNĪ<sup>295</sup> (d. 824/1421), a brother of his teacher ʿAlam al-Dīn AL-BULQĪNĪ<sup>296</sup> (d. 868/1463), and an untitled work of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥyī l-Dīn al-Kāfījī (AL-KĀFIYAJĪ, d. 851/1447), of whom I cannot find a reference elsewhere.<sup>297</sup> None of these works seems to have come down to us. It is so much more commendable, therefore, that al-Suyūṭī supplies from each of them the table of contents, and from the first three also part of the preface. Accordingly, the last named work consisted of only two chapters (*bāb*), whereas the first work comprised forty-seven sections (*nawʿ*). When al-Suyūṭī's literary ambition impelled him to offer the public his own encyclopaedia of the Koran, he used these books as preliminary studies. Of the work that he thus created in 872/1467,<sup>298</sup> *Taḥbīr fī ʿulūm al-tafsīr*, we know only the headings of the one hundred and two sections (*nawʿ*).<sup>299</sup> When al-Suyūṭī decided later to compose a second work on the same subject, *al-Itqān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʿān*, he also consulted the work of a second contemporary,

<sup>288</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, p. 2.

<sup>289</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 13.

<sup>290</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 504, knows of an excerpt from this work. Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 130, vol. 9, p. 156. [Edited by Ḥasan Ḍ. ʿItr, Beirut, 1987/1408].

<sup>291</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 94, knows of a manuscript at Cairo. *EF*.

<sup>292</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 317; the work seems to be lost.

<sup>293</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 433; the work has probably been lost. *EF*; *EQ*.

<sup>294</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, pp. 2–10.

<sup>295</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 112, calls him Jamāl al-Dīn; *EF*.

<sup>296</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, loc. cit., p. 96; *EF*.

<sup>297</sup> A. Fischer, "Nachtrag": Muḥyī l-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh appears eighteen times in Ḥājjī Khalīfa (see index, no. 6403), furthermore *Lubb al-lubāb*, p. 218, where al-Suyūṭī says that the proper pronunciation of the *nisba* is "Kāfiyājī." *EF*.

<sup>298</sup> *al-Itqān*, p. 7, towards the end.

<sup>299</sup> *al-Itqān*, pp. 4–7.

*al-Burhān fi 'ulūm al-Qur'ān* of Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh AL-ZARKASHĪ<sup>300</sup> (d. 794/1391). The *Itqān* has survived in several manuscripts and exists also in printed editions.<sup>301</sup> As far as one can judge from the different tables of contents, he not only sticks to the framework of the subject-based scheme, as established by his predecessors, but also follows them partially in the arrangement as well. Naturally, nothing can be said about the proportions, since we are only informed about the number of sections and not about their volume.

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The structure of al-Suyūṭī's *al-Itqān* is appropriate, as the number of the eighty sections (*naw'*) can easily be divided into larger groups. The arrangement is as follows: (1) the external circumstances of the revelation, nos. 1–17; (2) the collection and redaction of the text, nos. 18–19; (3) the reading of the Koran, nos. 20–42; (4) the style, rhetoric, and writing; nos. 43–76. (5) exegesis and exegetes, nos. 77–80. As can be seen from the preface (pp. 13–17) and the citations, it is clear that, apart from those encyclopaedias, al-Suyūṭī also utilized a great number of special works on history, tradition, exegesis, grammar, etc. The bulk of material that displays his erudition to the reader is immense and can, in fact, only be fully utilized once we have an alphabetical list of names and subjects, including biographical and bibliographical references. The content of such a work will leave little to be desired, leaving out, for instance, only the minutiae of the older textual history, which must have fallen into oblivion in the ninth century. The author's judgement is generally more reasonable than can be expected from a Muslim theologian, although he, too, was unable to transcend the scholastic methodology and the dogmatic partiality of his time. In any case, Islam did not produce a better handbook of Koranic sciences, making the eulogy of the vain scholar in his postscript (p. 955) not unwarranted. Although *al-Itqān* was originally issued as a monograph, the author still intended for it to be an introduction (*muqaddima*) to his commentary on the Koran, *Majma' al-baḥrayn wa-maṭla' al-badrayn*.<sup>302</sup>

<sup>300</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 91, Suppl. 2, p. 108; recent editions in, 1957 and 1988.

<sup>301</sup> The Indian edition was an idea of Aloys Sprenger. At its end we find a remark of al-Suyūṭī from a different source according to which *al-Itqān* was completed on 13 Shawwāl 878 (3 March 1474), which are my references. I also know of the 1306/1888 Cairo edition.

<sup>302</sup> Since Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 145sq., does not know this commentary, it must likely be considered not to have survived. Perhaps it was never completed at all. However, a comment on the *Jalālayn* of al-Karkhī has the identical title.

*Poetry as Source of History: The Poetical Examples  
in the Biographic and Exegetic Literature*

A peculiarity of the Arabic books of history, which as far as we know cannot be found in any other literature,<sup>303</sup> are the numerous interspersed verses. They are either put into the mouth of the actors or loosely inserted, serving not only to embellish the speech but also to substantiate the subject. Of Muḥammad's biographers Ibn Ishāq is the one with the most plentiful poetical insertions. Even though Ibn Hishām eliminated a great deal of them in his edition, the rest still amounts to one fifth of the entire work when the indented lines of the verses are counted as full lines.<sup>304</sup> In this respect, later writers exercised more restraint. It is difficult properly to evaluate al-Wāqidī's method, since so far we do not have a complete edition of the *Maghāzī*, and the elimination of many poems seems to be due to later editors. Ibn Sa'd has in his *Sīra* not even three hundred lines of poetry. Most of them consist of elegies on the death of Muḥammad and are collected in a separate chapter at the end.<sup>305</sup> In al-Bukhārī's chapter on the *maghāzī* these verses take up only nineteen lines. Far more copious is al-Ṭabarī, although the number of verses (314) he includes in his section of his chronicle on Muḥammad's Medinan period is far less than what Ibn Hishām includes on the Battle of Badr alone.

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As far as the conclusiveness of the poetical citations is concerned, it is undeniable that verses that accidentally and casually refer to a certain event represent a very valuable testimony. But it is not unusual that verses are not at all related to the facts that are reported. In the field of elegies in particular one must be prepared for large-scale falsification. As far as authenticity is concerned, particularly solid trust may be given to the rather mischievous verses of Muḥammad's enemies, such as 'Abd Allāh IBN AL-ZIBARĀ, which the earliest biography has preserved with praiseworthy candour.<sup>306</sup>

Naturally, complete poems or even entire collections (*dīwān*) of a poet's work are far more valuable than short fragments. By far the most important

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<sup>303</sup> On the other hand, it is difficult to consider this an Arab invention. The question cannot be separated from the genesis of historical prose; see above, p. 318 sq.

<sup>304</sup> Nearly one third of which are elegies, namely Wüstenfeld's edition of Ibn Hishām, pp. 108–114, 516–539, 611–638, 704–714, and 1022–1026.

<sup>305</sup> Ibn Sa'd (*al-Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, part 2): *Letzte Krankheit, Tod und Bestattung Muḥammads* [Muḥammad's last illness and death], pp. 89–98.

<sup>306</sup> Cf. Th. Nöldeke, "Die Tradition über das Leben Muhammeds," p. 160 sq. Ibn al-Zibārā is frequently quoted by Ibn Ishāq. Other fragments can be found in *al-Aghānī*, vol. 14, pp. 11–25. *EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 275–276, vol. 9, p. 276.

document, the *dīwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit,<sup>307</sup> who was the poet laureate of Muḥammad, is extremely rich in historical allusions. The connection with Koranic exegesis, the particulars of the historiography, as well as the authenticity of the transmitted poems, are all problems that still await a solution.

Among the men who were not from Medina but who had personal contact with Muḥammad there are three who deserve special mention. Labīd b. Rabīʿa came with an embassy from his tribe, the Kilāb, to Muḥammad in Medina in 9/630 and converted to Islam.<sup>308</sup> Kaʿb b. Zuhayr, a son of the well-known poet of the *muʿallaqa*, at first made fun of Muḥammad in satirical poems. However, when he realized that from that time forward his life was in danger, he changed his mind and became a Muslim so that the Messenger of God would forgive him. The captivating ode, *Bānat Suʿād*,<sup>309</sup> which he then recited, pleased Muḥammad so much that he presented him with his robe. Yet another famous ode to Muḥammad is from (Maymūn b. Qays) AL-ASHĀ of al-Yamāma, who had close relations to Christianity, although we have nothing reliable about the circumstances of its origin.<sup>310</sup>

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Pre-Islamic pagan poetry, whether contemporary or prior to the advent of Islam, is one of the main sources for the foundations of the cultural environment on which the remarkable phenomenon of Islam is based. The *Jāhiliyya* did not produce anything that deserves the designation of national literature. The religio-historical aspect of this literature has never been sufficiently appreciated, since it presents itself—at least in the *qaṣīdas*—clad in images that are obscure and difficult to understand. This, for example, applies to al-Nābigha, ʿAntara, Ṭarafa b. al-ʿAbd, ʿAlqama b. ʿAbada, and Imruʿ al-Qays,<sup>311</sup> to mention merely their most prominent poets.

<sup>307</sup> The earliest printed edition appeared in Tunis, 1281/1864; the Indian lithograph, Bombay, 1281, seems to be a reprint of this edition, and with a fictitious date. I have no information as to the Cairo edition, 1904. [Cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, p. 292, with commentary by Shukrī Makkī, Cairo, 1321/1903–1904, and with commentary by al-Barqūqī, Cairo, 1331/1912–1913.] Hartwig Hirschfeld's European edition, 1910, leaves much to be desired. The text is bad. The fragments and their variants in literature have not been collected. No attempt has been made to determine the authenticity. August Fischer, "Nachträge": Apart from Ḥassān b. Thābit a second early Medinan poet deserves mention, Qays b. al-Khaṭīm [*EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 285–286,] whose *dīwān* is important for the conditions at Medina immediately before the rise of Islam. Th. Kowalski edited the *dīwān* together with a German translation (Leipzig, 1914).

<sup>308</sup> J. Chalidi (1880) A. Huber and C. Brockelmann (1891) deserve credit for the publication of his *dīwān*.

<sup>309</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, 230–235; R.A. Nicholson, *Literary history of the Arabs*, s.v.

<sup>310</sup> Regarding the poetical heritages of Kaʿb and al-Ashā cf. Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, pp. 37–39; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 229–235, and 130–132 respectively. [August Fischer in "Nachträge": cf. F. Krenkow, "Tabrīzī's Kommentar zur *Burda* des Kaʿb b. Zuhair."]

<sup>311</sup> The *Divans* of the six ancient Arabic poets, edited by W. Ahlwardt (London, 1870).

Umayya b. Abī l-Ṣalt,<sup>312</sup> who is from al-Ṭā'if, near Mecca, occupies a unique position within this literature. He displays an unprecedented preference for Biblical and post-Biblical subjects, not only outside the Koran but also confessing to the Unique God and the Hereafter. Consequently, he, more than anyone else, has attracted the attention of recent research,<sup>313</sup> which a number of years ago produced an excellent edition of his extant fragments accompanied by a translation and commentary.<sup>314</sup> A study on his relationship to the Koran is also in preparation.<sup>315</sup> However, further advances cannot be expected until other contemporary poetic works have also been investigated.

Whatever ancient writers did not gather in special collections of the intellectual heritage of individual poets must be extracted from the entire historical, belletristic, and grammatical literature. The main sources are anthologies, a favorite of the Arabs.<sup>316</sup> Best known among them is the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām Ḥabīb b. Aws as well as of al-Buḥturī,<sup>317</sup> *al-Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, the *Jamharat ash'ūr al-'Arab* and the *Dīwān* of the Hudhalites. Most prominent of all is probably the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/966). It must be remembered, however, that in this invaluable collection the biographies of the poets take up far more space than the poems, so that the prose sections are generally more informative than the poetry. On the other hand, the historical accounts of Muḥammad are of no interest, since the relevant sources are now extant in the original version.<sup>318</sup>

The historical exploitation of poems or fragments of poems runs parallel to references to individual verses purporting to explain rare Koranic words, word formations or semantics from the language of poetry. This is not done

<sup>312</sup> *EF*; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 298–300, vol. 9, 277.

<sup>313</sup> Sprenger, *Leben und Lehre des Mohammad*, vol. 1, pp. 76–81, 110–119; Cl. Huart, “Une nouvelle source du Qorân” considers all Umayyah’s 130 verses in al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhīr AL-MAQDISĪ’s Arabic work, *Le livre de la création et de l’histoire* [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 7, pp. 277–288], to be genuine, which is by no means the case. Fr. Schultheß, “Umayya ibn Abi-ṣ-Ṣalt” must be credited to have prepared the ground for historical criticism.

<sup>314</sup> *Umayya ibn Abi ṣ-Ṣalt; die unter seinem Namen überlieferten Gedichtfragmente* (collected and translated by) Friedrich Schultheß.

<sup>315</sup> I.G. Frank-Kamenetzki, *Untersuchungen über die dem Umayya ibn Abi l-Ṣalt zugeschriebenen Gedichte zum Qorân* [research in Umayyad’s poems on the Koran].

<sup>316</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, pp. 17–21.

<sup>317</sup> *EF*; *EQ*; R.A. Nicholson, *Literary history of the Arabs* (1907); Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, 560–564.

<sup>318</sup> Two huge historical sections regarding the battles of Badr and Uḥud are copied verbatim from al-Ṭabarī’s chronicle, and this including the chain of transmitters: *al-Aghānī*, vol. 4, p. 17 l 23–34, l 14 = al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1291 l 14–1348 l 5; *al-Aghānī*, vol. 14, p. 12 l 1–25, l 6 = al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1383 l 17–1430 l 12. Al-Ṭabarī’s omitted passages and some modifications have been disregarded.

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because the interpreters—contrary to the Prophet's explicit denial (sūras 21:5, 36:69, 52:30, 69:41)—considered the Prophet a poet, but is rather based on what has been said repeatedly, namely that apart from poetry the ancient Arabs did not possess a proper national literature.<sup>319</sup> We do not know who initiated the methodology. The tradition which claims to know for sure that Ibn 'Abbās made use of poetry to explain the Koran<sup>320</sup> does not deserve unconditional confidence, given what has become known of this man's personality.<sup>321</sup>

Although Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833) omitted many verses when editing Ibn Ishāq's *Sīra*,<sup>322</sup> it is precisely he who introduced all the lexicographic explanations of the Koran based on poetic quotations. As far as I can tell, this method was not imitated in the exegetic comments on later biographies of the Prophet, although it was adopted in later commentaries, as becomes obvious in al-Ṭabarī, al-Zamakhsharī, and al-Bayḍāwī. As a consequence, yet other books appeared that extracted the pieces of evidence (*shawāhid*) from the commentaries and then explained them philologically and historically (*sharḥ*).

<sup>319</sup> Cf. above, p. 318–319 sq. and 321.

<sup>320</sup> "I have it from Sa'īd b. Jubayr and Yūsuf b. Mihrān that Ibn 'Abbās was often consulted on the Koran. He then used to reply: The matter is such and such; did you not hear the poet who expressed himself in such and such a way?" Ibn Sa'īd (*al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, vol. 2, part 2): *Letzte Krankheit, Tod und Bestattung Muḥammads* [Muḥammad's last illness and death], pp. 2–5.

<sup>321</sup> Cf. above, p. 348 sq.

<sup>322</sup> Cf. above, p. 365.



## NINETEENTH-CENTURY CHRISTIAN RESEARCH

### *Criticism of the System of Tradition*

Even as Christian scholars throughout the entire Middle Ages and even right up until the modern era labelled the founder of Islam a swindler, impostor and false prophet, they still never thought to challenge the credibility of the Islamic tradition as such. The first European not only to acquire a precise knowledge of the vast material of the Arabic tradition but also to work successfully on the critical examination of its content was Aloys Sprenger. His pioneering work was published in 1856 in a variety of periodicals.<sup>1</sup> He later presented his ideas once more in the introduction to the third volume of his great work on the life of Muḥammad.<sup>2</sup> According to Sprenger, the systematic biography of the Prophet at its earliest stage consists almost totally of legends and stories that evolved not only from naïve beliefs but also from audacious fraud. Here the reports about Muḥammad's Companions are more reliable than those about him. The military campaigns that constitute the second part are generally not compiled, like the others, for entertainment and edification but rather for a candid interest in the course of events. The most important of the extant works are appropriately characterized, and the most valuable materials competently singled out. Finally, there is the recommendation to scholarship to dispose of dogmatic biography.<sup>3</sup> According to Sprenger, the canonical *ḥadīth* or the *sunna* evolved from the civil wars, but between 40/660 and 80/699 it advanced as rapidly as the conquests had earlier. One might safely assume that at the end of the first century AH the largest portion by far of the store of traditions was in the hands of competent men, and had already been formulated. Although the work of forgers like Ibn 'Abbās and Abū Hurayra cannot be underestimated, the *sunna* contains more truth than falsehood

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<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, vol. 25, pp. 53–74, 199–220, 303–329, 375–381, and *ZDMG*, vol. 10, pp. 1–17. [Biographical data on all of the scholars mentioned in this section can be found in *Concise Biographical Companion to Index Islamicus*, by W.H. Behn (Leiden, 2004–2006).]

<sup>2</sup> *Leben und Lehre des Mohammed*, vol. 3 (1865), 2nd ed. (1869), pp. i–clxxx.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., loc. cit., pp. lviii, lxi, lxiv, and lxxxvi.

and is—after the Koran and the documents—the most reliable of the historical sources.<sup>4</sup>

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William Muir follows in the footsteps of Sprenger, both of whom were members of the Anglo-Indian Civil Service. Muir, in his introduction to the first volume of his *Life of Mahomet*,<sup>5</sup> lucidly explains the reasons that determined or might have determined the rise and change of the traditions. He strongly emphasizes the tendencies that grew out of party, tribal or family policies, nationalist interests, dogmatic prejudice or Christian and Jewish influences. Whatever he lacked in the way of geniality, imagination, and erudition compared to his predecessor he made up for with sober judgement, better historical methodology, and orderly presentation, looking far more critically at the sources and abandoning many things that were beyond the least doubt to Sprenger. Nevertheless, the confidence with which Muir approached transmitted reports is still very considerable, and this mood prevailed as a common heritage among scholars almost to the end of the nineteenth century. As late as 1879 the important Dutch Arabist and historian, R.P.A. Dozy, still considered nearly half of al-Bukhārī to be a historical document.<sup>6</sup>

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A decisive change, and a new course, did not occur until the publication of the second volume of *Muhammedanische Studien*<sup>7</sup> of the brilliant Hungarian scholar, Ignaz Goldziher, whose erudition surpasses that of even Sprenger, and who had mastered the Islamic history of state, culture, and dogmas better than anyone else. Based on such a broad spectrum, he was able not only to deepen our knowledge of the tendentious nature of *ḥadīth* and illuminate with a multitude of convincing examples, but also to investigate the theoretical and practical developments of the manner of transmission throughout the centuries. Every current and counter-current in the life of Islam found expression in the form of *ḥadīth*. This applies to political

<sup>4</sup> Cf., loc. cit., pp. lxxxii sq., lxxxvii, lxxxix, and civ.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. xxvii–cv.

<sup>6</sup> R.P.A. Dozy, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'islamisme*, p. 124.

<sup>7</sup> Halle, 1890, pp. 1 to 274; English translation, *Muslim studies*, Chicago, 1977, pp. 1–251, under the special subtitle, “On the development of the *ḥadīth*.” The course of the study is evident from the chapter headings: (1) *Ḥadīth* and *sunna*; (2) Umayyads and ‘Abbāsids; (3) The *Ḥadīth* in its relation to the conflicts of the parties in Islam; (4) The reaction against the fabrication of *ḥadīths*; (5) The *ḥadīth* as a means of edification and entertainment; (6) *Ṭalab al-ḥadīth*; (7) The writing down of the *ḥadīth*; (8) The *Ḥadīth* literature. A valuable addition is Goldziher’s article “Neue Materialien zur Litteratur des Ueberlieferungswe-sens.”

parties and social schools as well as to canonical differences and dogmatic quarrels. Up to a certain degree, Muslims of the second century admit to the existence and justification of false *ḥadīths*, and that it was legitimate for the moral benefit of the people and the advancement of piety to fabricate and circulate sayings of the Prophet. Among the rich content of this epoch-making work might also be noted the exposition of the basis of Islamic criticism of *ḥadīth*, which clings to the formalities of the *isnād*, as well as the vivid description of the main collections of *ḥadīth*, a task which no one before him ever attempted.<sup>8</sup> Although Goldziher was mainly concerned with the legal *ḥadīth*, his methodology could easily be applied to the historical tradition, where it would exert an extraordinary influence and result in a complete revolution in approach. Whereas up to his time every tradition was sound until proven otherwise, research has gradually gotten used to the reverse point of view.

The first scholar to apply Goldziher's methodology to prominent personalities of the early Islamic period was Theodor Nöldeke.<sup>9</sup> In the *Prolegomena* to the first volume of the *Annali dell'islam*, Leone Caetani enlarged upon Goldziher's principles, with special reference to historical sources. Caetani paid particular attention to the *isnād*, investigating more deeply these peculiar introductions to the transmissions in the most important sources and trying to learn details about the individualities named in the transmitting links in the chain of authorities, particularly the suspected forgers, Ibn 'Abbās and Abū Hurayra, and their reputation as collectors and literates.<sup>10</sup> Based on this preliminary investigation, Caetani submitted several incidents in the biography of the Prophet to an original and severe criticism, even though he occasionally went a bit too far.<sup>11</sup>

The most radical contemporary scholar in this respect is Henri Lammens, S.J., who continues Goldziher and Caetani, combining enormous erudition with splendid powers of discernment. He put down his views in the following sentences:

1. The Koran supplies the only historical basis of the *sīra*.
2. The tradition does not offer an addition but rather an apocryphal development.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. pp. 125, 149, 136–144, and 189–251.

<sup>9</sup> "Zur tendenziösen Gestaltung der Urgeschichte des Islam's."

<sup>10</sup> *Annali dell'islam*, vol. 1, pp. 28–58.

<sup>11</sup> Nöldeke pointed out many of these exaggerations in his review of the first two volumes of Caetani's work in *WZKM*, 21, 297–312. I replied to some of Caetani's remarkable findings above, p. 229 sq. and 281. See also above, pp. 83 sqq. on *sūras* 53:19 sqq., and 22:51.

3. The merit of a tradition corresponds to the extent of its independence from the Koran.
4. As far as the Medinan period is concerned, the existence of a vague oral tradition must be admitted.<sup>12</sup>

[ii/197] These theses are partial and exaggerated because the body of traditions needs to be enlarged, because there are traditions that accompany Koranic revelations,<sup>13</sup> and because the fabricated traditions are so diverse that a Koranic source alone would seem most unlikely. The investigation of Lammens' evidence is no more than a confirmation, for among the different groups into which he classifies the subjects of narration, there is only one—the first of Muḥammad's revelations—which can be traced back to Koranic allusions, while in the case of the others—childhood history, age,<sup>14</sup> number of sons, campaigns—there are still other non-Koranic sources to be considered, including the case of the names, wives, and personality of the Prophet (*shamā'il*), where there is hardly any connection with the Koran at all. Lammens' main mistake is that, for no apparent reason, he generalizes correct, individual observations, partly already made by others, and inexplicably overextends them as a principle.<sup>15</sup> I referred previously to the narratives of origin that are not, as they would have us believe, based on an accompanying tradition; rather they are the product of the learned exegesis of the Koran.<sup>16</sup>

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*The Christian Biographers of the Prophet*

Corresponding to the judgement of the Arab tradition, with which we have just acquainted ourselves, the Occidental works on the life of Muḥammad can be divided into three periods: (1) the unbroken rule of tradition until the middle of the nineteenth century (Sprenger); (2) the period of incipient criticism of individual parts of the transmission; and (3) the period of systematic criticism of the entire tradition.

<sup>12</sup> H. Lammens, "Qoran et tradition, comment fut composée la vie de Mahomet."

<sup>13</sup> See above, p. 341sq.

<sup>14</sup> This topic Lammens treated a bit later in a separate article, "L'âge de Mohamet ..."

<sup>15</sup> C.H. Becker in "Islam": annual bibliographic report, p. 540sq., anticipates the outright self-dissolution of historical criticism because of Lammens' excessive scepticism. For more detailed criticism of Lammens' exaggerations see Th. Nöldeke, "Die Tradition über das Leben Muhammeds" in *Der Islam* [the tradition about the life of Muhammad], vol. 5. pp. 160–170.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. also above, p. 341sq.

## I.

The first period covers the entire Middle Ages to the middle of the nineteenth century. A comprehensive exposition of the period would be a worthwhile socio-historical research project.<sup>17</sup> Relevant for us are only those writers who had access to Oriental sources and who tried to reach a competent judgement free of prejudice. Among the earliest of them we count Johann H. Hottinger of Zürich,<sup>18</sup> the Italian L. Marracci,<sup>19</sup> and the Dutchman Reland (Reeland).<sup>20</sup> No one, however, regardless of personal prejudice—considering Muḥammad to be the most criminal of all men and the greatest sworn enemy of God—was more objective than the Frenchman Jean Gagnier.<sup>21</sup> He thought that he would best serve truth if he could acquaint Europeans with what Muslims themselves said about the Prophet, and therefore considered it appropriate to add a series of translations from Arabic sources. Of course, he only had access to late writers like Abū l-Fidāʾ (d. 732/1332), and al-Jannābī (d. 999/1590). He personally added nothing, neither praise nor blame, neither doubt nor conjecture; only the connecting sentences of the different accounts are his own. Nearly four generations of writers learned from this wealth of information, each of them deriving what he considered correct according to his subjective opinion and omitting what was contrary to his views or prejudice.

The *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes* (1847–1848) of Armand P. Caussin de Perceval can be considered a modern version of Gagnier. In addition to enlarging the scope to include pre-Islamic Arabia in more detail and covering the conversion of Arabia down to the time of Abū Bakr, he also distinguishes himself from Gagnier by using more comprehensive and older sources, which he presents with more liberty, albeit while retaining all the peculiarities.

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The first scholar to apply the historical-critical method to the history of the Prophet is the Heidelberg Orientalist, Gustav Weil.<sup>22</sup> That I still consider him part of the first period is because he knew only very little of the Arabic

<sup>17</sup> August Fischer in “Nachträge”: An exposition of the Occidental appreciation of the Prophet as suggested by Schwally is now available from Hans Haas, “Das Bild Muhammeds im Wandel der Zeiten,” [the image of Muḥammad in the course of time] and from Ernest Renan, *Études d'histoire religieuse*, 2nd ed. (1857), p. 222 sqq.

<sup>18</sup> *Historia orientalis* (1651), 2nd ed. (1660); see also *Concise biographical companion to Index Islamicus*, by W.H. Behn (2004–2006), s.v.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, s.v.

<sup>20</sup> Adriaan Reland, 1676–1718; *ibid.*, s.v.

<sup>21</sup> *La vie de Mahomet* (1732).

<sup>22</sup> *Mohammed der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre* (1843).

sources, did not have a clue about the Muslim criticism of traditions, and therefore could conceive the idea of taking a position in all of this. The main sources he used are three late Arabic works: an excerpt from Ibn Hishām by ‘Imād al-Dīn (Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm) AL-WĀSITĪ (711/1311),<sup>23</sup> the *Taʾrīkh al-khamīs* (982/1574)<sup>24</sup> of al-Diyārbakrī, and *al-Ḥalabiyya* (1043/1633)<sup>25</sup> of ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm AL-ḤALABĪ, the last two works containing much old and good information. Weil’s lasting merit is that he recognized the importance of the Koran as a historical source for the life of the Prophet and made use of it accordingly. Although his book represents a great advance, it became conspicuously out-dated soon after its appearance. The reason for this is that other biographies of the Prophet quickly appeared whose authors had better sources at their disposal, criticizing not only the reported facts but also making the very sources the object of their criticism, and who, last but not least, substantially surpassed the complacent Heidelberg professor in terms of knowledge, ability, and sense of history.

## II.

[ii/200] These advantages become immediately apparent in Aloys Sprenger’s *Life of Mohammed*, even though it covers only the period up to Muḥammad’s appearance at Medina. Apart from the prime sources of Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī, Sprenger knows not only all the important Arabic works enumerated above but also many more, both from manuscripts and from lithographs of *ḥadīth* collections. He displays an unrivalled knowledge of the sources, combined with a penetrating critical approach to the literature, illuminating its genesis and character as no one had before him. Although his book in English remained unfinished, ten years later he produced a far more comprehensive work in German<sup>26</sup> that opened a new era of biography of the Prophet. It is of epic importance, as it is the first attempt to utilize not only the whole spectrum of native tradition but also to determine its merit as a source of history. Even apart from this, however, the work eclipses everything hitherto written, both in form as well as content. Since he attributes the influence of Islam mainly to the spirit of the age, he attempts to supply as many details as possible, and presents as many actors as possible, with their words and actions. The only thing he seems to have learned from Weil is the

<sup>23</sup> Ibn Hishām, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, p. xlvi; and Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 162.

<sup>24</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 381.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 307.

<sup>26</sup> *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad* (1861–1865). See already above, p. 369.

utilization of the Koran as the main source for the biography of Muḥammad. Yet he goes far beyond Weil and includes nearly two thirds of the Holy Book in translation. He was the first scholar to recognize (vol. 3, p. 20 sqq., and pp. 359–475) the importance of Muḥammad's Constitution of Medina (Ibn Hishām, p. 341 sqq.)<sup>27</sup> for the development of the ecclesiastical state as well as the usefulness of the section on Muḥammad's diplomatic negotiations with the Arab tribes in the *Sīra* of Ibn Sa'd for the history of Islamic missionary activity. Additionally, there is his natural perception for the driving forces of life and history, his eminent ability to understand the soul of the actors of the past, his startling, brilliant inspirations, and his vivid, intelligent style. Opposing these brilliant virtues there are—albeit not as importantly—still considerable deficiencies. Most annoying is the chequered medley of narrative and critical discussion, a clear indication that the author had not yet mastered the material. His animated spirit continuously interferes with the course of the methodical investigation. In the case of the fundamentals of Muslim criticism of tradition, his unbelievable familiarity with the sources tempted him to a greater calm than permissible. His rationalism is unable to comprehend Muḥammad's naïve, religious self-confidence. And, finally, his philological precision when interpreting Arabic texts leaves something to be desired.

This unbelievable erudition, which Sprenger had already displayed in 1851, when he published his *Life of Mohammad*, he could obtain only in a country like India, where a goldmine of manuscripts could be had and the most important collections of *ḥadīth* were readily available as lithographs. His inquisitive character enabled him to discover in dusty libraries important works by, among others, al-Wāqidi, Ibn Sa'd, and portions of al-Ṭabarī's *annals*, to encourage others to publish them alone or in cooperation with Indian scholars,<sup>28</sup> and then to animate the editors of these works. When he finally returned to Europe in 1858, he brought back with him probably the most systematic and comprehensive collection of Oriental manuscripts and printed books that have ever come from the Orient. After the collection passed to the Königlische Bibliothek, Berlin, it was instrumental in inaugurating a new era of Islamic studies in Germany.

In the same year that the first volume of Sprenger's German biography of Muḥammad was published, the last—fourth—volume of an English work

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<sup>27</sup> An English translation from the Dutch appears as an appendix to A.J. Wensinck's *Muhammad and the Jews of Medina* (1975), pp. 128–138.

<sup>28</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, 1852–1854; al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 1855; Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba*, 1856–1893.

on the same subject appeared.<sup>29</sup> Its author, William Muir, was also a member of the Anglo-Indian Civil Service. He naturally bases his work on Sprenger's earlier work, to whom he is also indebted for pointing out the classic sources al-Wāqidī, Ibn Hishām, and al-Ṭabarī. He otherwise pursues completely independent research and insists on his own judgement. As far as erudition, powers of discernment, and spirit is concerned, however, he is no rival to his predecessor. Compensating somewhat for this inferiority, he displays more composure in the line of argument, more methodology, and a great deal more common sense—supposedly so rare among scholars—which in many cases gives him a better conception of events and the reliability of tradition than Sprenger possesses.<sup>30</sup> For this reason Muir is the better guide for the layman. The dogmatic prejudice that prompted him to claim in earnest that Muḥammad was moved by the spirit of Satan and not of God is not disturbing, since it has no bearing on the course of his exposition and, in general, he interprets properly the contradictory actions of the Prophet.

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Nöldeke's popular booklet, *Das Leben Muhammeds*,<sup>31</sup> is based on his independent research, which is explained in the first edition of his *Geschichte des Qorāns*. With its fortunate combination of critical approach and a plain and charming style, it is unsurpassed to this day. As Wellhausen expressed it at the time,<sup>32</sup> anyone wanting to study the historical Muḥammad without access to the Arabic original sources would be well advised to resort to this little book along with Wellhausen's abridged German version of al-Wāqidī rather than consulting Sprenger's great work. It goes without saying that after more than fifty years, and the great advances in our knowledge, particularly in the criticism of tradition, some of the views are outdated.

Reinhart Dozy<sup>33</sup> has an eye for the characteristics of personality of the historical actors, although without the ability to penetrate deeper, with the result that too often he succumbs to tradition and frequently includes it verbatim in his narration. He is constantly surprised that there are so many authentic reports in the collections of *ḥadīth*, and he maintains that even by

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<sup>29</sup> William Muir, *The Life of Mahomet*. See already above, p. 370. [August Fischer in "Nachträge": William Muir, *The Life of Mahomet from original sources*, 2nd ed., London, 1876, 3rd ed., London, 1894, and William Muir, *The Life of Mohammad from original sources*, a new and rev. ed. by T.H. Weir, Edinburgh, 1912, cxix, 556 p. constitute a one-volume excerpt from the author's great work.]

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. 1, p. lii, and Sprenger, *Leben und die Lehre*, vol. 1, p. xiv.

<sup>31</sup> *Das Leben Muhammeds nach den Quellen populär dargestellt*.

<sup>32</sup> *Muhammed in Medina; das ist Waqidī's Kitāb al Maghazi in verkürzter deutscher Wiedergabe*, preliminary excursus, p. 20.

<sup>33</sup> *Essai sur l'histoire de l'islamisme*, pp. 1–132.



strictest criteria half of al-Bukhārī ought to be included (see already above, p. 332). Conversely, the best of sources, like Ibn Hishām, who had long been published, he by no means explores sufficiently.

Of his predecessors Ludolf Krehl<sup>34</sup> utilizes mostly Sprenger and Weil. He allots a disproportionately large space to psychological reflections on the reasons that guided the Prophet in his actions. He does not seem to have been able to deal with the subject adequately.

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Leopold von Ranke<sup>35</sup> makes use of not only the entire literature but also the sources that were available in translation, and he generally presents an accurate picture. Despite the conciseness of the presentation, however, even our great historian was unable to advance research; due to the peculiarity of the subject, the universal approach was of little help. Where excessive brevity might lead can best be seen on p. 84sq., where the merciless slaughter of the Jewish Qurayza<sup>36</sup> is considered typical of Muḥammad's treatment of the Jews.

Chapters two to four on Muḥammad in August Müller's well-known *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland* [Islam in Orient and Occident], vol. 1, pp. 44–207, are a bright and elegant summary of earlier research rather than a product of a thorough study of the sources. In several instances this offered the clever author the opportunity to view old facts from new and surprising perspectives.

Hubert Grimme, in the first part of his *Mohammed; das Leben nach den Quellen*,<sup>37</sup> is more or less limited to the Koran, taking hardly any notice of tradition, even in the case of important and controversial problems. The goal of reaching his own conclusion independently of predecessors is commendable. Unfortunately, not all of his original interpretations are equally well documented. This applies particularly to his main argument that "Islam did not at all appear as a religious system but rather as a socialist attempt to counteract a certain predominantly bad secular state of affairs."<sup>38</sup> He pretty much gets the logic reversed here that from the beginning, and exclusively, Muḥammad's sermons at Mecca had a religious orientation, and

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<sup>34</sup> *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muhammad*. The projected second part of the study on Muḥammad's teaching has never been published.

<sup>35</sup> *Die arabische Weltherrschaft und das Reich Karls des Großen*, pp. 49–103.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 508, col. 1.

<sup>37</sup> *Darstellungen aus dem Gebiete der nichtchristlichen Religionen*, no. 7: A Catholic compilation.

<sup>38</sup> Grimme, p. 14; cf. in general pp. 14–21, 29–31, and 39sq. The book has been thoroughly reviewed by Chr. Snouck Hurgronje in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 30 (1894), pp. 48–70, and 149–178.

that *zakāt* (= *ṣadaqa*, *sūra* 9:60) was not introduced as communal tax until Medina, and even in this case not mainly as a relief for the poor but in order to cover the expenses of the military campaigns. The second part of the author's projected work was conceived as a supplement to the biography and would have followed up the genesis and development of Muḥammad's religious ideas throughout his life, and explained the inner as well as outer causes. But instead, after a brief survey of the origin of the Koran, he supplies us with the system of Koranic theology.<sup>39</sup>

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In another monograph that was published ten years later,<sup>40</sup> Grimme firmly maintains the erroneous opinion that Muḥammad was a social reformer (pp. 48, 54, 58, 64, and 73). In the later work, however, this opinion recedes into the background behind his new discovery of the South Arabian origin of Islam: based on an image of South Arabia that is both subjective and fantastic, and which he creates for himself, he considers Muḥammad's earlier Meccan ideas as a reflection of the South Arabian spirit (p. 48). His concept of God resembles that of the South Arabian monotheists (p. 49), whose own designation is preserved in the "Sabians" of the Koran (p. 49). His concept of the Other World—Paradise, Hell—is neither Jewish nor Christian, but rather continues the South Arabian idea of the "thither world" (p. 50). Islam and devotion are considered the renewal of the South Arabian divine slavery (p. 60), *zakāt* going back to South Arabian temple taxes (p. 60) and the prayer ritual also going back to similar ceremonies at the temple (p. 50). Also in other respects, Christian and Jewish influences are considered to have been totally absent from early Islam (p. 53). It is peculiar, however, that Muḥammad sent the hard pressed believers to Abyssinia but not to monotheistically inclined South Arabia (p. 55).

Grimme did not supply evidence for any of these daring assertions. Of course, centuries before Muḥammad's appearance in the Yemen there had been Christian and Jewish settlements, and Jewish ideas in particular left their mark in the odd places of heathendom. It is extremely unlikely, however, that Jewish and Christian ideas did not directly influence Muḥammad but rather reached him only in the watered down form in which they reached Yemenite heathendom. It would be equally unbelievable that, in this respect, Mecca was exclusively influenced from the south. After all, there were still many other Jewish and Christian centres more readily acces-

<sup>39</sup> *Mohammed*; 2nd part: *Einleitung in den Koran; System der koranischen Theologie*. The pages 1 to 29 are devoted to the introduction of the Koran.

<sup>40</sup> *Mohammed; die weltgeschichtliche Bedeutung Arabiens* (1904). [Muḥammad, the universal importance of Arabia.]

sible to the Meccans through their lively trade connections, not to mention Syria and particularly Abyssinia, which was so easily accessible by sea. The channels by which knowledge of the old revealed religions reached Mecca were as numerous and manifold as the meanderings of trade to this centre of commerce and pilgrimage. Grimme's attempt to eliminate this diversity in favour of the one "South Arabian" trail cannot be justified and must be considered a total failure.

Frants Buhl<sup>41</sup> very carefully utilizes European literature as well as the most important Arabic sources, reaching his own conclusions based on critical verification and producing a largely penetrating, acute, and thoughtful investigation. The first third of the work is devoted to Arab paganism; the rest consists of an appropriate survey of the original sources. His successful disentanglement of the contradictory statements regarding the Battle of Badr, and the emigration to Abyssinia may be added in passing. Such an objective and comprehensive book was long overdue, although its Danish garb will always be an obstacle to its wide recognition.

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David S. Margoliouth<sup>42</sup> makes the mistake of not appropriately considering all the important problems. The introduction of new material from hitherto untapped sources is no substitute, since the critical edition leaves something to be desired. On the other hand, it is an undeniable service that he—the very first scholar as far as I can see—draws a parallel between Mormonism and Islam.

### III.

The third period of Christian biographical writing on Muḥammad, which was inaugurated by the publication of the second volume of Ignaz Goldziher's *Muslim Studies* (1977), originally published in 1890 under the title *Muhammedanische Studien* (1890),<sup>43</sup> can be recognized first in the section on the Prophet in *Annali dell'islam* of Leone Caetani, Duke of Teano. This gigantic work<sup>44</sup> has a quite peculiar arrangement, combining the objectivity of a Gagnier or a Caussin de Perceval with the critical spirit of Sprenger. The author first of all mentions nearly all the sources in translation, printed as well as in manuscript form, and lists parallels, including important differ-

<sup>41</sup> *Muhammeds Liv; med en Indledning om Forholdene i Arabien før Muhammeds Optraeden*. København, 1903.

<sup>42</sup> *Mohammed and the rise of Islam*, 1905.

<sup>43</sup> English translation, *Muslim studies*, Chicago, 1977.

<sup>44</sup> *Annali dell'islam*, vol. 1 (xvi, 740 p.), vol. 2 (lxxviii, 1567 p.), vol. 3 (lxxxiii, 973 p.), vol. 4 (xxxv, 701 p.), vol. 5 (xxxvi, 532 p.), vol. 6 (viii, 218 p.), vol. 7 (lv, 600 p.).

ences. This huge collection is accompanied by pertinent explanations and, most importantly, by thorough critical elaborations of all sorts, testifying not only to his powers of discernment but also to his historical ingenuity. It is self-evident that incontestable results cannot be attained on such unsafe ground. Caetani supplemented and enlarged by independent observation Ignaz Goldziher's systematic theory of the criticism of tradition, as explained above, p. 371 sq. Strictly speaking, we are not dealing with a biography at all but rather with a preliminary study towards such an end.<sup>45</sup> Yet it must not be forgotten that we are still on the threshold of the third period of the European biographies of the Prophet.

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*Separate Studies in History and Interpretation*<sup>46</sup>

Recent research in the relation of the Koran to Judaism begins with Abraham Geiger's pioneering work on Muḥammad's borrowing from Judaism.<sup>47</sup> Its results were quickly accepted but, unfortunately, Jewish theologians of the following generation did not continue the study, either because of a lack of interest or insufficient Arabic studies or both. The first scholar who wanted to follow in Geiger's footsteps—after nearly half a century—is Hartwig Hirschfeld, whose doctoral research focused on the Jewish elements in the Koran.<sup>48</sup> Israel Schapiro was planning a collection of all the Haggadic elements in the Koran but so far only the first part has been published, i.e., his Straßburg doctoral thesis on the Sūra Joseph (12).<sup>49</sup> Everything that he offers does not serve to throw light on the Koran itself but only on its interpretation. A timely rewriting of Geiger's work would be highly desirable. Its 1902 reprint, falsely called a revised edition, is a regrettable mistake.

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The situation is far worse when it comes to Christian elements of the Koran, which have not seen any comprehensive treatment at all. Karl Friedrich Gerock's presentation of the Christology of the Koran of 1839,<sup>50</sup> which

<sup>45</sup> [August Fischer in "Nachträge": The main features of a biography of Muḥammad are to be found on pp. 1 to 325 of the third volume of Caetani's *Studi di storia orientale* (Milano, 1914, ix, 431 p.). The content of this volume is supplied on the title page: "La biografia di Maometto profeta ed nomo di stato.—Il principio del califfato.—La conquista d' Arabia."]

<sup>46</sup> In view of the large scope of the relevant writings an exact subject arrangement is impossible. For this reason the following observations appear in chronological order.

<sup>47</sup> *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*

<sup>48</sup> *Jüdische Elemente im Korân* (1878). [August Fischer in "Nachträge": a revised and enlarged edition entitled *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Korâns* appeared in 1886.]

<sup>49</sup> *Die haggadischen Elemente im erzählenden Teil des Korans* (1907).

<sup>50</sup> *Versuch einer Darstellung der Christologie des Koran* (1839) is probably a recast of his 1833 doctoral thesis, *Al-Coranus prophetici muneris Christi laudatur*.

after the progress in ecclesiastic history is completely insufficient, should have been replaced long ago. It still has not dawned on theologians, however, that Islam is part of Church history.

An enormous advance in every respect is the work of the Dutch scholar Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, distinguished by profound acquaintance with the sources, a sense of historicity, penetrating criticism, and persistent logical line of argument. In his doctoral study on the Meccan pilgrimage<sup>51</sup> he convincingly demonstrates that all Koranic passages referring to Islam as the “religion of Abraham” make sense only in the context of Muḥammad’s Medinan period. When he experienced there the disappointment that the “People of the Book,” whose religion he had considered his own, did not want to recognize him, he started to look for an alternative that, on the one hand, did not in principle contest his earlier Meccan revelations but, on the other hand, could not as easily be challenged by the People of the Book as were his statements regarding Moses and Jesus. So he clung to the religion of Abraham, who, on account of his justice and faith, was equally respected by Jews and Christians, but who both had only vague notions of his religion. In another important article<sup>52</sup> he explains the genesis of the word *zakāt*, which was originally used with the meaning of charity and only later applied to the new institution of communal tax. In the detailed review of Grimme’s *Mohammed*,<sup>53</sup> Snouck Hurgronje does not limit himself to pointing out the errors in the book but also considers also other problems of the biography of the Prophet.

Ignaz Goldziher’s pioneering *Muhammedanische Studien*, as well as other writings that treat the bases of the contemporary criticism of tradition, have been acknowledged above in connection with research on the reliability of the Arabic sources.<sup>54</sup>

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To the classic researchers belongs also the late Julius Wellhausen, who most successfully combined ingenious intuition with all conceivable merits in his research and descriptive power. His very first Arabist work, the German version of al-Wāqidi,<sup>55</sup> displays in the preface a remarkable competence regarding the sources, their European editors, and the ability to present profitable remarks even on thorny subjects like chronology. In the

<sup>51</sup> *Het Mekkaansche feest* (1880), pp. 28–48. Cf. also above, pp. 106, 127, 135. [An English translation is being prepared by the translator, and expected to be published in 2012.]

<sup>52</sup> “Nieuwe bijdragen tot de kennis van den Islam,” pp. 357–421.

<sup>53</sup> “Une nouvelle biographie de Mohammed” see above, p. 377 n. 38.

<sup>54</sup> *Muhammedanische Studien*, zweiter Teil (Halle, 1890), and its English translation, *Muslim studies*, vol. 2 (Chicago, 1977.)

<sup>55</sup> *Muhammed in Medina* (1882); cf. above, p. 323.

last chapters of his study on the remnants of Arab heathendom, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*,<sup>56</sup> he supplies an illustrative survey of the cultural and religious preconditions for the development of Islam, concluding with the proof that the most decisive influences upon Muḥammad at Mecca came from Christianity and not from Judaism. The fourth part (*Heft*) of *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*<sup>57</sup> consists of three consecutively paginated fundamental treatises. In the first of these—*Medina vor dem Islam* [pre-Islamic Medina]—he disentangles the most complicated conditions of settlement and the political conditions of the tribes around Medina. The other two parts—*Muḥammads Gemeideordnung von Medina* [Muḥammad's constitution of Medina] and Ibn Sa'd's *Seine* [Muḥammads] *Schreiben, und die Gesandtschaften an ihn* [Muḥammad's correspondence and official letters to him]—supply evidence of the authenticity of these documents and put in proper perspective the importance of the political and diplomatic means which Muḥammad used to establish the Medinan theocracy. These pioneering works might have been still more important if his distinct artistic and aesthetic inclination had not led him to supply presentations of his view rather than investigations.

[ii/211] Otto Pautz displays scrupulous accuracy but little spirit in his doctoral study on Muḥammad's dogma of revelation.<sup>58</sup> He is able neither to master his material nor to work out problems. The work can be recommended only as a collection of source material.

[ii/212] Herman Theodorus Obbink's Utrecht doctoral study on the Holy War according to the Koran<sup>59</sup> relates the manifold phases of the notion of *jihād* by connecting them with Muḥammad's changing mood in his conversion and martial policies, and finally notices that the establishment of the obligatory *jihād* for proper salvation can be observed only in the latest of the Koranic passages.

Hartwig Hirschfeld<sup>60</sup> is the first scholar after Gustav Weil<sup>61</sup> and Theodor Nöldeke<sup>62</sup> to study independently and thoroughly the construction, content, and style of the sūras. His sagacity, however, generally degenerates into excessive subtlety, losing track of the simple and obvious things. Unfortunately, his work also displays such a glaring lack of historicity that my

<sup>56</sup> 1st ed. (1887), pp. 171–212; 2nd ed. (1897), pp. 208–242.

<sup>57</sup> Berlin, 1889.

<sup>58</sup> *Muḥammads Lehre von der Offenbarung quellenmäßig untersucht* (Leipzig, 1898).

<sup>59</sup> *De heilige oorlog volgens den Koran*.

<sup>60</sup> *New researches into the composition and exegesis of the Qoran*.

<sup>61</sup> *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran* (1902).

<sup>62</sup> *Geschichte des Qorâns* (1860).

checking of the first and second parts nearly always led to the rejection of his findings.<sup>63</sup> However, no future researcher can ignore such a serious book that, even despite its misleading elements, still remains instructive.

Charles Torrey<sup>64</sup> collects the theological expressions of the Koran derived from the commercial language and attempts to draw religious-historical conclusions. But since this linguistic usage—as the author himself admits—is evenly distributed throughout the Koran, it was impossible to get a lead on either the development of Koranic ideas or the chronology of the sūras. The researches in the law of family, slavery and inheritance in the Koran, which Robert Roberts<sup>65</sup> pursued, would have led to the same conclusions. In any case, he lacked knowledge as well as ability.

The first two chapters of Arent Jan Wensinck's *Muḥammad and the Jews of Medina*<sup>66</sup> (1928) produced most valuable contributions to the topography of ancient Yathrib and Muḥammad's constitution of Medina, the traces of which he follows with good fortune not only in the *Sīra*, where Leone Caetani<sup>67</sup> had already achieved preliminary results, but also in the *ḥadīth* collections of al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Nasā'ī, Abū Dā'ūd [al-Sijistānī], and al-Dāmīrī. The two subsequent chapters discuss the Jewish influence upon the Islamic cult and subject to drastic and fruitful criticism the reports on Muḥammad's policy against the Jews after the Battle of Badr.

Rudolf Leszynsky, in his history of the Jews in Arabia,<sup>68</sup> bases his study on original sources, to which he makes abundant references. In spite of this, the work is a popular account. He focuses mainly on the justification of the derogatory references to Arabian Jewry in the sources as well as in Occidental editions. In doing so, however, he transgresses the limits of historical objectivity and becomes such a passionate panegyrist of his co-religionists that most of his vindications are off the mark. This applies above all to the attempt—contrary to Sprenger, but particularly to Wellhausen—to assign once again the first place in the development of Islam to Judaism (pp. 36–46), which is made so much easier for him by the fact that he is totally ignorant of the history of Christianity. Among the many follies to

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<sup>63</sup> Hirschfeld, loc. cit., cf. part 1, pp. 10, 31, 73sq., 81, 96, 108, 126, 155; and part 2, p. 77sq.

<sup>64</sup> *The commercial-theological terms in the Qur'an* (Leiden, 1892), 51 p. (Dr. phil. Universität Straßburg).

<sup>65</sup> *Das Familien-, Sklaven- und Erbrecht im Qorân* (Dr. phil., Leipzig, 1907). The English translation, *The social laws of the Qorân, considered and compared with those of the Hebrew and other ancient codes*, was published in 1971.

<sup>66</sup> Originally published in 1908 at Leiden entitled *Muhammed en de Joden te Medina*.

<sup>67</sup> *Annali dell'islam*, vol. 1, p. 376sq.

<sup>68</sup> *Die Juden in Arabien zur Zeit Mohammeds* (1910).

which his partisanship led him let us merely add that he considered a document found at a synagogue in old Cairo and granting unbelievable privileges to the Jews of Khaybar and Maqnā to be genuine even though its falseness was materially obvious (p. 104 sq).

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We are obliged to Henri Lammens, S.J., professor at the Pontificio Istituto Biblico di Roma, for several works distinguished by splendid powers of discernment and phenomenal acquaintance with the sources, albeit not devoid of excessive scepticism, inconsistency, and religious partiality. Muḥammad's sincere belief in his divine mission, which Lammens declares to be psychologically impossible,<sup>69</sup> is the unconditional precondition of his lasting success and cannot be shaken by some of his moral lapses. In the comprehensive monograph on Fāṭima and Muḥammad's<sup>70</sup> other daughters, Lammens, although he knows perfectly well how to present the pleasant and sympathetic character traits of the respective persons as tendentious flattery, blindly takes over from the sources everything ghastly and unfavourable, making Fāṭima and 'Alī into true caricatures. Muḥammad is presented to us as a pompous oriental prince, a heavy eater, and doting on children. This is naturally as exaggerated as the traditions that emphasize the wretched poverty of the Prophet's household. As can be seen from these examples, Lammens' respective works must be used with great discretion, although even in cases where they are provocative they are yet a mine of knowledge and stimulation. Less reproachable are the results of the first volume of his *Le Berceau de l' Islam, l' Arabie à la veille de l' hégire; le climat, les Bédouins*, which deals with the natural and cultural presuppositions of Islam, since this work concerns not persons but things and institutions. It is also here that the author displays his genius in brilliant colours when creating a colourful and illustrative mosaic from thousands of notes.

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Eduard Meyer,<sup>71</sup> in his study on the origin and history of the Mormons, with excursions on the beginnings of Islam and Christianity, draws an informative parallel between the appearance of Muḥammad and Joseph Smith, the founder of the Mormons, and with his superior historical discernment frequently comprehends many elements better than the specialists. Yet he goes too far when, on the basis of Smith's visions, he attempts to throw more light on the meaning and course of the earliest revelations of Muḥammad. The statements of the Koran are not unequivocal, and Muslim tradition, which is based solely on its interpretation, is of no independent value. When the

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<sup>69</sup> "Mahomet fut-il sincère?" in *Recherches de science religieuses* (1911).

<sup>70</sup> *Fāṭima et les filles de Mahomet*.

<sup>71</sup> *Ursprung und Geschichte der Mormonen* (1912).



author, just like August Müller, considers “the Garden of the Refuge” (sūra 53:15) to be a locality near Mecca, not only is the Arabic text of sūra 79:35 contrary to this, but so also is the total absence of a Meccan local tradition. In insisting on the alleged meaning of “to read” of the Arabic *qara’a* he went a bit too far, since, in spite of Wellhausen, “to recite” is the only correct translation. The other possible translation, “to read aloud,” generally also goes too far, since the Heavenly Tablets [*lawḥ mahfūz*] are always in the background of Muḥammad’s revelation, although it is nowhere explicitly said in the Koran that he himself deciphered the writing of these tablets. It is equally unclear which original the Prophet must—in sūra 96:1, the starting-point of the entire controversy—recite or read aloud from: the Heavenly Tablets directly or from his own written notes. In the latter case, which 96:4 would seem to suggest, it would be completely impossible to attribute the sūra to the early period, let alone consider it the earliest revelation of all.

The Swedish scholar Tor Andrae<sup>72</sup> traces the perception of Muḥammad’s personality—as reflected in his book on the teaching and belief of Muḥammad’s community—down to the final stages, culminating in the cult of the Prophet. The author deserves credit for having dealt with a subject that was only accidentally touched upon now and then in articles and books and that, on the other hand, presupposes a considerable acquaintance with the Arabic literature of several centuries. Here, I must limit myself to concentrating on those sections that are more closely connected with the biography of the Prophet: this is only half of the first chapter (pp. 26–63), which gathers the legendary parts of the earliest biographies—childhood, Night Journey to Jerusalem, Ascent to Heaven [*mi’rāj*], the disappearance at the end of the earthly course—and inquires into their origins, looking at them under the aspect of the history of religion and comparative folklore. The thoughtful introduction (pp. 1–25) represents a survey of the vacillations and contradictions of Muḥammad’s self-confidence. First of all are the difficulties created by his twofold conviction that he was the godlike harbinger of the approaching Final Judgement and the vehicle of the Heavenly Book. Equally successful is the proof that the Medinan period does not represent a break with Muḥammad’s religious past but rather a real religious continuation of his prophetic consciousness, particularly because of his military successes, first of all the Battle of Badr, the glorious victory of which he clearly interpreted as God’s blessing (sūra 8). Additionally, Muḥammad’s activity as a writer—which, by the way, had already started at Mecca—and as a

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<sup>72</sup> Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde* (1918).

law-giver, so characteristic for his Medinan period, are mentioned in connection with his belief in revealed religion in a very appealing psychological analysis. We must assume that the inspiration that initially appeared isolated in the Prophet's mental life as a super-human influence without conscious connections in time gradually established a liaison with the normal consciousness which, to a certain measure, eventually exerted psychic control (p. 19). This brief introduction displays such a sense of history, and such fine religious-psychological perception, that it would be a shame if the sketch did not lead one day to a comprehensive treatise.

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*The Exegesis of the Koran*

Up until the present day, commentaries on the Koran in the proper sense have not been written by Western scholars.<sup>73</sup> The exegetic results of such scholars are embedded either in the biographies of the Prophet or in a great variety of individual studies, as well as in the translations of the Koran, which, as a rule, are accompanied by a larger or lesser number of foot-notes. To the most respected works of this kind belongs the very first one, the *Refutatio Alcorani* of the Italian member of a religious order, Ludovico Marracci,<sup>74</sup> whose proficiency deserves particular praise as all of his Arabic was self-taught. The first part of the work, entitled *Prodromus*, contains a biography of the Prophet, an introduction to the Koran, and *Refutationes* made up of many chapters. His deserving successor is the English translation of the Koran by George Sale,<sup>75</sup> which, apart from its 143-page "preliminary discourse" in eight sections, is provided with numerous foot-notes from the best Arabic sources available at the time. The progress of scholarship after Marracci can best be seen in the absence of *refutationes* and that both Sale's preliminary discourse and the foot-notes are based on a larger historical knowledge and more impartial judgement. Both works are the mine that supplied and still supplies later writers with their wisdom. Until quite recent times, Sale's translation saw numerous new editions in England. Already in 1746 it was translated into German by Theodor Arnold and stimulated

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<sup>73</sup> (August Fischer in "Nachträge": It is quite likely that Schwally here purposely omitted E.M. Werry's mediocre *Comprehensive commentary on the Qurán, comprising Sale's translation and preliminary discourse, with additional notes and emendations, together with a complete index*. London, Trübner's Oriental Series, 1882–1886. 4 v. viii, 391, 407, 414, 340 p. New ed., London, 1896. 4 v.)

<sup>74</sup> Patavii, 1698.

<sup>75</sup> London, 1734, and often reprinted until recent times in a variety of sizes and types.

the appearance of similar works, of which the Koran of professor Samuel F.G. Wahl<sup>76</sup> of Halle an der Saale is probably the most deserving achievement. The dependence of later German works on George Sale did not wane, although the explanations deteriorated successively and the introductions disappeared completely.

Ludwig Ullmann's literal translation was first published in 1840 and is the most widespread version in Germany; it can claim no other merit than that it lists in its notes Abraham Geiger's 1833 study on Muḥammad's borrowings from Judaism.<sup>77</sup> Some years later, the publisher commissioned the most competent man of the day, the previously mentioned Gustav Weil,<sup>78</sup> to write the missing introduction to the book, who for this purpose merely had to re-write the final chapter of his own biography of Muḥammad.<sup>79</sup>

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The posthumous work of the Orientalist and poet Friedrich Rückert<sup>80</sup> is quite an independent and elegant achievement, although his scholarly bases—since the editor, August Müller, did not bring them up-to-date—are somewhat dated, as they reflect the state of the art in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Rückert's philological interpretation of the texts is still under the spell of tradition, a basic mistake from which all the later translations down to the present day suffer. On top of this flaw, furthermore, not even the complete Koran was considered. The style leaves a mistaken impression of the original insofar as the long-winded and heavy sentences of the later sūras are subjected to an arrangement that is foreign to the original.<sup>81</sup> In spite of the great advances in Koranic research since George

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<sup>76</sup> His *Der Koran oder das Gesetz der Moslemen* is a new translation based on Friedrich E. Boysen's 1773 translation, with explanations, a historical introduction, and a complete index.

<sup>77</sup> See above, p. 380 n. 47.

<sup>78</sup> *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran*.

<sup>79</sup> August Fischer, "Nachträge und Berichtigungen," Seite ii/224; The lost page of Schwally's manuscript (cf. *Vorwort*, p. iv) is likely to have contained also the following three translations of the Koran: *Le Koran, traduction nouvelle par faite sur le texte arabe de Kazimirski* (1840), often reprinted with corrections; *The Koran*, translated by J.M. Rodwell (1876); *The Qur'an*, translated by E.H. Palmer (1880).

<sup>80</sup> *Der Koran* (1888).

<sup>81</sup> I am here in complete disagreement to August Müller who describes Rückert's method of translation as follows: "In any case, the rhymed prose used throughout the translation is a stroke of genius of the poet. The speech thus becomes endowed with that dignified tenor to which the original owes its arrangement, and much better than a strictly prose translation approaches the impression which the Koran must create when solemnly recited in religious usage." This verdict is valid with reference to the translation of the oldest of the sūras, which already in the original consist of short verses and more poetical buoyancy. It is known that as a translator Rückert was not always lucky. For example, he faithfully imitated metre and

Sale, there is to this day neither a translation nor interpretation in keeping with that state of science, as the best experts have shunned this duty, either because they were not interested in the easy parts or because the difficult aspects seemed to be insurmountable, provided, of course, that they were not simply discouraged *a priori* by the awful dreariness of large stretches of the Holy Book.

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rhyme of the poems of the *Ḥamāsa* but at the same time he completely destroyed the power of the originals.

## THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF THE KORAN<sup>1</sup>

### *The Consonantal Errors of the 'Uthmānic Text*

[iii/1]

From an early time Muslims themselves have realized that the text of the Koran edited at the commission of the Caliph 'Uthmān was not absolutely perfect. We possess a number of traditions that accuse it of outright errors,<sup>2</sup> of which the best known<sup>3</sup> says that 'Uthmān himself found incorrect expressions when looking at a copy of the final recension (وجد فيها حروفاً من اللحن) and allegedly said لا تغَيِّروها فإنَّ العرب<sup>6</sup> ستعربها بألسنتها لو كان الكاتب من تقيف<sup>4</sup> والمعلم<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Under the aspect of the Koranic exegesis Goldziher studied the history of the text of the Koran in his *Schools of Koranic commentators* (2006), pp. 1–35, and 171–182.

<sup>2</sup> Already Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 223 or 224/838 [EP; Sezgin, GAS, s.v.; Berlin Ms., Ahlwardt, no. 451, p. 7, l 7]) in the introduction to the section dealing with such traditions of his *K. al-Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, deals with the collection of the Koran (fol. 35<sup>v</sup>, sqq.) [cf. *Das K. al-Garīb al-muṣannaḥ von Abū 'Ubayd und seine Bedeutung für die nationalarabische Lexikographie*, by Ramaḍān 'Abd al-Tawwāb (München, 1962)]; further al-Dānī (d. 444/1052) in *Muqni'* (see below, p. 406) (*bāb* 21; cf. A.I. Silvestre de Sacy, "Notice du manuscrit no. 229 de la Bibliothèque impériale ...," p. 301sqq.); the author of *K. al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī* (fourth paragraph of the introduction); and al-Suyūṭī in *al-Iqtān* (*naw'*, 41, *tanbīh*, 3); finally (derived from *al-Itqān*), *Mevzu'at ul-'ulūm* (enlarged Turkish translation of Taşköprülüzade, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda* (Brockelmann, GAL, vol. 2, p. 426) of his son, Kemaleddin Mehmed, Constantinople (1313) vol. 2, p. 68sqq.). Among more specific sources al-Suyūṭī cites, apart from Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, the *K. a-Maṣāḥif* of ABŪ BAKR Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ashtah AL-IṢBAHĀNĪ (d. 360/970); Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 229, and on the *nisba*, al-Suyūṭī, *al-Bughya*, p. 59; Ibn al-Jazarī, *K. al-Naṣr fi l-qir'āt al-'aṣr*, Ms. [Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*,] no. 657, fol. 17<sup>v</sup>.; the author seems to be identical with [ABŪ BAKR] Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh AL-IṢBAHĀNĪ of *Muqni'*, *bāb* 18 (cf. also *bāb* 2, *faṣl* 4); but first of all the *K. al-Radd 'alā man khālaḥa muṣḥaf 'Uthmān* of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim AL-ANBĀRĪ (d. 327 or 8/938 or 9; Brockelmann, GAL, vol. 1, pp. 119; [EP; Sezgin, GAS, vol. 9, p. 147, no. 6]) which has also been used in *al-Mabānī li-naẓm* هذه لم يوجد فيه هذا *المعلم من هذيل لم يوجد فيه هذه* *al-ma'ānī* (cf. I. Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, p. 25 sqq.).

<sup>3</sup> Abū 'Ubayd and from there *al-Itqān*; *Muqni'*; *Mevzut*;—the first part slightly different also *al-Mabānī fi naẓm al-ma'ānī*; *Nashr* (Berlin Ms., Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 657, fol. 173<sup>v</sup>.); al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 1, no. 4793 sq.; Ibn Khallikān, no. 516; etc.—the second part, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 1, no. 4795 (*Kanz al-'ummāl*, both from Ibn Abī Dā'ūd al-Sijistānī, <see p. 22, l 4> and Ibn al-Anbārī.)

<sup>4</sup> Thus Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim [Ibn Sallām], in other cases *المعلمي*.

<sup>5</sup> Variant (mentioned in the tradition itself) *ستتبعها*, other than these two, there are different misrepresentations.

<sup>6</sup> al-Dānī, *Muqni'* omits the لا and has *اتركوها*.

<sup>7</sup> al-Dānī, *Muqni' fi ma'rifat rasam maṣāḥif al-amṣār*, omits the لا and has *اتركوها*.

من هذيل لم يوجد فيه هذه الحروف “Do not change them because the Arabs will get it straight with their tongues; if the writer had been from the Thaqīf<sup>8</sup> and the dictating person from the Hudhayl these forms (expressions) would not occur there.” A second tradition<sup>9</sup> has ‘Ā’isha say the following with reference to the three [*sic*] passages, sūra 2:172 والموفون ... والصابرين (for والصابرون); sūra 4:160 والمؤمنون ... والمؤمنين ... والراستخون ... لكن المقيمون (for المقيمون and لكتن respectively, and always accusative); sūra 5:73 إِنَّ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا ... الصابئين (for والصابئين); and sūra 20:66 إِنَّ هَذَا عَمَلُ الْكُتَّابِ أَخْطَا<sup>10</sup> فِي الْكِتَابِ (for هذين), say الكتاب (هذين), “This is the work of the writers; they made errors when writing.”<sup>11</sup> Here it is linguistic consideration that raised objections to the text, while in other cases it is conceptual consideration. Thus, some consider—not without likelihood—sūra 24:27<sup>12</sup> and يسس (= يئس) sūra 13:30<sup>13</sup> as a spelling mistake for نستأذنون and يتبين or وقضى of sūra 17:24 to result from running ink in ووصى.<sup>14</sup> It is quite bold when sūra 24:35, because of the reservation that Allāh is too great for His light to be compared with that of a lamp, is simply termed an orthographic error for نور المؤمن.<sup>15</sup>

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All these traditions are already based on the notion that the ‘Uthmānic recension remains an irrevocable fact, even if it might be wrong. In the

<sup>8</sup> Also the Thaqīfite Umayya b. Abī l-Ṣalt praises the proficiency in writing of his clansmen (fragment, no. 1, Schultheß.) [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 298–300.]

<sup>9</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *juz’* 6, p. 16, l 10; Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim and from there *al-Itqān*, *al-Muqni’*, *Mevzu’at*, and, somewhat shorter, *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma’ānī*. Another tradition, according to which Sa’īd b. Jubayr [*EF*; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.v.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 28] considers at least والمؤمنين of sūra 4:160 to be *lahn* in *al-Itqān* and *Mevzu’at*. On والمؤمنين of sūra 4:160 one tradition in Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim, al-Ṭabarī, vol. 6, p. 16 l 7, and *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma’ānī* offer the explanation that the writer, after having written the preceding text, asked ما أكتب, and received the reply والمؤمنين in the accusative as still being dependent on أكتب (in which case the و is hardly compatible) and took it down as it is.

<sup>10</sup> Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim اخلطوا.

<sup>11</sup> Also, sūra 23:62, ‘Ā’isha allegedly considered orthographic errors (ولكن الهجاء خرف) يأتون (al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*).

<sup>12</sup> Ibn ‘Abbās (and Sa’īd b. Jubayr) in al-Ṭabarī, *juz’* 18, p. 77, l 30; al-Zamakhsharī, s.v., *al-Suyūṭī*, *al-Itqān*. Cf. I. Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, p. 20.

<sup>13</sup> Ibn ‘Abbās in al-Ṭabarī, *juz’* 13, p. 91, l 7; ‘Alī, Ibn ‘Abbās, and several other Companions in al-Zamakhsharī, s.v.; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*; cf. p. 49.

<sup>14</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *juz’* 15, p. 44, l 23; *al-Itqān*; cf. I. Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, p. 20. Graphically this is quite possible; the و differs indeed from a د often only by separation because in early Kūfic writings it is written on the line.

<sup>15</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*. Additional passages where occasionally the possibility of a writing error is hinted at are sūras 63:10 (*al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma’ānī*, and see below, p. 391 n. 22, and 352–353, and sūra 81:24, بضين (for بظين, in the tradition of ‘Āṣim al-Jahḍarī [d. 128/745; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 5, vol. 9, pp. 38 and 43] mentioned below, p. 391), furthermore sūra 21:31 (بمثل) ما for ما, *al-Mabānī*); sūra 3:75 (Mujāhid النبيين for أوتوا الكتاب, al-Ṭabarī, *juz’* 3, p. 216, l 25) sūra 21:49 (Ibn ‘Abbās ضياء without و, *al-Itqān*).

first of the traditions this attitude is clearly stated. At the same time, they reflect an obvious apologetic tendency: the men responsible for the text of the Koran, 'Uthmān and his Commission, but particularly the Prophet himself, are defended against the reproach of linguistic and substantial shortcomings by attributing these defects to the scribes. This apologetic approach is indeed still so naïve, and proceeds from such a simple, human conception of the production of the authorized version, that we must date the origin of this tradition to a very early period.

The more liberal, and therefore still earlier, attitude is that such errors were not tolerated and were simply changed, as happened with the passages referred to as well as in hundreds of similar instances, of which at least a few will be mentioned below. The changes that have come down to us demonstrate that there were far more complaints, linguistically as well as substantially, than is pointed out in the respective traditions.

If changes were out of the question, and if the objectionable text was there to stay, there remained nothing but a compromise, namely to read differently from what was written. This is evidently also the opinion of the authors of the above-mentioned transmissions.<sup>16</sup> This opinion becomes even clearer in a tradition from 'Alī,<sup>17</sup> [when describing the joys of Paradise in sūra 56:28.<sup>18</sup>] 'Āṣim al-Jahḍarī (d. 128/745<sup>19</sup>) is named the conscious representative of this practice. It is perpetuated down into the canonical systems of reading.<sup>20</sup> The practice has its counterpart on less difficult grounds in the attitude of the readers when dealing with the peculiarities of orthography. The well-known traditionist Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd AL-NAKHA'Ī<sup>21</sup> (d. 96/715) allegedly justified this method with specific reference to the peculiarities of orthography: Instead of ي an ا was written in هذان, sūra 20:66, and a و in both والصابتون of sūra 5:73 and الراسخون of sūra 4:160.<sup>22</sup> Most of the later

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. first of all the بالستها in the tradition of 'Uthmān; still clearer in a considerably qualifying variant, which expunges the expression لحن (*Itqān* from [ABŪ BAKR] Ibn Ashtah [AL-IṢBAHĀNĪ]) أحسنتم وأجملتم أرى شيئاً سننجه بالستنا (a variant appearing between this form and the common form, al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 1, no. 4792 from Ibn Abī Dāwūd [see below, p. 404 n. 109], and Ibn al-Anbārī).

<sup>17</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *juz'* 27, p. 93 l 16; al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 56:28, according to which 'Alī (and—according to al-Zamakhsharī—similarly Ibn 'Abbās) in this passage explicitly reject the change from طلع to طح, although he reads the latter; cf. I. Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, p. 24.

<sup>18</sup> I. Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, p. 24.

<sup>19</sup> *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 5, last line.

<sup>20</sup> Above all, it is Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' (Baṣra) [ca. 90/709–180/796; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 10, no. 3; vol. 8, pp. 50–51; vol. 9, pp. 40–42] who reads هذين in sūra 20:66. More later on, p. 414.

<sup>21</sup> *EF*; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 4 sqq; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 403–404.

<sup>22</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*.

generations found it impossible to reconcile this loophole with their veneration of the Holy Book. They not only adhere in writing and pronunciation to the 'Uthmānic recension,<sup>23</sup> but also attempt with increasing conviction to document an increasing number of possibilities that will reconcile the text with the requirements of language and meaning.<sup>24</sup>

After this interpretation of the passages became generally accepted, the old transmissions about errors in the text became most inconvenient. An attempt had to be made to cope with such passages by means of *jarḥ* (which was difficult in the case of the tradition from 'Ā'isha)<sup>25</sup> and either give them a new interpretation, or simply to reject them as untrustworthy. We can give the approximate date of the beginning of these attempts: whereas Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām<sup>26</sup> (d. 223 or 4/838) simply lists the transmissions, Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 327 or 8/939) as well as al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) attempt to save the 'Uthmanic text without exception.

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### *Variants of the 'Uthmānic Copies*

As regards the fate of the four official copies of the Koran produced on the order of the Caliph 'Uthmān, next to no reliable information is available,<sup>27</sup> and in the science of the Koran they are of almost no impor-

<sup>23</sup> An authority was found very conveniently in the person of Zayd (Ibn Thābit) who is made to say (*al-Mabānī*): مثل قولك، (sūra 20:66) القراءة ستة فاقروا كما تجدونه وفاضدقوا وأكن من الصالحين: إنَّ هذان لساحران (sūra 63:10).

<sup>24</sup> Here belongs also the attempt to rescue هذان of sūra 20:66 by the vocalization ان because evidently in reality *an* = *inna* occurs only directly before كان and similar verbs (also وَجَدَ (ظَنَّ) but not before nouns (cf. Reckendorf, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse*, p. 129; Sibawayh's Koranic references in § 136 cited for the opposite must be interpreted in a different way; cf. Bergsträßer's particles of negation and question, *Verneinungs- und Fragepartikeln*, p. 14 sqq.). The old scholars of the Koran will have objected to the text not without good reason.

<sup>25</sup> According to al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān* (and *Mevzu'at*) the *isnād* conforms with the requirements of al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

<sup>26</sup> *EP*<sup>2</sup>; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 3, p. 367.

<sup>27</sup> The earliest source for them seems to be the apology of al-Kindī [*GAS* I, 612]—(used in the London editions of 1880 and 1885: *Risālat 'Abd Allāh b. Ismā'īl al-Hāshimī (!) ilā 'Abd al-Masīḥ b. Ishāq (!) al-Kindī yad'ūh bi-hā ilā l-Islām, wa-Risālat 'Abd al-Masīḥ ilā l-Hāshimī yarudd bi-hā 'alayh wa-yad'ūh ilā l-Naṣrānīyya*) if it was indeed written in 204–205/820–821, as P. Casanova, *Mohammed et la fin du monde*, 2ème fasc., I (1913), p. 112, tries to prove. According to al-Kindī, p. 80, and Casanova, p. 121, respectively, the Damascus copy was at that time still at Malatya (without saying how it got there) whereas the Meccan copy burnt during the rebellion of Abū l-Sarāyā, [*EQ*], the Medinan copy was lost during the conquest of Medina under Yazid I in 683, and the Kūfan copy—contrary to the assertion that it was still extant—in the rebellion of Mukhtār [*EP*]. (Thus, al-Kindī, contrary to common tradition, presupposes a different distribution of the four copies.)



tance,<sup>28</sup> with the sole exception of the Medinan copy, which is mostly referred to as *Imām*<sup>29</sup> *muṣḥaf ʿUthmān*. In spite of this, it is this particularly copy that is shrouded in darkness. One could try somewhat to reconcile the contradicting reports by assuming—with a certain degree of probability—that ʿUthmān’s copy, which because of the mention in the history of his murder attained such fame, was different from the authorized Medinan copy.<sup>30</sup> Yet this attempt also leads nowhere. According to Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889),<sup>31</sup> it was passed on in the family, first to his son Khālid—to whom a report seems to refer<sup>32</sup>—and later to other members. ʿĀṢIM b. al-ʿAjāj AL-JAĤDARĪ (d. 128/745)<sup>33</sup> supplies a number of details.<sup>34</sup> Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) considered it lost (نَعِيْبٌ).<sup>35</sup> According to the apology of al-Kindī (see above, p. 392 n. 27) it did not disappear in the flames until the rebellion of Abū l-Sarāyā in 200/815. And, finally, Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 223 or 4/838)<sup>36</sup> has it fished out *min baʿḍ khazāʾin al-umarāʾ*, and finds as a sign of authenticity still traces of ʿUthmān’s blood,<sup>37</sup> a

<sup>28</sup> Once (al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ*, cap. 21, beginning) the Damascene copy—also known as the *Imām*—is mentioned on the authority of HĀRŪN b. Mūsā AL-AKHFASH al-Dimashqī (d. ca. 292/904, Sezgin, *Geschichte*, vol. 9, p. 200), as regards the text of the others we lack any explicit and direct reference. The frequent expression, *fī muṣḥaf ahl al-Kūfa*, etc., means no more than “in the Kūfan consonantal text.”

<sup>29</sup> Following sūra 36:11: *وكُلُّ شَيْءٍ أَحْصَيْنَاهُ فِي إِمَامٍ مُّبِينٍ*. (Less frequently all the ʿUthmānic copies are referred to under this title.)

<sup>30</sup> When later writers occasionally try to differentiate between ʿUthmān’s private (*khāṣṣ*) copy and the Medinan (*ʿamm*) copy, this is based on mere misunderstanding.

<sup>31</sup> *K. al-Maʿārif*, p. 101 [*Elʿ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vols. 7, 8, 9, s.v.,] and then Shams al-Dīn AL-SAKHĀWĪ [d. 902/1497; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, p. 117, last line] in the commentary on *al-ʿAqīla* (see below, p. 406 sq.); cf. P. Casanova, p. 130.

<sup>32</sup> Aḥmad b. Muḥammad AL DIMYĀṬĪ AL-BANNĀʾ (d. 1117/1705), *Ithāf fuḍalāʾ al-bashar* (see below, p. 407) on sūra 63, with reference to the traces of blood still visible. *Elʿ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 592, no. 2.

<sup>33</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 5, last line, etc.

<sup>34</sup> al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ*, *bāb* 5, *faṣl* 1, *bāb* 19 and 21. Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām lists them as the authority on the *Imām* in the first of these passages as well as in his *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān*, fol. 40<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> Silvestre de Sacy “Commentaire sur le poème nommé Raïyya ... intitulé Akila, ...” p. 344.

<sup>36</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 3, p. 367; from among other sources in particular al-Nawawī, [*Tahdhīb al-asmāʾ*] *The Biographical dictionary of illustrious men*, edited by F. Wüstenfeld, p. 744; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, vol. 6, p. 162.

<sup>37</sup> *al-Muqniʿ*, *bāb* 2, *faṣl* 1. Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim in his *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān*, fol. 40<sup>r</sup>, on the other hand, refers only to *مصنف بالثغر قديم بعثه (بعث به) إليهم فيما أخبروني قبل خلافة عمر بن عبد العزيز*. Thaghr is likely to refer to Tarsus where he spent eighteen years as a *qāḍī*. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that occasionally (see below, p. 396 n. 52) the identical statement regarding the *Imām* is traced back from al-Dānī’s *al-Muqniʿ* to the personal inspection of Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām who himself however has it from ʿĀṣim al-Jaḥdari. All this makes any transmission suspicious that states that Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim himself has consulted the *Imām*.

recurring theme in the innumerable later reports of alleged ‘Uthmānic copies.<sup>38</sup> The tradition of the text of this copy is therefore extremely weak, since Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim is the main source in both, *al-Muqni*<sup>39</sup> and also al-Zamakhsharī.<sup>40</sup>

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This is not to say that the particulars of the tradition about the text of this copy of the Koran and the three others produced on ‘Uthmān’s initiative are necessarily unreliable. The actual differences of the text of the Koran of the four towns—whence originate the variants of the Koran and to which alone they naturally refer<sup>41</sup>—permit safe clues regarding the original copies since the respective local variants have been preserved with meticulous accuracy. For everything beyond strict orthographic matters, the written transmission of the text found solid support in the oral transmission, since the readers of the Koran of the respective towns followed their authorized version, and wherever this was occasionally not the case at least the awareness of the deviation remained alive.<sup>42</sup> This explains why the transmission of these

<sup>38</sup> Regarding old copies of the Koran in literature and libraries that are claimed to be the one of the Caliph ‘Uthmān see now P. Casanova, *Mohammed et la fin du monde*, pp. 129–139 (sixteen numbers) as a continuation of Quatremère in *Journal asiatique*, “Sur le goût des livres chez les Orientaux,” p. 41 ff., and his *Mélanges d’histoire et de philologie orientale*, p. 41 sqq.; some additions in Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, p. 173; A. Mez, in his *Renaissance of Islam*, p. 138, points out a reference to another such copy in 369/979 at Baghdad. The so-called Samarqand Koran of which Sergei N. Pisarev published a reproduction in 1905, I intend to treat later at the appropriate place; for the time being cf. A.F. Shebunin’s article “Купический Коранъ Имп. СПб. Публичной Библиотеки.” To use the near certain spuriousness of all these copies as an argument against the historicity of the ‘Uthmānic recension as done by Casanova is of course totally out of the question.—Safer still is the forgery in the case of the alleged Korans from the hand of ‘Alī; cf. Quatremère, p. 47 sqq.; N.V. Khanykov in *Mélanges de l’Académie de St. Pétersbourg*, t. 3, p. 63 sqq. [not identified], a facsimile of the sub-title of the manuscript here discussed in Berlin as Ms. 366, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis* (= cod. Mss. Or., folio no. 532); but, most of all, I. Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, p. 173 sq.

<sup>39</sup> Once—apart from the above-mentioned ‘Āṣim al-Jahdārī—also ABŪ ḤĀTIM (Sahl b. Muḥammad) AL-SIJISTĀNĪ (Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 3, pp. 367–368, d. 250/864), namely at the end of chapter 18.

<sup>40</sup> See on sūras 29:27, 33:10, 38:2. Without naming his authority, al-Zamakhsharī supplies a detail on sūra 5:59 about the reading of *imām*, which *al-Muqni*, *bāb* 21, traces back to Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim [Ibn Sallām].

<sup>41</sup> Cf. the titles *Ikhtilāf maṣāḥif ahl ... (Fihrist*, p. 36, l 9, al-Kisāī, see below), and *Ikhtilāf ahl ... fi l-maṣāḥif* (ibid., l 10, Yahyā b. Ziyād AL-FARRĀ’ d. 207/822 [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 131–134]). Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim [Ibn Sallām] introduces his list of variants *inna ahl al-Hijāz wa-ahl al-‘Irāq ikhtalafat maṣāḥifuhum fi ḥādhih al-hurūf*; only al-Mabānī *li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī* replace this by *ikhtalafa muṣḥafā (!) ahl al-Madīna wa-l-‘Irāq ...*, and close the first list *hākadhā hijā’uhā fi l-imām muṣḥaf ahl al-Madīna*, whereas *al-Muqni* still gives the individual variants with *fi maṣāḥif ahl al-Madīna*, etc.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. al-Dānī, *al-Muqni*, *bāb* 21, where Abū ‘Amr (al-Māzīnī) in the case of sūra 43:68 follows the Medinan variant with particular reference to the Medinan Korans.

variants<sup>43</sup> is subject to almost no variations; it can be considered entirely sound. The written form was likely established in the second century, possibly first by al-Kisā'ī (d. 189/804).<sup>44</sup>

Two ancient lists of these variants have come down to us. One is from Abū 'Ubayd (al-Qāsim b. Sallām), entitled *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān* (Ahlwardt, *Verzeich-nis*, Ms. 451, fol. 44' sqq.), in which he gathers the various sources. On the authority of Ismā'īl b. Ja'far AL-MADĀ'ĪNĪ<sup>45</sup> he enumerates twelve differences between Medina and Iraq, then on the authority of the Damascene reader, Abū l-Dardā' (died toward the end of the caliphate of 'Uthmān) as well as ('Abd Allāh) IBN 'ĀMIR (Ibn Yazīd al-Yaḥṣubī, 21/641–118/736) twenty-eight peculiarities of Damascus (i.e., compared with Iraq), and finally, without supplying sources, five peculiarities of Kūfa *vis-à-vis* Baṣra. Mecca is ignored. This list is enlarged in the first and third row by a single controversial difference each. In the second row, however, the list is distorted by the addition of several simple differences of variant readings,<sup>46</sup> and is

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<sup>43</sup> In what follows, “variants” always refers to the different orthography (of the manuscripts of the Koran) whereas “variant readings” refers to the oral recitation (*qirā'āt*).

<sup>44</sup> *Fihrist*, p. 36, l 9, considers only the manuscripts of Medina, Kūfa, and Baṣra (cf. below, p. 404 n. 107). It is unlikely that already ('Abd Allāh) IBN 'ĀMIR (Ibn Yazīd al-Yaḥṣubī, d. 118/736) [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 6–7] wrote on the differences of all the copies (ibid., l 12). As far as I know no such work is attributed to him in his biography. The reference in the *Fihrist* is either a misunderstanding or it is falsely attributed to al-Kisā'ī. [*EF*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 127–131.]

<sup>45</sup> Probably identical with al-Madā'īnī of *al-Fihrist*, p. 36, l 12, where a book, *Ikhtilāf al-maṣāḥif wa-jamī'* (?) *al-qirā'āt*, is ascribed to him.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. the words of introduction *qara' 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir al-Yaḥṣubī ...* This concerns the following reports of the differences between Damascus and Iraq respectively: sūras 6:52, and 18:27 بالعدوة against بالعداة (in reality throughout بالعدوة, cf. *al-Muqni'*, *bāb* 18, which is only differently vocalized by 'Abd Allāh IBN 'ĀMIR *bi-l-ghudwa*, and by the other Seven Readers, *bi-l-ghadwa*); sūras 24:31, 43:48, and 55:31, ايه against ايمًا (in reality throughout ايه which 'Abd Allāh IBN 'ĀMIR vocalizes *ayyuh* against *ayyah* of the others <see below, p. 409>); sūra 27:69 (also Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām) انا against انا—this is evidently intended by the vague references in Abū 'Ubayd and *al-Mabānī*—(in reality انا [but without any diacritical marks of the two middle letters], cf. *al-Muqni'*, *bāb* 9, which both 'Abd Allāh IBN 'ĀMIR and al-Kisā'ī (Kūfa) recite *innanā*, the others however *a'innā*, which might equally be expressed (انا) sūra 43:18 عند الرحمن against عند الرحمن (text عند [but without diacritical mark on the middle letter], which 'Abd Allāh IBN 'ĀMIR as well as NĀFĪ' (b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abi Nu'aym al-Laythī (Medina) [d. 169/785; *EF*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 9–10], and Ibn Kathīr (Mecca), 45/665–120/738, read عند against عند of the others); sūra 43:37 جانا against جانا (in reality جانا, cf. *Muqni'*, *bāb* 2, *jaṣl* 7, which might be read as dual—'Abd Allāh IBN 'ĀMIR as well as again Nāfī', and 'Abd Allāh IBN KATHĪR, further Abū Bakr 'an 'Āṣim (Kūfa)—or as singular). Also the difference—included by Nöldeke in his list of variants on the authority of *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*—بئسئته Damascus against بئسئ the “others” (i.e., Iraq) sūra 2:261, of which in addition to that (except in Ibn Mas'ūd, see below) nothing at all is known, belongs here: The

reproduced in a slightly rearranged form in *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-maʿānī* (fifth paragraph of the introduction). The other list is furnished by al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ (bāb 21)*; it enumerated all the differences arranged according to the position in the Koran, considering also Mecca.<sup>47</sup> That both lists are substantially in agreement increases the reliability of their content, although a textual interdependence cannot be ascertained.<sup>48</sup>

[iii/11] The following list of variants is basically that of al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ fi maʿrifat rasm maṣāḥif al-amṣār*, with recourse to those of Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām and *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-maʿānī*;<sup>49</sup> accordingly also the Meccan variants are listed; they are likely also to go back to an old copy.

Sūra 2:110, قالوا, Damascus; وقالوا, the rest.

Sūra 2:126, واوصى, Medina,<sup>50</sup> Damascus,<sup>51</sup> (and the *Imām*<sup>52</sup>); ووصى, the rest.<sup>53</sup>

[iii/12] Sūra 3:127, سارعا Medina, Damascus (and the *Imām*<sup>54</sup>), وسارعا, the rest.

Sūra 3:181, وبالزير, Damascus; والزير, the rest (controversial whether Damascus also والكتاب for بالكتاب).<sup>55</sup>

بیتسنه of the text both Ḥamza and al-Kisāʿī (Kūfa) consider a pausal form and consequently read in context يتسنى. Whereas the rest of them retain the *h* also in context. Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān*, Ms. Berlin no. 451, fol. 37; and after him al-Ṭabarī, pp. 3, 24, 23 sqq., report that the *h* originates from Ubayy, who was consulted—this from the identical source also *al-Itqān*, *nawʿ* 41, *tanbīh* 3—according to yet another version added on the order of ʿUthmān. As can be seen from the other passages mentioned in the same context, this does not at all purport to indicate a variant without *h*, rather it is simply an explicit observation that the peculiar form with *h* is really part of the text). Further cf. below, p. 400 notes 78–80, and p. 401 sq.

<sup>47</sup> As source might have served the above-mentioned ABŪ ḤĀTİM (Sahl b. Muḥammad) AL-SIJISTĀNĪ, above, p. 394 n. 39, to which reference is made in *al-Muqniʿ*, *bāb* 13, about a remark on Meccan manuscripts of the Koran.

<sup>48</sup> But see below, p. 400 n. 80, on sūra 43:68.

<sup>49</sup> As a safety check the following odd variants have been taken into consideration: al-Zamakhsharī as well as the rather numerous references in *Kashf ʿan wujūh al-qirʾāt* of Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Qaysī (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 578) further the *Aqīla* and the *Ithāf*, and finally the works on variant readings since generally the *qirʾā* are indicative of the text of the home region of the respective reader.

<sup>50</sup> al-Zamakhsharī vague, Ḥijāz.

<sup>51</sup> Wanting in Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām.

<sup>52</sup> The fact that frequently the text of the *Imām* is explicitly identified parallel to that of Medina shows again that the details regarding the variants do not refer to the original copies but to the text of the Koran as common in the respective towns (see the previous page.) After what has been said on p. 344 sq., the references to the *Imām* cannot claim strictly historical importance.

<sup>53</sup> Both forms are common to the Koran.

<sup>54</sup> So al-Dimyaṭī al-Bannāʾ, *Ithāf fuḍalāʾ al-bashar fi qirʾāt al-arbaʿat ʿashar*.

<sup>55</sup> *al-Mabānī*, and al-Zamakhsharī only the first one; Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim, both; al-Dānī,

Sūra 4:69, قليلا, Damascus; قليل, the rest.

Sūra 5:58, ويقول, Medina, Mecca, Damascus; ويقول, the rest.

Sūra 5:59, يرتدد, Medina, Damascus (and the *Imām*); يرتد, the rest.

Sūra 6:32, ولدار الآخرة, Damascus; وللدار الآخرة, the rest.<sup>56</sup>

Sūra 6:63, أنحنينا (i.e. أنجانا),<sup>57</sup> Kūfa; أنحنينا, the rest.

Sūra 6:138, شركائهم Damascus (i.e. شركائهم قتل أولادهم شركائهم); the rest (i.e. قتل أولادهم شركائهم).<sup>58</sup>

Sūra 7:2, تتذكرون,<sup>59</sup> Damascus; تتذكرون, the rest.

Sūra 7:41, وما, Damascus; وما, the rest.

Sūra 7:73, وقال, Damascus; قال, the rest.

Sūra 7:137, أنجينكم (i.e., أنجانكم)<sup>60</sup> Damascus; أنجينكم (i.e., أنجينكم), the rest.

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Sūra 9:101, من تحتها, Mecca; تحتها, the rest.<sup>61</sup>

Sūra 9:108, والذين, Medina, Damascus; والذين, the rest.

Sūra 10:23, ينشركم, Damascus; يسيركم, the rest.

Sūra 18:34, منها, Medina, Mecca, Damascus; منها, the rest.

Sūra 18:94, مكنتي, Mecca; مكنتي (i.e., مكنتي), the rest.

Sūra 21:31, ألم ير, Mecca; أولم ير, the rest.

*al-Muqni'*, opts for *bi-* in both passages; *Aqila*, vol. 5, p. 62 sq. is undecided on the question. According to al-Dimyāfi al-Bannā', *Ithāf*, some of the Damascus manuscripts have *bi-* also in the second case. As regards the variant reading of the Damascene reader, 'Abd Allāh IBN 'ĀMIR, tradition varies.—As in the word order الكتاب والزبر والبيتات the *bi-*, occurring in both of the first parts, could also very easily enter the third part—whereas the erroneously omission of a *bi-* existing in the third place would be difficult to explain—more probable is the rejected reference in *al-Muqni'* which in addition is supported by HĀRŪN b. Mūsā AL-AKHFASH's reference to the Damascene *imām* (in *al-Muqni'*).

<sup>56</sup> Apart from after *la-*, the Koran knows the attributive connection *al-dār al-ākhirā*; accordingly also لدار الآخرة sūras 12:109, and 16:32 must be viewed as a short form of لدار (see below, p. 425 sq.). In our passage we are thus really dealing with a purely orthographic variant.

<sup>57</sup> When the sources occasionally speak directly of forms with ى this is nothing but an inaccurate expression.

<sup>58</sup> The Damascene variant is linguistically hardly possible.

<sup>59</sup> So Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (*bi-tā'ayn*); *al-Muqni'*: *bi-l-yā' wa-l-tā'*, and likewise *al-Mabānī*.

<sup>60</sup> When the sources occasionally speak directly of forms with ى this is nothing but an inaccurate expression.

<sup>61</sup> The Meccan variant is reminiscent of several parallel passages; the less unusual reading without *min* is preferred. In other passages, too, the Meccan variant puts the more common form over the more unusual of the other manuscripts.

Sūra 23:89 and 91, الله, Baṣra; الله, the rest (and the *Imām*.<sup>62</sup>)<sup>63</sup>

Sūra 25:27, وتنزل, Mecca; ونزل the rest.

Sūra 26:217, فتوكل, Medina, Damascus; وتوكل, the rest.

Sūra 27:21, ليأتيني, Mecca; ليأتيني (i.e., ليأتيني), the rest.<sup>64</sup>

Sūra 28:37, وقال, Mecca; وقال, the rest.

Sūra 36:35, عملت, Kūfa; عملته, the rest.<sup>65</sup>

Sūra 39:64, تأمروني, Damascus; تأمروني (i.e., تأمروني), the rest.<sup>66</sup>

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Sūra 40:22, منكم, Damascus; منهم, the rest.

Sūra 40:27, أو أن, Kūfa; وأن, the rest.<sup>67</sup>

Sūra 42:29, بما, Medina, Damascus; فبما, the rest.

Sūra 43:71, نشتيه, Medina, Damascus<sup>68</sup> (and the *Imām*); نشتيه, the rest.

Sūra 46:14, إحسنا (i.e., إحسانا<sup>69</sup>); Kūfa, حسنا the rest.

Sūra 47:20, أن تأتيهم, Mecca (also أن تأتيهم), the rest (also أن)<sup>70</sup> (disputed).

Sūra 55:11, ذا, Damascus; ذو, the rest.

Sūra 55:78, ذو, Damascus; ذي, the rest.

Sūra 57:10, وكلّ وعد, Damascus; وكلّ وعد, the rest.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>62</sup> So already ʿĀṣim al-Jahḍarī in Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān*, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis* 451, fol. 40<sup>r</sup> (cited also in *al-Muqniʿ*, *bāb* 21), and also according to *Muqniʿ*, *bāb* 2, *faṣl* 1; *bāb* 21 Abū ʿUbayd himself after personal inspection; the opposite version of *Ithāf fuḍalāʾ al-baṣhar fi qirāʾat al-arbaʿat aṣhar* is an error.

<sup>63</sup> Verse 87 unanimously الله. Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim, and *al-Mabānī* mention erroneously the passage only among the Damascene peculiarities (with three times الله).—The Baṣran text allegedly is an innovation of Naṣr b. ʿĀṣim al-Laythī [d. 89/708 or 90; *EP*; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 32–33] (so also Abū ʿUbayd, loc. cit.) or on the order of the governor of Iraq, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād (*Muqniʿ*, *bāb* 21, who takes exception to these traditions). Abū ʿUbayd, loc. cit., states that also Ubayy allegedly had الله everywhere.

<sup>64</sup> *Kashf ʿan wujūh al-qirāʾat*, s.v. describes the second form as the writing of the *muṣḥaf* without indicating a variant.

<sup>65</sup> Wanting in Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, and in *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-maʿānī*.

<sup>66</sup> Wanting in Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām.

<sup>67</sup> So also *Kashf ʿan wujūh al-qirāʾat*, s.v.; according to Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim, and *al-Mabānī* also Baṣra, *aw*; al-Zamakhsharī for *wa* unspecific only Ḥijāz.

<sup>68</sup> Wanting in Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām.

<sup>69</sup> Mostly, precisely this is vaguely mentioned.

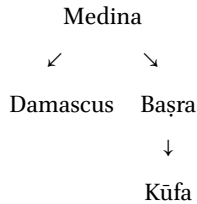
<sup>70</sup> So al-Kisāʾī (in *al-Muqniʿ*) and al-Zamakhsharī; according to Khalaf b. Hishām al-Bazzāz [150/767–229/844; *EP*; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 43, col. 1; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 12, no. 9] (in *al-Muqniʿ*) also Kūfa. Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, and *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-maʿānī* do not mention the difference, and thus do not know of any Kūfan variant that departs from the other text.

<sup>71</sup> Wanting in Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām.

Sūra 57:24, الله الغنيّ, Medina, Damascus; الله هو الغنيّ, the rest.

Sūra 91:15, فلا, Medina, Damascus; ولا, the rest.<sup>72</sup>

This list of the variants which, of course, cannot claim to be comprehensive, given that the possibility of early losses of discrepancies cannot be entirely excluded, contains some variants that for internal reasons alone must not be considered to be as reliable as those on the other side of the spectrum.<sup>73</sup> Conversely, by looking at the reciprocal relation of the manuscripts we can identify the original manuscript with a great degree of likelihood. When we realize (1) that the Damascus manuscript, which represents so many unique variant readings, always corresponds with the Medinan manuscript, whereas the latter differs from the others, but never agrees with them against the Medinan manuscript; (2) that furthermore the Baṣran never differs from all the others at the same time;<sup>74</sup> and (3) that finally, except for a few very peculiar variant readings, the Kūfan manuscript is identical with the one from Baṣra, it would follow that under the aspect of tradition the Medinan manuscript was most likely the original one, and that from this copy both the Damascene and the Baṣran copies evolved, and in turn the Kūfan copy resulted from the latter.<sup>75</sup>



Most remote from the original are the Damascus variant readings, which show quite clearly that they are not as good as the others. Only the Meccan manuscript—which is less important than the others, as it does not belong to the initial four copies—is a bit difficult, since in some places it displays totally indiosyncratic variant readings, but in other cases follows either the

<sup>72</sup> The possibility of recognizing all these variants as equally divine was assured by the dogma of the Seven *aḥruf* (see above, p. 38 sqq.; I. Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, pp. 26 and 28). Totally different is the equally apologetic explanation of *al-Mabānī* regarding these variants; here, only an attempt is made in each case to show the two rivalling forms to be possible, linguistically as well as sensibly.

<sup>73</sup> But see above, on sūras 6:138, and 9:101.

<sup>74</sup> Except sūras 23:89 and 23:91, on which above.

<sup>75</sup> This result fits perfectly the arrangement of the variants in Abū 'Ubayd's list; cf. above, p. 395 sq.

practice of Medina and Damascus or, in still other cases, that of Baṣra and Kūfa. We are here looking at an eclectic text (though by no means critically eclectic) which might have been put together quite some time after that of the other manuscripts.

[iii/15] The above-mentioned list of variants, however, does not exhaust the differences of the local texts of the Koran, which are not entirely negligible. There are still two additional types of differences, standing between those true variants enumerated with great precision and the purely orthographic deviations.

[iii/16] The first group includes only a few passages that are also contained in the list of variants, but not quite rightly so, particularly when considering the point of view of at least one of the variant readings. These are the following sūras: 10:96, *كلمات* Damascus, *كلمة* the rest;<sup>76</sup> 17:95, *قال* Mecca and Damascus, *قل* the rest; 21:4, *قال* Kūfa, *قل* the rest; 23:114, and 23:116, *قل* Kūfa, *قال* the rest.<sup>77</sup> Here, for example, the writing *قل* is compatible with the variant readings (*قُل*) *قال* as well as *قُل*, the writing *قال*, however, only with the first of the two.<sup>78</sup> Thus, the difference actually goes beyond mere orthography.<sup>79</sup> To these passages belongs sūra 43:68 *عبادي* Medina, Damascus, and *عباد* Baṣra, Kūfa (Mecca uncertain):<sup>80</sup> it ought to have been omitted from the list because it is controversial only from the orthographic point of view.

[iii/17] The second group of differences consists of passages which, when viewed from the aspect of the type of variant, belong either to those of the above-

<sup>76</sup> So Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām; in the list of variants in *al-Mabānī* sūra 10:34 is erroneously cited instead of 10:96. Al-Dānī, *al-Muqni’*, who does not mention the difference in his list of variants, states in *bāb* 17 with respect to sūra 10:96 a tradition going back to Abū l-Dardā’ (d. 31 or 2/651) regarding the Damascene writing (plural), and his own findings in the manuscripts of Iraq (singular with ه). In both passages as well as sūra 40:6 the plural is read not only by ‘Abd Allāh IBN ‘ĀMIR (Damascus) but also by Nāfi‘ (Medina).

<sup>77</sup> al-Zamakhsharī mentions the variant only in the case of sūra 23:114, but erroneously in reversed order of the two orthographies. *al-Mabānī* add sūra 43:23 *قال* Damascus, *قل* the rest; otherwise known only as a difference of variant readings. Cf. above, p. 395 n. 45.

<sup>78</sup> But it is said that it *taqdīran* (implicitly) fits also the second one.

<sup>79</sup> That the numerous other passages where also *قال* or *قل* is read are missing from the list of variants might justify the conclusion that the text originally was uniformly written *قل* and that many of the variants outside the list, *قال*, originate from carrying the actual reading into the text.

<sup>80</sup> The uncertainty regarding the Meccan version might be explained in such a way that the passage found its way by secondary means from *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*—where it is added as being controversial to the list of Abū ‘Ubayd—into the one of *al-Muqni’*, where originally it had been missing. It must also be noted that *al-Muqni’* mentions the version in a second passage, namely *bāb* 3, *faṣl* 1, where Ibn al-Anbārī says of the controversial word: يعني مصاحف أهل العراق في مصاحف أهل المدينة بياء فهو وفي مصاحفنا بغير بياء العراق. *عبادي* is offered in the Koran fragment Ms Gotha, no. 462.



mentioned list or at least to those of the first group, with less certainty, but, more importantly, transmitted with more uncertain and more incomplete distribution over the four (or five) towns. Here belong: from *al-Muqni'* ابرهم, Iraq and Damascus, for rest ابرهم;<sup>81</sup> sūra 2:92, ميكيال for ميكيال;<sup>82</sup> sūra 4:40, ذا Kūfa, occasionally for ذى;<sup>83</sup> sūra 76:4, سلاسل for سلاسل;<sup>84</sup> sūra 76:16 (not verse 15) قوارير Baṣra for قواريرا Medina (and Hijāz, respectively) and Kūfa;<sup>85</sup>—from *Ithāf* sūra 55:24, المنشيت (i.e., المنشآت)<sup>86</sup> Iraq for المنشت (i.e., المنشآت); sūra 63:10, واكون for واكن;<sup>87</sup>—from *Kashf*, sūra 47:16, اسن for يسن;<sup>88</sup>—from Sibawayh,<sup>89</sup> sūra

<sup>81</sup> Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān* (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 451, fol. 38<sup>r</sup>), claims to have found the spelling ابرهم only in sūra 2, which is confirmed in *al-Muqni'*, *bāb* 19. ابرهم also (the Koran fragment) Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 307, firsthand in sūra 22:43. The shortened spelling refers to the pronunciation ابراهم (so the Damascene 'Abd Allāh IBN 'ĀMIR—certain in sūra 2; other passages are controversial).

<sup>82</sup> *Muqni'*, *bāb* 2, *faṣl* 1, mentions the lacking *l* in the *Imām*, evidently comparing it with ميكيال (i.e., *Mikā'il*—so Nāfi'—or *Mikā'il*, like the majority of the readers). ميكيال (so Abū 'Amr) (Ibn al-'Alā' and Ḥafṣ [Ibn Sulaymān, d. 180/796; *EP*<sup>2</sup>; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 10, no. 3] *'an 'Āṣim*) is thus not attested there, but it is already presupposed as the standard spelling (assured by the metre) in *'Aqila*, v. 51, so that the sense of the comment is reversed. *Ithāf fuḍalā' bashar* somewhat reconstitutes the meaning by saying مكيال—ورسم مكاتبها ياء بالأمام (Koran fragment), Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 305.

<sup>83</sup> al-Farrā' in the list of variants in al-Dānī, *al-Muqni' fi ma'rifa*, *bāb* 21, but where disputed (again against [Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. 'Uthmān ('Umar)] AL-JA'BARĪ (d. 732/1331) [Brockelmann, *GAL*, Supplement 1, p. 725, l 7, from bottom] in the *Ithāf*), and *'Aqila*, v. 64; as a variant reading also in al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>84</sup> سلاسل (so Flügel) exists in the written form (it is read by the majority) only on account of Abū 'Ubayd's, statement in *al-Muqni'*, *bāb* 2, *faṣl* 1, that the (final) *l* was washed out in the *Imām*—evidently a fabrication to justify the grammatically correct reading. سلاسل, without variant, is presupposed by *al-Muqni'*, *bāb* 5, *faṣl* 1, and *Ithāf fuḍalā'* (printing wrong, سلاسل).

<sup>85</sup> *Bāb* 5, *faṣl* 1; *'Aqila*, v. 125; cf. al-Dimyāṭī al-Bannā', *Ithāf fuḍalā' bashar*; also in the list of variants of *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī* as additional difference between Kūfa and Baṣra as transmitted by some scholars. According to Abū 'Ubayd in *al-Muqni'*, *bāb*, 2, *faṣl* 1, the *l* was erased (!) in the *Imām*. The distribution of the variant readings is not clear. V. 15 consistently قوارير (Flügel قوارير is wrong).

<sup>86</sup> As a variant reading, Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb and Sulaymān b. Mihrān AL-'A'MASH [Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 78–126]; according to some, also Abū Bakr (Shu'ba) 'an 'Āṣim b. [Abī l-Najūd] Bahdala, [d. 127/745; *EP*<sup>2</sup>; *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.v.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, p. 42] (all Iraq).

<sup>87</sup> The manuscripts evidently have consistently واكن; this means that a difference in general is out of the question, and that most of the readers follow this orthography, though they consider it linguistically very uncomfortable, in cases even imperfect (see above, p. 390 n. 14). Also Abū 'Ubayd claims to have seen it in the *Imām* (*al-Muqni'*, *bāb* 21; al-Dimyāṭī al-Bannā', *Ithāf fuḍalā' al-bashar*); next to it *Ithāf fuḍalā' al-bashar*, mentions about the *Imām* an account of "Khālid" (see above, p. 393) expounding واكون which seems to have been fabricated to justify the proper linguistic variant reading, *wa-akūna*, upheld mainly by Abū 'Amr (Baṣra).

<sup>88</sup> Unknown as a variant reading.

<sup>89</sup> *EP*<sup>2</sup>; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 51–63.

17:78, يلبثوا for يلبثون<sup>90</sup> and sūra 68:9, فيدهنوا for فيدهنون<sup>91</sup>—from al-Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, sūra 12:7, آيات عبرة for آيات<sup>92</sup>, sūra 17:40, سيئاً for سيئته<sup>93</sup>, sūra 20:15, added at the end of the verse من نفسي فكيف أظهركم عليه<sup>94</sup>. Affixed as a semi-orthographic variant from *Muqni*<sup>c</sup> sūra 20:80, لا تخفف instead of لا تخاف<sup>95</sup>.

The uncertainty of the transmission becomes quite evident from the distribution of the copies, which partly contradicts the results of their relation as shown above. There is nearly always the chance that we are not dealing with early differences of ‘Uthmānic codices of the Koran, but with the penetration into the written text of largely non-‘Uthmānic variant readings. The number of semi-orthographic variants (predominantly with or without *\*) could easily be enlarged if all those would be considered about which nothing has come down to us regarding the distribution of the different orthographies. In the case of these there is the likelihood that the secondary development of the unequivocal form (for example, above تخاف, قال) from the ambiguous form (تخف, قل) is still greater when carrying the corresponding variant reading into the text.

[iii/19]

### *The Orthography and Its Sources*

The problems we face in the case of the textual transmission are nothing compared with those of orthography. The number of passages where contradictory spellings are transmitted is quite considerable, be this in cases where the ‘Uthmānic copies differ, or where the early spelling was abandoned. Yet it is not as great as might have been expected. The overall orthography is firmly established, and in a great many cases even the distribution of rival spellings is limited to individual Koranic passages. The variations and uncertainties are essentially restricted to two main problems, the writing of *ā* with or without *\*, and the separation or combination (*al-maqtū*<sup>c</sup>

<sup>90</sup> § 237, also as a variant reading; al-Zamakhsharī, s.v., only as text of Ubayy, but *Mufaṣṣal* § 594 as a variant reading. Otherwise not known as such.

<sup>91</sup> § 241 quoted from al-Zamakhsharī, s.v., and (without name) *Mufaṣṣal* § 592; unknown as a variant reading.

<sup>92</sup> This variant is totally different from all the others so that it is likely that *fī ba’d al-maṣāḥif* in al-Zamakhsharī is a vague expression for “in the *muṣḥaf* of Ubayy,” to whom this variant is usually ascribed. It is unknown as a variant reading.

<sup>93</sup> Unknown as a variant reading.

<sup>94</sup> The first two words also Ubayy. Shown to be a difficult passage by the use of an inaccurate rhyme serving as explanation.

<sup>95</sup> In a second (earlier) list of variants, *bāb* 19, containing mainly orthographic differences. The first form as variant reading in Ḥamza (Kūfa), etc.

*wa-l-mawṣūl*) of shorter words (particles, etc.). Orthography was undergoing changes in both fields. In contradistinction to the underlying Aramaic orthography it had become custom to treat ʾ as a vowel-letter, and to be more observant in the word division. In both fields the number of the respective Koranic cases was so great that it was quite difficult to keep sight of them. That also the orthographic transmission is very definite and pretty uniform can be explained by the fact that interest in orthographic questions started so early—in the middle of the second century AH—that there were undoubtedly still sufficient copies from the time immediately after the ʿUthmānic recension available to settle controversial points of view. In these two fields it was, of course, not possible immediately to settle all points of contention by explicit textual evidence (*naṣṣ*). This explains why in default of *naṣṣ* the *ijmāʿ* of the copyists of the Koran<sup>96</sup> was consulted, and that still ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd AL-DĀNĪ (d. 444/1052)<sup>97</sup> was at times obliged in his studies to refer to ancient manuscripts of the Koran (mainly from Iraq). That this source was insufficient for the reconstruction of the earliest orthography is evident from extant old fragments of the Koran, where none of the important copies agree in every detail with the transmitted rules.

There were two reasons that led to the study of the orthography of the Koran in the second century. There was first Mālik b. Anas' (d. 179/795) decision<sup>98</sup> *سئل مالك هل يكتب المصحف على ما أحدثه الناس من الهجاء فقال لا إلا على الكنية الأولى*. The awareness that Arabic orthography would continue to change led to the question whether or not the new orthography could be applied to the Koran, and in case of its negation, could it be applied to a stricter observation of the Koranic orthography. Mālik's and his supporters' prohibition was of no consequence. Whereas the traditional restraint in the development of Koranic variant readings continued to lessen—already the Kūfic fragments of the Koran display an increase in deviations from the rules of scholars, although again mainly in the case of the ʾ—with the appearance of modern styles in Koranic manuscripts more and more modern orthography appeared, so that in our texts of the Koran only remnants of the old orthography remain. This divergence of the direction of development is explicable in so far as from the second century onward the emphasis of transmissions of the Koran again shifted towards oral reading.

[iii/20]

<sup>96</sup> *al-kuttāb*, occasionally *aṣḥāb al-maṣāḥif*; also *ʿadat al-kuttāb*.

<sup>97</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, suppl. vol. 1, pp. 719–720; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 17, no. 28, etc.

<sup>98</sup> al-Dānī, *al-Muqniʿ*, *bāb* 1, and then al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, *nawʿ* 76, *faṣl* 2; *Mevzuʿat*, vol. 2, p. 6; al-Damyāṭī al-Bannāʾ, *Ithāf* at the beginning of the *faṣl*, *Fī dhikr jumla min marsūm al-khatt*. Similarly Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (*Itqān*, *Mevzuʿat*).

The second reason is recognizable from the transmission of the orthography of the Koran itself; it is the question of the discrepancy between the variant readings and the written text. A long list going back to the frequently referred to Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Laythī (d. 169/785)<sup>99</sup> has been preserved in al-Dānī, *al-Muqni' fī al-ma'rifa*,<sup>100</sup> which does not contain any ʾ. Nearly everywhere it can be shown that it was read *ā* as well as *a*.<sup>101</sup> The fixing of writing without ʾ thus serves to establish the scriptural conformity of the reading with *ā*. It is rare to find the reverse relation, namely that the establishment of a spelling serves to reject a reading which cannot be reconciled with a variant reading.<sup>102</sup>

[iii/21]

Already Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān's contemporary, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥārith al-Dhimārī (d. 145/762)<sup>103</sup> wrote on spelling (*hiḡā*) in the Koran.<sup>104</sup> Al-Dānī<sup>105</sup> frequently refers to a related book dealing particularly with Medinan manuscripts of the Koran by (Abū Muḥammad) AL-GHĀZĪ IBN QAYS al-Andalusī (d. 199/815) entitled *K. Hiḡā' al-sunna*.<sup>106</sup> Books on *ikhtilāf al-maṣāḡif*,<sup>107</sup> which were mentioned above on p. 345 sq., on *ittifāq al-maṣāḡif*,<sup>108</sup> on *gharīb al-maṣāḡif*<sup>109</sup> or simply *al-maṣāḡif*<sup>110</sup> also deal with orthography apart from

<sup>99</sup> One of the seven canonical readers, [*EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 9–10].

<sup>100</sup> *Bāb 2, faṣl 1*.

<sup>101</sup> In the very isolated instances when our research aids fail to provide proof we might be more successful if we were better acquainted with the great old works of the variant readings.

<sup>102</sup> Examples mainly in *bāb 5: bāb dhikr mā rusima bi-ithbāt al-alif li-ma'nān*, and similar *bāb 7* with reference to *yā*. Cf. also al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, *naw'* 76, *faṣl 2, qā'ida 6: fī-mā fih qirā'atān fa-kutibat 'alā ihdāhumā*.

<sup>103</sup> *EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, p. 200.

<sup>104</sup> *Fihrist*, pp. 36 l 24. He is casually referred to in al-Dānī, *Muqni'*, *bāb 18*, toward the end.

<sup>105</sup> *Bāb 2, faṣl 4, bāb 5, faṣl 4, faṣl, bāb 7, 8, 9, 12 and 16*, and thereafter *'Aqila*, v. 187, and repeatedly. *Ithāf* (of al-Dimyāṭī al-Bannā') seems to have used it directly, in any case not by way of al-Dānī, *al-Muqni'*; cf., for example, the remark on sūra 30, which apparently cannot be located there. On the author cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, p. 371.

<sup>106</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, p. 661.

<sup>107</sup> From among the authors of such books listed in the *Fihrist*, p. 36, l 8 sq., al-Dānī refers to some of them in his *al-Muqni'*, although he most likely did not use them directly: al-Kisā'ī (particularly *bāb 13, 16, 19*), al-Farrā' (mainly *bāb 4 and 21*), and Khalaf b. Hishām al-Bazzār [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 12, no. 9] (*bāb 5, faṣl 1, bāb 21*).

<sup>108</sup> From [Abū l-Mundhir] NUṢAYR b. Yūsuf [AL-RĀZĪ, d. ca. 240/854]; (who according to *Fihrist*, p. 30, l 8, transmitted from al-Kisā'ī and thus is likely to be identical with his pupil, Naṣr b. Yūsuf [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, p. 119], <see, for example, Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 128>); *al-Muqni'*, *bāb 9, 12, 16* (here the title) 18 (*fī mā ijama'a 'alayh al-maṣāḡif*), 19 and 20; he takes into consideration also Baghdad (but not Mecca), and includes the differences.

<sup>109</sup> *Fihrist*, p. 35, l 5 and 8, probably from the author of the one *hiḡā'* book, *ibid.*, p. 36, l 24.

<sup>110</sup> E.g., *Fihrist*, p. 33, l 6. Regarding the book with this title by [ABŪ BAKR] b. Ashtah [AL-İSBAHĀNĪ (d. 360)], which was used by al-Suyūṭī in *al-Itqān*, *naw'* 76, *faṣl 1*, and elsewhere,

other subjects. Special treatment is accorded to the subject of separation and combination of words (*al-maḥṭūʿ wa-l-mawṣūl*), which has already been described above on p. 352 as a particularly difficult field. The first writer to deal with the subject was probably Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb (80/699–156/773),<sup>111</sup> to whom also al-Dānī refers<sup>112</sup> in the relevant section.<sup>113</sup> Another question treated in a monograph is the writing of the feminine ʾ as ʿ; the paragraph in *al-Muḥniʿ* regarding this orthography<sup>114</sup> is likely based on the *K. al-Hāʾāt fī kitāb Allāh*<sup>115</sup> of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim (IBN) AL-ANBĀRĪ (d. 327 or 8/939 or 940).<sup>116</sup> The earliest extant survey of the entire field of *rasm* (or *marsūm al-khaṭṭ*) is the *K. al-Muḥniʿ fī maʿrifat khaṭṭ maṣāḥif al-amṣār allatī jumiʿat fī zamān ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān*<sup>117</sup> of Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd AL-DĀNĪ (d. 444/1052),<sup>118</sup> which Silvestre de Sacy<sup>119</sup> studied in detail. The *Muḥniʿ* is unlike al-Dānī’s works on the variant readings—and particularly the *Taysīr*, a precisely arranged and minutely constructed compendium.

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see above, p. 389 n. 2. Of a different character seems to be the book with identical title of Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh IBN ABĪ DĀWŪD Sulaymān b. al-Ashʾath AL-SIJISTĀNĪ (d. 316) [*EP*; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 174–175] (d. 316/929), which is mentioned in *Fihrist*, p. 233, l 1 (probably identical with the *K. Ikhtilāf al-maṣāḥif li-Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī*, and which is the main source of *Itqān*, *navʿ* 76, *faṣl* 3: *Fī adab kitābat al-muṣḥaf*).

<sup>111</sup> [Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb b. ʿUmār al-Kūfī; *EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 9.] *Fihrist*, p. 36, l 26, for what is here said regarding the book of (ʿAbd Allāh) IBN ʿĀMIR (AL-YAḤṢUBĪ) applies to what has been said above, p. 395 n. 44.

<sup>112</sup> The work with the identical title by al-Kisāʾī—if the title variant, *al-Mawṣūl lafẓan wa-l-maḥṣūl maʿnan* (cf. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 125) proves to be correct—dealt with the questions discussed in al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, *navʿ* 29.

<sup>113</sup> *al-Muḥniʿ*, *bāb* 16.

<sup>114</sup> *Bāb* 17.

<sup>115</sup> Which in any case was a small work.

<sup>116</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, pp. 151–154, and vol. 9, pp. 144–147. *al-Muḥniʿ* in the respective paragraph mentions his name twice, but not the title of the work. Also the other writings on *hāʾāt* and *yāʾāt* of the Koran (*Fihrist*, pp. 31, 18, 32, and 21) are likely to have been on the subject of orthography. Al-Kisāʾī’s work on the *hāʾāt* (Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen*, p. 126), however, dealt with grammar, provided the addition, *al-mukannā bi-hā*, is correct, and likewise all the works on *lāmāt* (*Fihrist*, pp. 35, and 27 sqq.; cf. also G. Bergsträsser, “Das Kitāb al-Lāmāt,” p. 77 sqq.). Other important authorities of the *Muḥniʿ* that have not yet been mentioned are MUḤAMMAD IBN ʿĪSĀ b. Ibrāhīm b. Razīn AL-IṢBAHĀNĪ (d. 253 or 243/867 or 857); cf. for example, al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, p. 88) (*bāb* 5, *faṣl* 1 and 2, *bāb* 9, 12, 16 and 18), by whom, among others, excerpts from Nuṣayr b. Yūsuf have been transmitted, and Abū Ḥafṣ [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, p. 103 (f.), no. 4] الحارث (? (*bāb* 12, 13, 16 and 18).

<sup>117</sup> So the title in A.I. Silvestre de Sacy (see below); otherwise shortened and *rasm* or *marsūm* instead of *khaṭṭ*. With a slightly different sub-title in the Constantinople manuscript, Waqf Ibrahim, 31, fol. 81<sup>v</sup>: *Muḥniʿ fī hijāʿ al-maṣāḥif* (cf. above, pp. 404–405).—Utilized in al-Dānī’s Berlin manuscript, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 419.

<sup>118</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, p. 42, no. 2, and foot-note 1.

<sup>119</sup> “Commentaire sur le poème nommé Raiyya,” pp. 290–306, 330–332.

Rather, it is more like a collection of sources for such a book, a difference which perfectly displays the insufficient development of the science of Koranic orthography—which for practical purpose had nearly fallen into oblivion—when compared with the science of the variant readings. Even when by and large there is a subject classification of the material, the subjects nevertheless frequently overlap, and large parts are taken over *in toto* from the original, interspersed only by isolated critical remarks. Several of the sources have already been mentioned. The most important authority seems to be—not only for the alleged copy of the Caliph ‘Uthmān—the above-mentioned Abū ‘Ubayd.<sup>120</sup> Unfortunately, from this title none of his works we know of can be attributed to the subject under discussion. The same applies to Muḥammad IBN al-Qāsim AL-ANBĀRĪ, unless his writings mentioned on p. 340 n. 2, might be considered. Entirely different from *al-Muqni‘* was the related book of Abū l-‘Abbās al-Marrākushī entitled *Unwān al-dalīl fī marsūm khaṭṭ al-tanzīl*. According to the excerpts supplied by al-Suyūṭī<sup>121</sup> it dealt with the proof of an alleged meaning of the orthographic differences.

[iii/24]

The *Muqni‘* is the main basis of a work with an unknown title, but of similar arrangement, by ‘Abd al-Aḥad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥanbalī al-Harrānī (8th cent.),<sup>122</sup> and most of all the versified treatment of the subject by Abū l-Qāsim al-Qāsim b. Firruḥ AL-SHĀṬIBĪ (died in 590/1193)<sup>123</sup> *Aqīlat atrāb al-qaṣā'id fī asnā l-maqāṣid* (because of the rhyme also called *al-Rā'iyya*),<sup>124</sup> but other sources have been consulted as well (*Aqīla*, verse 46). From its commentary by ‘ALAM AL-DĪN Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad AL-SAKHĀWĪ (d. 643/1245)<sup>125</sup> Silvestre de Sacy, too, published excerpts with translation in his “Mémoire sur l’origine et les anciens monuments de la littérature parmi les Arabes.”<sup>126</sup> The *Aqīla*—with the same commentary and an additional one

<sup>120</sup> al-Zamakhsharī is likely to have made direct use of him in the *Kashshāf*. It is nearly certain that al-Zamakhsharī did not make use of *al-Muqni‘*; cf. below, p. 409 n. 143, and also below, p. 423 n. 225; and also frequently above in the second section.

<sup>121</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān, naw‘ 76, faṣl 2*. Also mentioned in *Mevzu‘at*, vol. 2, p. 7, and Ḥaḡī Qalfa [sic.] both without further details.

<sup>122</sup> *Nuzhat al-‘ālim fī qirā‘at ‘Aṣim*, Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 165. Used by Nöldeke in his first edition of the present work from the only known Ms., Leiden, no. 1640, [al-Ḥarrānī, *Nuzhat al-‘ālim fī qirā‘at ‘Aṣim*.]

<sup>123</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, p. 41, no. II.

<sup>124</sup> Used in the printed edition in *Majmū‘a fī l-qirā‘āt*, Cairo, 1329/1911.

<sup>125</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 410.

<sup>126</sup> pp. 419–434, 327–342; cf. further his “Recueil de différens traités relatifs à l’orthographie et à la lecture de l’Alcoran,” pp. 333–354.

by Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. ‘Uthmān [or ‘Umar] AL-JA‘BARĪ (d. 732/1331)<sup>127</sup> (and also probably *al-Muqni‘* itself)—constitutes the basis of the brief but very useful study—in the work on variant readings, *Ithāf fuḍalā’ al-bashar fī qirā’āt al-arba‘at ‘ashar*<sup>128</sup> by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad AL-DIMYĀTĪ, called al-Bannā’ (d. 1117/1705)<sup>129</sup>—in a chapter of the introduction, and continued with one section each at the end of the discussion of the individual sūras.<sup>130</sup> An even more drastic rearrangement of the subject into a continuous orthographic commentary on the Koran was produced by Mu‘min b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Rūmī al-Qalkābādī (d. 799/1396) in his *Jāmi‘ al-kalām fī rasm muṣḥaf al-imām*,<sup>131</sup> which also considers the alleged reason for the orthographic differences. Al-Suyūṭī in his *Itqān* (*naw‘ 76, faṣl 2*) supplies a brief survey, mainly based on *al-Muqni‘*, though arranged in a better order. According to Ibn Khaldūn,<sup>132</sup> *al-Muqni‘* and *‘Aqīla* were displaced in the Maghreb by the *rajaz*-poem of Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad AL-KHARRĀZ(Ī) [d. 711/1311], on which several commentaries have come down to us.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>127</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 164 (with a different *kunya* [Burhān al-Dīn Abū l-‘Abbās]).

<sup>128</sup> Printed in Cairo, 1317/1899. The title of the print is erroneously *fī l-qirā’āt*. [Edited by Sha‘bān Muḥammad Ismā‘īl, Beirut and Cairo, 1407/1987].

<sup>129</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 592, no. 2.

<sup>130</sup> Other works on the variant readings as well as the commentaries on the Koran, as far as I know, consider orthography only occasionally, and supply only useless references to the sources. The short presentation of the *rasm*—in vol. 1, pp. 28–34, in the margin of al-Ṭabarī’s commentary on *Gharā’ib al-Qur’ān wa-raghā’ib al-furqān* [ed. by I. ‘A. ‘Awaḍ, Cairo, 1962–1971] of Nizām al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Qummī AL-NISĀBŪRĪ (d. probably 706/1306, cf. P. Schwarz, “Wann lebte der Verfasser,” p. 300sq.), which Schwarz used as the basis for his article, “Der sprachgeschichtliche Wert einiger älterer Wortschreibungen im Korān,” p. 46sq.—does not, as Schwarz thinks (p. 47), reflect the seventh century condition of the manuscripts of the Koran in Khurāsān, rather it is a peculiarly arranged, and partly imperfect, collection (see below, p. 416 n. 179, p. 419 n. 203) from the same material which is available in a more complete and correct form in *Muqni‘*, etc. The quite isolated instances of details (see below, p. 423 n. 234) missing from *Muqni‘* and not obviously incorrect shows that *al-Muqni‘* cannot be the sole source. It is more likely that a Damascene secondary transmission (see below, p. 423 n. 234) has been used, which we also find in al-Sakhāwī (see below, p. 424 n. 245) and in *Nashr* of Ibn al-Jazarī (see below, p. 426 n. 254).

<sup>131</sup> Constantinople, Wakf Ibrahim, Ms. 31, fol. 1–39 (which contains from fol. 81 onward some related smaller writings of more recent times). Related is the somewhat more recent work [on the orthography of the Koran], Berlin Ms., Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 429. Yet another brief anonymous work on the orthography of the Koran without title is the Constantinople Ms., Fatih Camii Küttüphanesi, no. 73, fol. 21’sqq. Cf. also Silvestre de Sacy, “Recueil de différens traités relatifs à l’orthographe et à la lecture de l’Alcoran,” pp. 355–359; and Ibn ‘Alawān al-Muqri’ in: Wilh. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 420.

<sup>132</sup> *al-Muqaddima*, *faṣl 6*, section 5.

<sup>133</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 248.

[iii/26]

*The Cardinal Orthographic Peculiarities of the 'Uthmānic Text*

As the early orthography of the Koran is of prime importance for the history of the text—which to a large extent is made up of such trifles—and allows not insignificant deductions about the language of the Koran and the origin of the new orthography, and, furthermore, as it is interesting to observe how people handled an imperfect script, which was adapted from a foreign people—although from the outset some improvements had been introduced—one still notices how clumsily this was occasionally handled.<sup>134</sup> Here, the main cases of this orthography have been listed essentially according to the details in *al-Muqni'* in the light of the spelling in the extant Kūfic fragments of the Koran, where they either confirm peculiar references in literature or else depart from the following six rules of scholars.<sup>135</sup>

[iii/27]

First.—In Arabic orthography words generally<sup>136</sup> do not appear in the form they take in context but in the pausal form.<sup>137</sup> But Koranic orthography occasionally retains the form in context.<sup>138</sup> It is thus written:

(a) ت instead of ة in:

نعمت in eleven cases; رحمت in seven cases; امرأت in seven cases; ممت in five cases; لعنت sūras 3:54 and 24:7; معصيت sūra 58:9 and 58:10; كلمت sūra 7:133; بقيت sūra 11:87; قرت sūra 28:8; فطرت sūra 30:29; شجرت sūra 44:43; جت sūra 56:88; ابنت sūra 66:12.

In other cases it is disputed whether the singular or the plural is meant (which in most cases is indicated merely by ت instead of ات). For example,

<sup>134</sup> Later Islamic interpretation recognizes in every clumsiness a profound wisdom (cf. above, pp. 406 and 407sq.). This opinion is strictly opposed by Ibn Khaldūn in his *Muqaddima, faṣl* 5, section 30. The attempt of P. Schwarz in his article "Der sprachgeschichtliche Wert" (above, p. 407 n. 129) to recognize in most of the written peculiarities an expression of oral phenomena presupposes among the earliest scribes of the Koran a sensitivity for sounds and a precision and consistency in the rendering of sounds which was hardly attained by Arab grammarians centuries later.

<sup>135</sup> In citations from Kūfic manuscripts diacritical signs have been added, except in cases when more accuracy is required. [Here this is limited to the possibilities of the computer.]

<sup>136</sup> An exception are words like هاد which in analogy to the genitive nunation are written, although the pausal form is *hādī*—but see below, this page and pp. 362–363.

<sup>137</sup> Therefore فعله for فعلت \*, أمرن for أمرًا \*, etc. For this reason the Sandhi phenomena are not expressed in writing, for example, مل لي not من لي \*, and من من \*, not \* من (only when written in one word بمن).

<sup>138</sup> In such instances Koranic scholars disagree as to what happens to a word not written in pausal form when it occurs in pause (what even happens when spoken separately); does it receive the ordinary pausal form or not? For example, in pause, is it to be pronounced *rahmah* or *rahmat*? (أيقف على الهاء أم على التاء?) The respective rules constitute the main part of the chapter *Fī l-waḥf 'alā marsūm al-khatt* of the books on variant readings.



كلمت, sūras 6:115 and 10:96 (see above, p. 400); and frequently, آيت sūra 29:49; ثمرت sūra 41:47, etc.

After ā: مرضات sūra 2:203, and quite frequently; اللات sūra 53:19 (instead [iii/28] ذات, هيئات, (الإلهة < اللاهة > اللة)<sup>139</sup>

(b) The consonantal letters و and ى are frequently omitted if the vowel is shortened because of a following *wasl* (in which case it must be remembered that the final *ī* frequently also in other cases remains unwritten, see below, pp. 413–414):

ى in fifteen cases:<sup>140</sup> سوف يؤت الله, sūra 4:145; يقض الحق, sūra 6:57;<sup>141</sup> لهاد, sūra 27:18; واد ال ... , sūras 20:12, 28:30, 79:16, ... , نَبِّحَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ sūra 10:103; and بهاد العبي, sūra 30:52;<sup>142</sup> صال الجحيم, sūra 37:163; عباد الذين, sūra 81:16;— اتان الله, sūra 27:36;— عباد الذين, sūra 39:19;— ويدع الانسان: و

ويمخ, sūra 96:18; سندع الزبانية, sūra 54:6; يوم يدع الداع, sūra 17:12; و يدع الانسان: و الله, sūra 42:23.<sup>143</sup> According to al-Zamakhsharī it is permitted to put here also صالح المؤمنین, sūra 66:4 (for صالحو), and indeed this is certainly correct.

ā as a vowel letter in the identical case is omitted only occasionally in أئيا, namely before ال, sūras 24:31, 43:48, and 55:31 (cf. also above, p. 395 note 46).

(c) The nunation is written as ن in كائين (i.e., كائين or كائين),<sup>144</sup> its origin from آئي + ك has been lost. [iii/29]

(d) Regarding the way to express *hamza* at the end of a word cf. below, p. 421 sqq.

Second.—Small particles are assimilated in speech as well as in writing. In the Koran this is more common than in later orthography. There are, however, no set rules, and many occurrences are uncertain. The Koran writes:

<sup>139</sup> This word ought not have been included as by nature it cannot occur in pause and thus cannot be written in pausal form (irrespective of the late artificial form الذات, “the being”).

<sup>140</sup> *al-Muqniʿ*, *bāb* 6, *faṣl* 2; still, in the various sections of the *Muqniʿ* I have been able to find only the above-mentioned fourteen passages.

<sup>141</sup> Others read in this case يقض.

<sup>142</sup> Others read لهاد العبي. [the first and the last words have the vowel marks “in”].

<sup>143</sup> al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 42:23 omits the passage in sūra 54:6 and states that also in other cases spellings with و occur.—According to al-Farrāʾ also نسوا الله sūra 59:19 is to be written “without و” which al-Dānī contests. According to the reading of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī *ṣālu* (for *ṣālū*), صال الجحيم sūra 37:163 ought to be here.

<sup>144</sup> In poetry *kāʾin* is far more frequently encountered than *kaʾayyin*. The word appears also in other forms (كأن, Ibn Muḥayṣin, [d. 123/740, *EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 202–203] and occasionally al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; cf. al-Dimiyāṭī al-Bannāʾ, *Ithāf* on sūra 3:140).

وَمَعْنٍ

وَمَعْنٍ, but three times مَا مِنْ<sup>145</sup>

عَمَّن, but twice مِنْ عَمَّن.

عَمَّا, but sūra 7:166, (عَمَّ) عَمَّا.

وَفِي مَا, but mainly فِي مَا<sup>146</sup>

أَلَّا, but ten times لَا أَلَّا<sup>147</sup>

إِلَّا

أَنْ لَنْ for لَنْ

أَنْ لَمْ

فَالَمْ, but لَنْ لَمْ sūra 11:17.<sup>148</sup>

أَمْ, but four times مِنْ أَمْ.

أَمَّا (also sūra 6:144 = "or what").

[iii/30]

وَأَمَّا, but sūra 13:40, وَأَمَّا

إِنَّا (as well = "only," as = "verily, was,") but sūra 6:134, إِنَّا<sup>149</sup>

أَنَّ, but in some passages مَا أَنَّ<sup>150</sup>

كَأَنَّ

رَبَّنَا وَمَهْمَا بِنِعْمَتَا

أَيْنَا<sup>151</sup>, somewhat infrequently أَيْنَ مَا

حَيْثُ مَا

كُلِّمَا<sup>152</sup>

بِنَسَمَا, but several times بِنَسَمَا<sup>153</sup> مَا

وَوَيْكَأَنَّ

Twice لَكِي لَا لَكِي, four times لَكِي لَا (sūra 59:7).

<sup>145</sup> Sūra 63:10 is controversial (Ms no. 1 in: J.G. Ch. Adler, *Descriptio cod. quorundam cuficorum* (1780), (من ما).

<sup>146</sup> The distribution is very uncertain since according to some مَا فِي is found in eleven passages, whereas according to others, only once.

<sup>147</sup> Sūra 21:87 is controversial.

<sup>148</sup> In the Kūfic Koran fragment, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 328, it is written in one word.

<sup>149</sup> Sūra 16:97, controversial (al-Dimyāṭi al-Bannā', *Ithāf*).

<sup>150</sup> The references to some of the passages vary.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Only sūra 14:37, and according to some, sūras 4:93, 23:46, and 67:8, كُلِّ مَا.

<sup>153</sup> The references to some of the passages vary.

يا is always affixed (as simple ي) to the following vocative.<sup>154</sup> The assimilation proceeds even one step further in *يَا ابْنَ آدَمَ*<sup>155</sup> for *يَا ابْنَ آدَمَ*, sūra 20:95, so that here not only is يا connected with the following word but also *ابْنَ آدَمَ* “full brother” is written like a single word.

A peculiar writing is *هَذَا مَالِ هَذَا الْكِتَابِ*, sūra 4:80; *مَالِ هَذَا*, sūra 18:47; *هَذَا مَالِ هَذَا*, sūra 25:8; *هَذَا مَالِ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا*, sūra 70:36; here, the preposition لَ, which cannot stand alone, is inappropriately attached to the preceding word (assimilation with the noun مال) instead of the following word.

Stranger still is the writing *وَلَا تَحِينُ* for *وَلَاتِ حِينٍ*, sūra 38:2, which Abū ‘Ubayd [al-Qāsim] claims to have seen in his copy of the ‘Uthmānic recension. Al-Zamakhsharī does not doubt its existence, but al-Dānī says it is not found in any manuscript, and it also does not seem to occur in extant Kūfic fragments.

[iii/31]

Third.—The systematic use of vowel letters to indicate the long vowels gives Arabic orthography a great advantage over the other Western Semitic orthographies, with the exception of Ethiopic, but they are still now and then omitted.

(a) The ِ, which the old orthographies never use medially as a simple vowel sign—or only in certain cases—is frequently omitted in the Koran as well as in other ancient Arabic antiquities. This omission is the first orthographic peculiarity which the reader of Kūfic texts encounters. Although Koranic scholars attempted to introduce certain rules according to which ِ was used now and then, their recommendations are precarious and at times contradictory, and in addition, Kūfic Korans frequently depart from the rule.<sup>156</sup> Of course, those manuscripts which, with the exception of the words that also later omit the ِ (like *الرَّحْمَنُ اللَّهُ*)<sup>157</sup> and always use the ِ,<sup>158</sup> originate from a somewhat later time, and are rewritten in accordance with more

<sup>154</sup> Likewise *هَذَا*, not only in *هَذَا*, etc. but also in *هَاتِمَ هَا أَنْتُمْ* = *هَاتِمَ هَا أَنْتُمْ* sūra 3:59, and frequently.

<sup>155</sup> The Gotha Koran fragment, W. Pertsch, *Die arabischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha*, no. 451, *يَا ابْنَ آدَمَ*, and so also occasionally in literature (unspecific).

<sup>156</sup> Karabacek's statement in his “Ein Koranfragment des neunten Jahrhunderts,” p. 36 sq., that with respect to the use of ِ in the Viennese Ms., Ser. nova, no. 4742, concurs with the rules of *al-Muqni'*, is open to discussion.

<sup>157</sup> But even *الرَّحْمَنُ* is to be found in Kūfic Korans, for example, the Gotha fragment of the Koran, W. Pertsch's *Verzeichnis*, no. 427; J. Ch. Lindberg, *Lettre sur quelques médailles cufiques*, table 12; D.S. Margoliouth, *Mohammed and the rise of Islam*, plate to p. 218.

<sup>158</sup> Nearly so the magnificent Berlin fragment of the Koran, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 301; B. Moritz, *Arabic palaeography*, plates 31–36; and in addition the Ahlwardt manuscripts, numbers 303, 306, 309, and 315, from the transition stage to *naskhī*.

recent rules. Still, also many others that do not display intentional deviation from ancient usage frequently put an ʾ where according to those recommendations it ought to be omitted, for example in كتاب that according to scholars ought to be written with ʾ in four instances only, but everywhere else always كتب. Conversely, the case that a required ʾ is omitted is rare<sup>159</sup> as most of the manuscripts demonstrate the attempt of its increasing usage. Moreover, these rules that go back to good old copies are generally more reliable than our extant manuscripts, which are far from being carefully edited model codices, but rather are mainly calligraphic artifacts.

[iii/32]

This is not the place to discuss all the cases where ʾ is either written or omitted. Let us only present a few principal examples. Naturally, ʾ is omitted where its omission is customary, or at least tolerated, also in later orthography; thus, for example, ما also for ماء. Following that tradition, it is mostly omitted also in the plural ending *āt*, in the dual ending *āni*, in the affirmative *-nā*, when it is followed by a suffix (e.g. فعلناه = فعلناه), in the forms فاعلون فاعلات (thus فعلت)—but not in فاعل and in most of the words with *ā* between the second and third radical—after an *l* (in order to avoid the conglomeration of similar long letters), in the vocative particle يا يَايَا يَوسَى) etc.), in the particle of invocation ها هَاتَم = هَاتَم (sūra 3:59 and frequently), etc. An interesting isolated case is إلى<sup>160</sup> the Medinan and Iraqi spelling of the relative pronoun اللّاء (on ى see below, p. 421 sq.).

Still, this learned tradition overlooked several words where ʾ has been omitted, although it is the bearer of a resting *hamza*. The omission of the ʾ also in this case must be explained by the fact that the Meccans, and many other Arabs, abandoned the laryngeal in such cases and pronounced *a'* as *ā* (see below, p. 420 sq.). This orthography is to be found in the following cases: أخطنا instead أخطنا, sūra 2:286, in B. Moritz, *Arabic palaeography*, plate 19; اطمنتم instead اطمنتم, sūra 4:104, in W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*, no. 313, and Wilh. Pertsch, *Die arabische Handschriften zu Gotha*, no. 433; بالبساء instead بالبساء, sūra 6:42, in Ahlwardt, no. 314; تويل instead تويل, sūra 12:102, Ahlwardt, no. 331; استجرت instead استجرت, sūra 28:26, in B. Moritz, *Arabic palaeography*, plate 39; أخطم instead أخطم, sūra 33:5, in Ahlwardt, no. 349; ويستأذن instead ويستأذن, sūra 33:13, in the same manuscript;

<sup>159</sup> For example, Wm. Wright, *Facsimiles of manuscripts and inscriptions*, plate 59, where sūra 27:1 reads وكتب although the passage is one of the four where according to *al-Muqni'* ʾ ought to be written.

<sup>160</sup> So the Berlin Koran fragment, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 350, sūra 33:4; conversely, the Berlin Mss., nos. 349, and 351, at the same place لاى.

تستأخرون instead تستأخرون, sūra 34:29, in W. Pertsch, Gotha, no. 457.<sup>161</sup> This peculiar orthography of partially very old manuscripts might be ascribed without hesitation to the earliest time. Literature mentions only two cases of this kind: sūra 2:67, فاذا رآتم instead of فاذا رأتم, and sūra 50:29, امتلت instead of امتلأت (in most of the manuscripts).<sup>162</sup>

(b) The ي designating the vowel  $\bar{i}$  is omitted<sup>163</sup> when two ي come together, for example in النبيين instead of النبيين. Exceptions are sūra 83:18, عليين, and the forms of the causative of حيي with affirmative or suffix,<sup>164</sup> for example, يحييكم, as well as the corresponding أفعيينا, sūra 50:14.

[iii/33]

This purely graphic loss of a medial ي is juxtaposed with the dropping of the final ي conditioned by the pronunciation. One not only suppresses many a final  $\bar{i}$  in writing and speech in pause—frequently for the sake of the rhyme (for example, المتعال, sūra 13:10; ونذُر, six times in sūra 54; سَمِّهِدِينَ, sūra 43:26, etc.)—and shortens the possessive suffix of the first person singular in the vocative—a phenomenon that according to the other rules governing the Arabic vocative can easily be explained—(e.g., يقوم, sūra 2:51)<sup>165</sup> as well as final  $\bar{i}$  generally before *wasl* (also in writing, see above, p. 409). Rather, the shortening goes far beyond these limits. From the well-known Quraysh name العاص instead of العاصي, and possibly also from the existence of similar forms in *hadith*, it follows that this pronunciation was common to the Quraysh dialect. We thus find in the Koran الداع in sūras 2:182, 54:6, 54:8; يأت in sūra 11:107; المهتد in sūras 17:99, and 18:16; نبغ in sūra 18:63; كالجواب in sūra 34:12; المناذ in sūra 50:40, etc.; with the nominal suffix of the first person singular, دعاء in sūra 14:42; and, above all, with the verbal suffix of the first person singular, for example, دعان in sūra 2:182, واتقون in sūra 2:193, تسألن in sūra 11:48, etc. Particularly frequent is this omission (for similar reasons as with the vocative) with the imperative and jussive.

<sup>161</sup> Further تستنسوا instead تستنسوا, sūra 24:27, in A.S. Lewis' *Sinai Palimpsest*, A (see below, p. 426 sq.).

<sup>162</sup> Further ليلف, sūra 106:1, in the variant reading ليألف ('Ikrima).

<sup>163</sup> The spelling المؤمن instead المؤمن, W. Pertsch, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, Gotha Ms, no. 460, sūra 37:11, is a spelling mistake; but cf. Lewis' *Sinai Palimpsest*, below, p. 426 sqq., section *The orthography of Agnes S. Lewis' Sinai Palimpsest*.

<sup>164</sup> The sources are vague and contradictory about the orthography of the forms without ending.

<sup>165</sup> The only exception is يا عبادي الذين (which apparently means the pronunciation *ibādiya*) sūras 29:56, and 39:54 (here thus also in the Berlin Ms., Ahlwardt, no. 352); as far as the contentious passage sūra 43:68 is concerned, see already above, p. 400.—In poetry the shortened form is not unusual, for example in يا قوم.

[iii/34] In all these cases which, taken as a whole, elide or shorten<sup>166</sup> a great many of the final *ī*,<sup>167</sup> we must recognize the orthography as the expression of the pronunciation. Also the inconsistency of orthography as far as writing with or without *ى* in completely parallel cases is nothing but a reflection of the actual variation in the pronunciation.

[iii/35] Most of the readers of the Koran recognize the disappearance of the *ي* only in rhyme and pause, and restore it in context in a larger or smaller number of cases; others even do this in pause.<sup>168</sup>

(c) Except before *wasl*, *و* as a sign of *ū* is elided only in the case when two *و* meet, for example, in *يَلُونِ يَسْتَوُونَ يَلُونِ* for *يَلُونِ يَلُونِ*, and in the word *رِيَا* for *رِيَا* <sup>رِيَا < رِيَا</sup>.<sup>169</sup>

(d) The original long final vowels of the pronominal suffixes *هُ* and *هِيَ*<sup>170</sup> following pausal pronunciation *هُ* are written defectively.<sup>171</sup>

<sup>166</sup> In some of the cases the statements are contradictory.

<sup>167</sup> *Ithāf* offers at the beginning of the chapter *Fī l-yā'āt al-zawā'id* (p. 71, bottom) the following statistics: Apart from rhyme, *ى* is missing in thirty-five cases, twenty-two of which with the suffix of the first pers. sing.; in rhyme, in eighty-six cases, eighty-one of which with the suffix of the first pers. sing.; thus, altogether in 121 cases. This statistic, however, considers only those cases with contentious pronunciation; their total number is considerably greater (*Ithāf*, p. 7, bottom: excluding the vocatives with suffix of the first pers. sing., 133). I am not aware of a statistic of the cases where *ى* is not dropped; *Ithāf* enumerates at the beginning of the chapter *Fī l-yā'āt al-zawā'id* (p. 68sq.) 796 cases with written *ى* of the suffix, although it must be observed that in 230 cases also the pronunciation *-iya* is maintained.

<sup>168</sup> Most daring in the restitution is Ya'qūb al-Ḥaḍramī (Baṣra), [*EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS* vol. 1, pp. 11–12] who even in rhyme mostly again inserts *ي* (with *-iyah* as context pronunciation of the suffix); most closely related to him are Ibn Kathīr (Mecca)—who treats similarly a considerable part of these places—and Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' (Baṣra) who, still somewhat more frequently than Ibn Kathīr, restitutes *ي* at least in context. The Kūfans (Āṣim al-Jahdarī, Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb, al-Kisā'ī, Khalaf b. Hishām al-Bazzār) are the most rigid followers of the consonantal text, who, apart from a few places, shorten the vowel in context and pause whenever it is written defectively.

<sup>169</sup> The only explanation for this peculiar writing seems to be that in the dialect of the Ḥijāz *hamza* had so early and completely disappeared that the word could be effected by the rules of sound *ūi* > *ū*. Less likely is the assumption that for the word by nature in the dialect of the Ḥijāz the nominal form *fu'lā* instead the nominal form *fi'lā* was the custom. In any case, the writing must be considered *riyā*; this is indeed transmitted (*Ithāf* on sūra 12:5) as a variant reading of Abū Ja'far Yazīd IBN AL-QA'QĀ AL-MAKHZŪMĪ (Medina, d. 130/747; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 9, l 5). The writing *رِيَا* can be found in the Berlin Ms., no. 363, on sūra 48:27, and in the Gotha Ms., no. 460, on sūra 37:105.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. now the detailed study of A. Fischer, "Die Quantität des Vokals des arabischen Pronominalsuffixes *hu*."

<sup>171</sup> The readers of the Koran unanimously retain the length except after resting consonants (i.e., mainly after a long vowel and diphthong) where only Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Muḥayṣin (both

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Also the old forms, *humū -humū (-himū -himī) -tumū -kumū*, were changed—at least in pause—in ordinary language to the shorter *hum -hum (-him) -tum -kum* which are likewise found in all poets, although not as frequently as the long ones; and for such reason the Koran writes *كَمْ تَمَّ هُمْ*.<sup>172</sup>

Whether the ا in انا indicates only the pausal form or whether in the Hijāz the old length, which is only occasionally found in the poets,<sup>173</sup> was still alive cannot be determined with certainty.<sup>174</sup>

Fourth.—The long vowel which we read *ā* is frequently expressed by *وي* and *و* in the Koran.

Wherever *ي* is the third radical (as in اتي) or appears in inflexion (as in تداعي, 2nd pers., تداعيتُ, دعوى, دعويان, dual), the final stem *ā* when not followed by *ء*<sup>175</sup> is expressed by *وي*; and this not only at the end of a word but also before suffixes. Further written with *ي* is the ending *-ā* in the feminine ending and in *يا حسرتي*, etc., and in a number of particles (الي etc., أتي []).

This practice cannot be explained from any consideration for etymology because, if for some strange reason this would have been effective, also *دعُو\** for *دعا* ought to have been written. This practice must rather be explained by a particular pronunciation of the vowel, namely words like اتي were not enounced with a pure *ā* but “approaching *r̄*” (*imāla nahw al-yā*), thus an *ā* with or without a stroke above. This explanation is supported not only by orthography but also by rhyme. If we consider the large number of verses terminating in *يا*, *نبي*, and *يهي* it cannot be considered an accident that only very few rhyme *يا* with *يهي*.<sup>176</sup> These few cases, however, do not matter very much given the well-known inaccuracy of the Koranic rhyme, which takes various liberties.<sup>177</sup>

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Mecca) pronounce *-hū* and *-hī* respectively (chapter *hā' al-kināya* of the works on variant readings).

<sup>172</sup> But Nāfi' (according to parts of the transmission) and Abū Ja'far Yazīd IBN AL-QA'QĀ' AL-MAKHZŪMĪ (Medina) as well as Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Muḥayṣin (Mecca)—thus, precisely the Hijāzi readers—read the forms with final *-ū* (*Itḥāf*, etc., on sūra 1:6).

<sup>173</sup> Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch*, p. 14, § 13. Cf. also J. Barth, *Die Pronominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* [the pronominal formation in the Semitic languages], p. 3.

<sup>174</sup> *Anā* is considered a pausal form in Koranic reading as well as in Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Laythī and Abū Ja'far Yazīd (Medina) before *hamza* (al-Dimyāṭi al-Bannā', *Itḥāf*, etc. on sūra 2:260). Therefore also the writing انا اقل, Berlin Ms., 338, sūra 18:37.

<sup>175</sup> (اء) الف ممدودة in contrast to ألف مقصورة.

<sup>176</sup> Sūra 18:12 (where the Damascenes do not assume the end of a verse); 65:6; 99:5 (where the vowel occurs in the antepenultimate, where the rules of rhyme are less strict). Sūra 20:125 would not even rhyme perfectly if it were pronounced *يā*. (Cf. below, p. 417 sq.)

<sup>177</sup> In any case, the rhyme from *ā* to *ā* with a stroke above is easier than the ordinary rhyme from *ū* to *i*.

The *imāla* is of great importance also in the recitation of the Koran but there it does not merely follow the apportionment of the writings of ل and ي.<sup>178</sup>

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This way of writing is changed only in the following instances:

- (a) Occasionally, when a *wasl* follows and the vowel is shortened so that the difference disappears:<sup>179</sup> لدا الباب, sūra 12:25 (disputed لدا الحناجر sūra 40:18); أقصا الذي, sūra 17:1,<sup>180</sup> أقصا المدينة, sūra 28:19, and 36:19; طغا الماء, sūra 69:11; further disputed وحنا الجنة, sūra 55:54,<sup>181</sup>—or before nunation where the same happens as in طوا, sūra 20:12 (although controversial). But here as everywhere else orthography expresses the pausal form.
- (b) When another ي precedes or follows (in order to avoid the repetition of the same vowel letter), for example, خطاينا = خطينا بشراي دنيا; nevertheless يحيى (as a name as well as a verbal form, in contrast to other

<sup>178</sup> Cf. M.Th. Grünert, *Die Imāla, der Umlaut im Arabischen*, particularly pp. 36 sqq., and 84 sqq. (Excerpt from the relevant *nawʿ* 30 of *al-Itqān*, which, however, is by no means exhaustive).—Orthography is most strictly observed by the Kūfans (Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb, al-Kisāʿī, al-Aʿmash, and Khalaf b. Hishām); there are, however, considerable differences between them so that they go far beyond the limits of orthography in many ways, occasionally also failing to attain them (cf. below, p. 418 n. 193, p. 417 n. 186 and 187). Ḥamza and al-Aʿmash read ten perfect tenses of verbs II Inf. with *imāla*. On the other hand, the *imāla* of the Baṣrans, Abū ʿAmr and [Abū Muḥammad] al-Yazīdī, [d. 202/817; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 63–64] is based strictly on (combinative) phonetics, conditioned mainly by an *r* neighbouring *ā* (similarly, going beyond the orthographic *imāla*, Abū ʿUmar AL-DŪRĪ [d. 240/854; EQ; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 13 no. 11] ʿan al-Kisāʿī and, to a lesser extent, according to some transmitters [ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd] WARSH, d. 197/812 [EQ; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 11] ʿan Nāfiʿ). The remaining readers have the *imāla* only to a lesser extent. The details of grammarians regarding the *imāla*, which vary considerably, deviate very considerably from the practice of all the readers of the Koran. In this field a particularly great diversity of dialects attests to this. (Cf. also K. Vollers, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*, p. 101 sq.; Chr. Sarauw, “Die altarabische Dialektspaltung,” p. 31 sqq., particularly, pp. 33–42, attempts to interpret the Koranic orthography with ي ي as rendering *ay* and *ī* respectively, but it is the result of erroneous assumptions regarding their distribution).

<sup>179</sup> Recognized also in the recitation of the Koran.—The different explanation of P. Schwarz, “Der sprachgeschichtliche Wert einiger älterer Wortschreibungen im Koran [philological value of select early orthography in the Koran],” p. 52 (cf. above, p. 417 n. 134)—that it produces the effect of impeding *imāla* in the preceding consonants—is untenable given the great number of ي after the identical consonant in the Koran. The explanation of the ل of لدا الباب from the “particle-nature” of the word is in contradiction to the writing with ي in all the other places. As far as I know, there is no word جناء which is referred to in order to explain جنا. The spelling وعضا cited with reference to al-Naysābūrī, 1, 32, and 40, sūra 43:7, in my opinion, must be considered a mistake, copied by Schwarz from a manuscript like the Berlin Ms. 354 (see below, last line) since it appears nowhere else in literature.

<sup>180</sup> Unlike Schwarz, loc. cit., only in al-Naysābūrī but also in *al-Muqniʿ*, *bāb*, 19.

<sup>181</sup> So the Berlin Mss. 305, and 337.



forms of the verb like *أَحْيَا نَحْيَا* and *سُقْيِيهَا*, sūra 91:13 (because of the uninterrupted rhyme with *يَهَا*).

- (c) The verb *رَأَى* is written *رَا*; only sūra 53:11 and 18 write *رَاي*. Some cases can be explained with rule “a” (and thus it reads *تراء الجمعان* in sūra 26:61 for *تراءى*) but this does not apply to all, and for such reason one must probably imply an assimilation of this verb to *rā*,<sup>182</sup> which thus frequently loses its *ء*.—In the same way the verb *نَأَى* is changed to *وَا* in sūras 17:85 and 41:51.<sup>183</sup>
- (d) In some isolated words: *تولاه*, sūra 22:4, *سسيهم*, sūra 48:29, as well as controversial *نخشا*, sūra 5:57.<sup>184</sup>

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The Kūfic manuscripts go one step further when replacing *ى* with *ا*; so *حنا* Berlin Ms. 333 (sūra 15:99); *علا* Berlin Mss. 323 (sūra 8:51), and 362 (often), Gotha Ms. 458 (often),<sup>185</sup> *أغنا* Berlin Ms. 346 (sūra 26:207); *ومضا* Berlin Ms. 354 (sūra 43:7); *هداكم* Berlin Ms. 301 (sūra 16:9), Ms. 305 (sūra 2:181); *هداهم* Berlin Ms. 301 (sūra 16:39); *اتاكم* Berlin Ms. 346 (sūra 27:36); *أنجاكم* Gotha Ms. 447 (sūra 14:6); *يلقاه* Berlin Ms. 333 (sūra 17:14); *يراك* Wright, *Facsimilies of manuscripts*, plate 59 (sūra 26:218); *مولانا* B. Moritz, *Arabic palaeography*, plate 31 (sūra 2:286); etc. This usage is to be explained by the preponderance of another pronunciation over the transmitted orthography;<sup>186</sup> this is later found particularly in manuscripts from the Maghreb.

On the other hand, only in isolated instances do we find *ى* where the inflexion has *و*, because from among the relevant cases cited in support of this, the roots of *ضعى*, of *دحىيا*, sūra 79:30, and of *طحىيا*, sūra 91:6, also have *ى* as a third radical, not only *و*; and in the case of *زكى*, sūra 24:21, perhaps a change effected by *زكى* must be presupposed<sup>187</sup> so that only two cases remain, *تسليها*, sūra 91:2, and *سجى*, sūra 93:2, both occasioned by the rule of rhyme.

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In the middle of a word we find *ى* for *ا* regularly only in the foreign word *نورية*, where the explanation by means of a different vocalization cannot be

<sup>182</sup> This is actually how al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī reads and, according to others, also (‘Uthmān b. Sa‘īd) WARSH [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 11] ‘an Nāfi’ (Medina). Cf. *Ithāf* on sūra 12:28, and 27:10.

<sup>183</sup> There are, though, the secondary forms *rā’a* and *nā’a* (this also as variant reading).

<sup>184</sup> Further mentioned *تترا* sūra 23:46, controversial as to variant reading and meaning, and—to rule “a”—*كنا الجنتين*, sūra 18:31, from the erroneous assumption that this is a feminine form, ending in *ā* (in respect of *imāla*, though, it is treated as such).

<sup>185</sup> Several times in this fragment in Joh. H. Möller, *Palaeographische Beiträge aus den herzoglichen Sammlungen in Gotha*, plate 12, no. 2 (1844).

<sup>186</sup> As far as the particles are concerned even Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb follows this pronunciation; cf. M.Th. Grünert, *Die Imāla*, p. 78sqq.

<sup>187</sup> Although also the representatives of the most far-reaching *imāla* exclude precisely this word (a single opposite transmission regarding Ḥamza and al-Kisā’ī is rejected in *Ithāf*, s.v.).

excluded;<sup>188</sup> further, in *تقنية*<sup>189</sup> sūra 3:27 (against sūra 3:97, *تقانه* or *تقنه*);<sup>190</sup> *مزجية*, sūra 12:88 (Iraq).<sup>191</sup> The feminine ending is in these forms treated in analogy with the suffixes (see above, p. 415 sq.). Added to this are two transmissions not recognized by al-Dānī: ‘Āṣim al-Jahḍarī reports from the *Imām* the spelling *طيب* for *طاب* sūra 4:3, and Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī (d. 250/864) from Meccan manuscripts the spelling *جيا* for *جاء*, etc.<sup>192</sup> Both orthographies agree with the extended *imāla*—likely unjustified in the Koran—as advocated among the readers of the Koran by Ḥamza.<sup>193</sup>

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The representation of *ā* by *ى* has as an alternative *و*, but this is limited to a few particular words. Since the grammarians explicitly state that the pronunciation of these words is broader (*تفخيم*; *تغليظ*) and leaning to *و* (*imāla naḥw al-wāw*) in the Ḥijāz, we must assume that the vowel was here pronounced like (a long) *ā* or *ō*. The words are the following: *حيوة*,<sup>194</sup> *زكوة*, *صلوة*, *مشكوة*, sūra 24:35,<sup>195</sup> *نجوة*, sūra 40:44, and *منوة*, sūra 53:20,<sup>196</sup> as well as *الربوا*.<sup>197</sup> But writing with *و* applies only when the word has no suffix, whereas when it does have one, the vowel is indicated by an *ا* or written defectively.<sup>198</sup>

The Kūfic manuscripts of the Koran occasionally restitute the *ا*, for example, Berlin Ms. no. 352 (sūra 39:27); Gotha Ms. no. 442 (sūra 9:38), and Ms. no. 446 (sūra 14:3); *صلاة*, B. Moritz, *Arabic palaeography*, plate 33 (sūra 8:3).

Fifth.—Every final *و* is followed by an *ا*.<sup>199</sup> The phonetic explanation for this spelling—the *ا* expresses “the broader sound of the final *ū* and *aw*”—not only fails owing to the improbability of the identical phonetic appearance in the case of the long vowel *ū*, and the diphthong *aw*, but more so because

<sup>188</sup> Cf. the Aramaic form אוריתא [vowels omitted by the editor], and similar forms (Schwally).

<sup>189</sup> Which might also indicate the pronunciation *taqīyyatan* supported by YA'QŪB b. Iṣḥāq AL-ḤAḌRAMĪ [*EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 11, no. 6] (Baṣra) and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

<sup>190</sup> Although in the Berlin Ms. no. 308 *تقينه*; but in Berlin Ms. no. 305, made to read *تقانه*.

<sup>191</sup> So also Gotha Ms. no. 445.

<sup>192</sup> al-Kisā'ī transmits this orthography also from the Koran of Ubayy [Ibn Ka'b] (likewise (وللرجال)).

<sup>193</sup> Cf. above, p. 415 sq., and Chr. Sarauw, “Die altarabische Dialektspaltung,” p. 35 sq.

<sup>194</sup> In these two words the vowel is likely to be influenced by the Aramaic basic forms *צלותא* *צלותא* (Fr. Schwally); cf. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* [new contributions to Semitic philology], pp. 25, and 29.

<sup>195</sup> Ethiopic *maskōt* (originally probably *mashkōt*), Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 51.

<sup>196</sup> Also Nabataean *מנורתו* (Schwally).

<sup>197</sup> Some transmit sūra 30:38 *رأ* (the only place with nunation; cf. above, p. 415). Regarding *غدوة* see above, p. 395 n. 46.

<sup>198</sup> Sūras 9:104, and 11:89, where *صلوتك* is written, and likewise sūra 23:9 (*صلوتهم*) the common reading is the plural.

<sup>199</sup> The old Koranic orthography thus does not differentiate between *يدعو* Sing. Ind. or Subj., and *يدعوا* Plur. Subj., and apocope.

this \ is also found in الربوا which ends in (long) -ā (-ō), in the subjunctives in َو<sup>200</sup> as well as in many forms with final *hamza* (see below, p. 422 sq.).<sup>201</sup> Thus, we are here dealing with a purely graphic phenomenon—probably a remnant of a word division—which survived particularly after و and might be explained from the fact that the importance had already occurred to Arab grammarians that usually و is to be attached to the following word.

Most of the exceptions to the rule can easily be explained: In فَاوْ, جَاوْ, بَاوْ, [iii/42] sūra 2:226,<sup>202</sup> the final \ is omitted because of the preceding one, in تَبَوُّوْ الدَّارِ sūra 59:9, because of the immediately following ل; in ذُو<sup>203</sup> because of the elimination of the word division on account of its proclitic circumstances in وَعَتُّوْ عُنْتُوْا sūra 25:23,<sup>204</sup> possibly because of the inconsistency with the otherwise identically looking following word.<sup>205</sup> There remains only سَعُوْ sūra 34:5, يَعْفُوْ sūra 4:100,<sup>206</sup> and the disputed passage آذُوْ sūra 33:69.

Sixth.—The words with *hamza* pose the greatest difficulties. In this case there was a time when the pronunciation frequently varied greatly, and there were intermediate stages, from full glottal stop to its total loss, which are difficult to comprehend. Further, there was no unambiguous sign available for cases when *hamza* was pronounced as a full consonant since the actually designated \ increasingly lost its purpose because of its use as a vowel letter. Thus, the clumsiness of the ancient Koranic scribes becomes particularly apparent in the graphic representation of *hamza*.

When looking at the old orthography one must start from the principle that only where \ is written a *hamza* may be added but that the existence of an \ is no guaranty that *hamza* is pronounced. Looking at the old orthography of the Koran from this point of view it follows that their authors pronounced *hamza* only in very few instances, and that in many cases it had completely disappeared, and in others, it had been replaced either by ي or و, or by respective intermediate sounds between these consonants and *hamza*. This conclusion is in complete agreement with the statements of the [iii/43]

<sup>200</sup> Where, though, the spelling is likely to constitute the pausal form in -ū.

<sup>201</sup> The attempt of P. Schwarz, loc. cit., p. 54 sqq., phonetically to explain this, sets out from classical orthography and the insufficient details of al-Naysābūrī instead the old Koranic way of writing.

<sup>202</sup> And likewise رَأُوْ sūra 40:84, Berlin Ms. no. 354, sūra 62:11, and Ms. no. 1 in J.G. Adler, *Descriptio codicvm*; لَوُوْ sūra 63:5; *ibid*.

<sup>203</sup> Conversely the plural أُولُوْ with \—al-Naysābūrī's statement, pp. 1, 31, and 40 (Paul Schwarz, loc. cit., p. 56) that ذُوْ is written everywhere with \ except in six places stands completely alone.

<sup>204</sup> Berlin Ms., 345 وَعَتُّوْا عُنْتُوْا.

<sup>205</sup> P. Schwarz, loc. cit., p. 57.

<sup>206</sup> But sūra 2:238 يَعْفُوْا, which Berlin Ms. no. 313 offers also in the other passage.

grammarians about the Hijāzī dialect in general and the Quraysh dialect in particular.

After vowelless consonants ء is omitted; it is thus written يسأل for يسأل, etc.,<sup>207</sup> مل for *mil'un*, *mil'in*, شطه, sūra 48:29, for شَطَاهُ; and also after a diphthong, المودة, sūra 81:8,<sup>208</sup> for المُوودة, and this again for *al-maw'ūdatu*. That also in قران the ء disappeared, and that the ʾ is thus nothing but a vowel letter, is evident from the spelling قرنا in sūras 12:2, and 43:2<sup>209</sup> (by omission of the ʾ in the middle of a word because of the beginning ʾ of the nunation), to which al-Dānī—probably unjustly—objects because of the strength of Iraqi manuscripts.<sup>210</sup>

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As exception is listed نشأة = نشأة sūra 29:19, and frequently, which, however, as already al-Dānī noted, represents rather the other variant readings نشَاءة, and مؤنثاً, sūra 18:57, where between the diphthong and the heterogeneous vowel possibly also another phonetic treatment occurred. Further, initial ʾ is retained after the article for consideration for the form without article, except in the enigmatic words أصحاب ليكة, sūra 26:176, and 38:12 (next to الأيكة, sūras 15:78, and 50:13), and الآن = ألن.<sup>211</sup>

Well-known is the disappearance of the vowelless *hamza* with auxiliary prolongation of the preceding vowel; it is recognizable after *a* by the occasional omission of the ʾ (see above, p. 413), after *i* and *u* by the spelling with *y* and *w* (with a *y*: ربا, sūra 19:75, for رَبِيًّا, thus pronounced *rīyan*; with a *w*: توى, sūra 33:51 [similarly 70:13] for تُوَوِي, thus pronounced *tūwī*).

*Hamza* can occasionally disappear between vowels when they both have an *a* sound. Thus are explained—although by no means unanimously—the transmitted spellings لاملن for لاملأن, sūra 7:17 and often, واطمنوا, sūra 10:7, for واطمأنوا,<sup>212</sup> اشمزت, sūra 39:46, for اشمأزت<sup>213</sup> as well as partially أريتكم أريتكم for أريتكم أريتكم, and before *ā* المنشآت for المنشآت, sūra 55:24 (see above, p. 400 sq.),

<sup>207</sup> Sūra 33:20 transmits also the spelling يسألون. Gotha Ms. no. 443, writes sūra 10:94, فَسْأَلُ.

<sup>208</sup> Thus here B. Moritz, *Arabic palaeography*, plate 30.

<sup>209</sup> In the Berlin Ms. no. 305, we also find القرن, to which only a later hand added an ʾ; further القرن, Wm. Wright, *Facsimiles and manuscripts and inscriptions*, plate 59 (sūra 27:1). قرنا also in A.S. Lewis' *Sinai Palimpsest A* (see below, Abschnitt c, p. 375) sūra 41:2, *Sinai Palimpsest B* sūra 13:30. Ibn Kathīr (Mecca) reads everywhere *qurān* (al-Dānī, *Taysīr*, etc. on sūra 2:181).

<sup>210</sup> ء has even disappeared in the space after *aw* in لون for لو أن, sūra 7:94, Berlin Ms. 305, although a later hand resurrected the common form.

<sup>211</sup> Sūra 72:9 has لان (according to *Ithāf* in some manuscripts only). Cf. in this respect also عاداً الأولى or عادلولى, which is cited by al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 53:51 as a variant to عاداً الأولى.

<sup>212</sup> So here also Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, Ms., no. 325.

<sup>213</sup> In addition لاتخذن for لاتخذن, sūra 4:118, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, Ms. 313.

<sup>214</sup> So أريتكم in Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, Mss. no. 307, 1st hand (sūra 10:60), no. 327 (same place), no. 359 (sūra 46:3), and no. 364 (sūra 67:28).

further, the forms را and نا treated above on p. 365. The strict spellings, without exception, أنت for أأنت (with the interrogative *a-*) and even آمنتم آمنتم, sūra 7:120 (and often), أللهتنا for أللهتنا, sūra 43:58, etc., permit also the interpretation—less likely—of the mere graphic omission of one ا.

The same uncertain explanation applies to the rendering of the combinations *iʔ* in متكين for متكين, and خاطين for خاطين, etc. [iii/45]

Generally, the orthography among different vowels corresponds to what later became customary; the following exceptions must be noted:

After prefixes the initial ا remains unchanged; only *aʔi-* becomes *ʔayi-* (أأذا) (أأذا), sūra 37:84), as well as occasionally *aʔu* to *awu* (أأوتتكم), sūra 3:13). But since in a number of passages, where also the interrogative particle ا would be expected before ا and إذا<sup>215</sup> only اذا ان is written,<sup>216</sup> also the retention of *hamza* (ا اذا ان) must likely have been possible. In other cases, ي is found in the sound sequence *aʔi* only in حينئذ يومئذ لئن -*iʔa-* becomes -*iyā-* only in the combination لئلا = لئلا, which is considered one word. In sūra 106:1 sq. the consonantal outline was ليلف ... الفهم; it is completely uncertain how this is to be vocalized. Cf. below, p. 423 sq.

In the combination *iʔū* of Form III ء verbs, the *hamza* is omitted, for example, ويستنبونك for ويستنبونك, sūra 10:54. Here we are dealing with a far advanced transition of Form III ء verbs into the inflexion of Form III verbs Infinitive. This also determines the interpretation of forms like يُنبئكم (pronounced probably *ī*, not *iyu*).

Also after *ū* or *ī* *hamza* remains unspoken, and has thus very likely disappeared. An exception is السوأي, sūra 30:9,<sup>218</sup> but not تبوا for تبوا, sūra 5:32, and أشوئ for لتنوا, sūra 28:76,<sup>219</sup> where it concerns only the word division after a final و.<sup>220</sup> [iii/46]

The words ending in -*āʔu*, -*āʔi*, and -*āʔa* (including nunation) ought to have only an ا at the end; but they are frequently written in the nominative with و, and in the genitive with ي. For example, جزاؤ, sūras 5:32 and 37, 42:38, 59:17;<sup>221</sup> تلقائ, sūra 10:16, وايتائ, sūra 16:92; انائ, sūra 20:130,<sup>222</sup> ورائ, sūra 42:50

<sup>215</sup> In several instances it is debatable whether this constitutes a question or a predicate.

<sup>216</sup> Accordingly ألله مع الله, sūra 27:61 = ألله, etc.

<sup>217</sup> This actually occurs in Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, Ms. 349 (sūra 32:9), and in A.S. Lewis' *Sinai Palimpsest*, B (see below, p. 426 sqq.) sūra 17:52.

<sup>218</sup> ألله in Flügel is wrong.

<sup>219</sup> So here also Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, Ms. 348.

<sup>220</sup> Already al-Suyufi recognized this, *al-Itqān*, *nawʕ* 76, *faṣl* 2, *qāʕida* 3, at the end.

<sup>221</sup> Tradition is ambiguous about some other cases. جزاؤ to be found in Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, Ms. no. 313 (sūra 5:32), Ms. no. 316 (same sūra) Ms. no. 317 (sūra 5:88), Ms. no. 355 (sūra 41:28), Ms. no. 356 (same sūra, and often), first Ms. in J. Adler, *Descriptio codicum* (sūra 59:17).

<sup>222</sup> Cf. ألله sūra 31:109, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, Ms. no. 308 (for ألله); against sūra 20:130 the Berlin Ms. 341 reads اناء.

as well as the above-mentioned (p. 361 n. 160) الى. Here the proper orthography of the medial letter (e.g., before a suffix: اولياوه, sūra 8:34, *awliyāwuhu* < *awliyā'uhu*) is transferred to the final letter. In contrast, in the medial position both, و and ي, are occasionally missing; thus اوليا with suffix اولياهم (etc.) in the nominative as well as in the genitive<sup>223</sup> everywhere, except in the place referred to, certainly in Iraqi manuscripts.<sup>224</sup> This probably purports to indicate a contractible pronunciation *awliyāhum*, etc., which is perhaps derived from the accusative *awliyā'ahum* < *awliyāhum* (see above).

[iii/47]

In order to render a final *-ā'u* use is made of او but also of its reverse, او.<sup>225</sup> sūras 2:268, 14:24, and 40:50, انوا, sūras 6:5 and 26:5, شركوا, sūras 6:94<sup>226</sup> and 42:20, نشوا, sūra 11:89, علموا, sūra 26:197,<sup>227</sup> شفعا, sūra 30:12, البلوا, sūra 37:106, and بلوا, sūra 44:32, دعوا, sūra 40:53, بروا (for برأء) sūra 60:4.<sup>228</sup> Here the ى is to be considered a word divider (see above, p. 418 sq.) that displaced the vowel letter ى which is presupposed before the و, whereas in the spelling او the opposite happened.<sup>229</sup>

Thus, easily intelligible is the identical spelling وا (instead of ى) for the final *-ā'u* with short vowels in the verbal forms ييدوا for ييدؤ, sūra 12:85; يفتوا; ييدؤ, sūra 16:50; اتوكوا, sūra 20:19; تظموا, sūra 20:117; يدروا, sūra 24:8; يعبوا, sūra 25:77; ينشوا, sūra 43:17; ينبا, sūra 75:13; and in the nouns الملو, sūras 23:24, 27:29, 37:32 and 37:38;<sup>230</sup> and نبوا for نبؤ, sūras 14:9,<sup>231</sup> 38:20,<sup>232</sup> and 64:5 as well as for نبؤ, sūra 38:67.

<sup>223</sup> Thus اوليكم Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, Ms. no. 349, sūra 33:6.

<sup>224</sup> al-Dimyāṭī al-Bannā', *Ithāf* on sūras 2 and 6.

<sup>225</sup> This spelling also caught the attention of al-Zamakhsharī; he discusses this with reference to sūras 14:24, 26:197, and 30:12.—The reciprocal delimitation of the spellings او and ى is not entirely certain since al-Dānī in *al-Muqni'* leaves it at the fact whether or not with و, without explicitly stating the order but, on the other hand, the Berlin manuscript of *al-Muqni'* itself is not reliable in its orthography. Al-Dimyāṭī al-Bannā', *Ithāf* has ى throughout, which according to the Kūfic fragments is certainly wrong, at least in the case of *jazā'u*.

<sup>226</sup> So here also Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, Ms. no. 314.

<sup>227</sup> Regarding the orthography of sūra 35:25 the details (al-Dimyāṭī al-Bannā', *Ithāf*) vary.

<sup>228</sup> In addition controversial انوا sūra 5:21, and so here Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, Ms. 316 and W. Pertsch, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, Gotha Ms. no. 437.

<sup>229</sup> There is much to be said for this opinion, particularly since the writing ىى for *-ā'i* lacks a respective counterpart ىا.

<sup>230</sup> Against Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, Ms. 346, sūra 27:29 الملو, sūra 27: 32 and 38 but الملو.

<sup>231</sup> So here Gotha Ms., W. Pertsch, *Arabische Handschriften*, no. 447 (also in J. Möller, *Palaeographische Beiträge*, plate 7, no. 2). This is also the passage referred to by al-Naysābūrī, pp. 1, 32, 35, not sūra 9:71 (so P. Schwarz, loc. cit., p. 57).

<sup>232</sup> According to al-Dimyāṭī al-Bannā', *Ithāf* only in some manuscripts.

Completely according to rule is the identical group of signs *وا* and *لولوا* for *لؤلؤ* [iii/48] *sūra* 22:23,<sup>233</sup> and in *امروا* for *امرؤ* *sūra* 4:175; the spelling here represents simply the pausal form with *-ū* and the usual *alif* of separation after this final vowel.

It is not quite as simple to explain some additional spellings of the inter-vocal *hamza* that appear next to one another—and in partially unexpected sequence—*و* and *ي*, respectively (or even two 's). They can be divided into two groups.

(1) Prefixes ending in *-a* before initial *ء* written with *ا*, and this in both cases, before *'a-*: *لأذبحته*, *sūra* 27:21, for *لأذبحته*, *sūra* 9:47,<sup>234</sup> as well as before *'i-*:<sup>235</sup> *افاين* (for *أفان*), *sūras* 3:138<sup>236</sup> and 21:35; *لالى* (for *لإلى*) *sūras* 3:152 and 37:66; and before *'u-*:<sup>237</sup> *ساوريكم*, *sūras* 7:142 and 21:38;<sup>238</sup> *ولاوصلينكم*, *sūras* 20:74 and 26:49.<sup>239</sup> In all these cases we may assume an actual vowel lengthening under the influence of the following *hamza*<sup>240</sup>—although passing over to some kind of *i* and *u*, respectively—as it seems to be metrically documented in similar instances in poetry, but particularly in the Meccan 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a<sup>241</sup>—after prefixes or in the word interval before *hamza*.

(2) In the second group, on the other hand, it indeed seems to be a purely graphic particularity when here the sound sequence *a'i*—in *نباى* for *نبا*, *sūra* 6:34; *ملايهم* for *ملايهم*—or reversed *i'a*—*ماية*, also in the later orthography; *بايد* for *بايد* *sūra* 51:47, *بايكم* for *بايكم*, *sūra* 68:6; and in many manuscripts [iii/49]

<sup>233</sup> So also in the *Imām* according to 'Aṣim al-Jahḍarī. Likewise in the manuscripts of Kūfa and Medina in the parallel passage, *sūra* 35:30. In the two passages referred to, orthography prompted some of the Koranic readers to the affected pronunciation as accusative. According to Abū 'Ubayd, already the grammarian and reader Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' (d. ca. 154/770 [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, pp. 50–51]) supplied the correct explanation for the *ا*; also al-Kisā'ī considered the *ا* to be purely graphic. (al-Dānī, *al-Muqni'*, *bāb* 5, *faṣl* 1.)

<sup>234</sup> Controversial.—According to al-Naysābūrī, 1, 32, 2, the Damascene manuscripts add *لامة* *sūra* 2:220 (Schwarz, loc. cit., p. 50). Also *لا ادراك* (*sūra* 10:17) Ibn Kathīr considers to be *لا ادراك*.

<sup>235</sup> Not all the passages entirely in agreement.

<sup>236</sup> So here Gotha Ms. no. 433; plate in J. von Karabacek, "Ein Koran Fragment." In addition *فاينا* (for *فاننا*) *sūra* 19:36, Berlin Ms., Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, no. 339, left hand.

<sup>237</sup> Not all passages entirely in agreement.

<sup>238</sup> Others, though, read *sa'urikum* (from *ورى* Form IV) or even *ساوركم*.

<sup>239</sup> In the Berlin Ms. no. 305, here without *و* (in agreement with *sūra* 7:121). According to al-Zamakhsharī, inversely the *Imām*, *sūra* 75:1, has *لا أقسم* for *لا أقسم*.

<sup>240</sup> Paul Schwarz, loc. cit., p. 49sq.

<sup>241</sup> Paul Schwarz, *Der Diwan des 'Umar Ibn Abi Rebi'a*, part 4, p. 174.

بآيات<sup>242</sup> for آيات and بايم for أيام sūra 14:5—or even *īa*—جى for جى, sūras 39:69 and 89:24 in Andalusian manuscripts allegedly modelled after the Medinan *muṣḥaf*—is rendered اى or the order of the letters ا and ى is changed—اى = *a'i*- instead *ai'*- in لشاى for لشيء, sūra 18:23<sup>243</sup> and the forms of the Imperfect of يأس<sup>244</sup>: يائس, sūra 12:87, etc.<sup>245</sup>

[iii/50]

Whether according to these spellings in أولاء, أولئك, أولانكم, أولوا, أولو, أولات, أولى it is intended to express a simple *ū*- by means of او or whether indeed *ū*- was pronounced, can hardly be determined; in poetry the long first syllable does not seem to occur.

The initial sound appears generally in the form it would have in the isolated word; deviations from the principle are found only in isolated instances.<sup>246</sup> It is the rule only after و and ف, e. g., وأتوا, sūra 2:185.

In Koranic reading the treatment of *hamza* is by far the most difficult chapter, complex as such, and heightened by the reciprocal relation to the orthography of the Koran, going hand in hand with the phonetical and purely graphic appearance. But the assumption that the presumed

<sup>242</sup> al-Dānī considers this spelling to be the less common, but in our extant Kūfic fragments it is the one that abounds, even in the singular: بايبة, Berlin Ms. no. 310 (sūra 3:44) and Gotha Ms. no. 446 (sūra 13:38). On the other hand ايت in the headings of the sūras (i.e. without preceding *bi*-) in the Berlin Ms. no. 305, as well as in others, is an erroneous generalization of the old orthography (possible only after *bi*-). The orthography of the plural without ى is extremely rare in true Kūfic manuscripts; I find this only in the Berlin Ms. no. 305 (باياتنا, sūra 2:37), and Gotha Ms. no. 446 (باياتنا), sūra 14:5). In the somewhat later Berlin Ms. no. 303, sūra 23:47 بايتنا is corrected باياتنا.

<sup>243</sup> To this شى sūra 16:37, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, Berlin Ms. no. 335; sūra 4:62, B. Moritz, *Arabic palaeography*, plate 44. According to Muḥammad b. ʿIsā in *al-Muqniʿ*, *bāb* 5, *faṣl* 2, Ibn Maṣʿūd always wrote شى. I cannot find any reference in the literature on the variants for the pronunciation of *ā*; however, the Berlin Ms. no. 338, has شيا شى [with a *~* over each ش]. Cf. further below, p. 428sq.

<sup>244</sup> To which there is the secondary form ايس.

<sup>245</sup> According to some, equally in Form X استايسوا, sūra 12:80, استايس, v. 110. It is read *yāyas*, etc. by (Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Bazza) AL-BAZZĪ (d. 250/864) ʿan Ibn Kathīr (Mecca)—disputed by some; equally according to some in the *waqf Ḥamza*—(see below, p. 425 n. 247).—The alleged omission of و and ى as the bearer of *hamza* next to a second و and ى respectively (in cases when not this other و or ى can be the one that was omitted because it is a full consonant) is based solely on the examples mentioned above on pp. 368 and 369, and on the spelling مسيات, but where *hamza* is expressed by the ا. In the singular مسية سية, and the same way in وهى sūra 18:9, وهى sūra 18:15 the tradition differs only with these spellings and such with اسيا (etc.) the latter of which is quoted by al-Ghāzī [Ibn Qays, Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, p. 661] (p. 21) from Medinan manuscripts, and ascertained by al-Sakhāwī (in-*Itḥāf*, chapter *marṣūm al-khatt*, section *ḥadhfal-yāʿ*) from the Damascene *muṣḥaf*.

<sup>246</sup> As example serves قال اتونى sūra 18:95 instead of قال اتونى (so sūra 12:59), and ردا اتونى *ibid.* vv. 94–95. Although here too it is read اتونى, and it is probably this which the consonantal form wants to express.



pronunciation based on the Koranic ways of writing is most likely to be discovered in the Ḥijāzī local *qirāʾāt* is less disappointing in this chapter than in its treatment of the final *ī* and *ū*, and the *imāla*.<sup>247</sup>

Seventh.—A peculiar form of writing is ننجى which ought to be read ننجى— [iii/51] in sūra 12:110 likely so, and in sūra 21:88, safely so; added to this, according to some statements, are the spellings لنظر for أنظر, sūra 10:15, and لنصر for أنصر, sūra 40:54 (Medina), which, however, al-Dānī did not find in any manuscript;<sup>248</sup> cf. also the variant to sūra 25:27, above, p. 398. In these cases it is unlikely to be simply a carelessness in writing but a dissimilative reduction of the second *n* preceding a consonant.<sup>249</sup>

Eighth.—The ل of the article is suppressed not only in all the relative pronouns (and this in all forms)—thus الذى, etc., الى, اللذان—but also in الليل for الليل;<sup>250</sup> in addition probably لدار for اللدار (see above, p. 397). [iii/52]

The connecting alif is dropped: in the frequent formula بسم الله (for باسم); after ا before an article (e.g., لا لكافرين for لكافرين)—similarly after ا in اتخذت, sūra 18:76<sup>251</sup>—after the interrogative particle ا (e.g., أتخذتم sūra 2:74); in وسئل etc. For وأسأل<sup>252</sup> and in the above-mentioned spellings يبنوم (see above,

<sup>247</sup> Of course, most perfect to the orthography of the Koran fits the one of the two systems of the pausal pronunciation going back to Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb (Kūfa) which received its designation *rasmī* precisely for this reason. How unnatural this system is can best be seen from the endeavour to represent the entire consonantal outline, including the purely graphic peculiarities by the pausal pronunciation. Also the second system of pausal pronunciation (*taṣrīfī*)—which alone Abū ‘Amr AL-DĀNĪ considers in his *Taysīr (fi l-qirāʾāt al-sabʿ)*—is still close to the Koranic orthography—less so the systems of Hishām b. ‘Ammār al-Sulamī (153/770–245/859) [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 111–112] ‘an Ibn ‘Āmir (Damascus), and al-A‘mash (Kūfa). All these systems—treated in the works on variant readings in the chapter entitled *madhhab Ḥamza wa-Hishām fi l-waqf ‘alā l-hamza* or similarly—represent a compromise between the consonantal outline and the actual pronunciation of the respective readers, whereby with the help of the greater licence which pause accords, the former is helped to its right. Warsh ‘an Nāfi‘ (Medina) is the one who most strictly observes the actual (*darj*)-pronunciation, and follows the true phonetic peculiarities of the text of the Koran; he is the only one who recognizes the disappearance of *hamza* after a consonant; in some other details he is still surpassed by another Medinan scholar, Abū Ja‘far IBN AL-QA‘QĀ‘. Apart from this, a mitigation of the *hamza* occurs in [Abū Mūsā ‘Īsā b. Min‘ā b. Wirdān] QĀLŪN [*EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 12, no. 8] ‘an Nāfi‘ (Medina), Ibn Kathīr (Mecca), and, most of all, Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā, and Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī (Baṣra), who distinguish themselves by the greatest abandonment of vowelless *hamza*.

<sup>248</sup> So far they have not been identified in the extant Kūfic manuscripts either.

<sup>249</sup> Similarly P. Schwarz, loc. cit., p. 48.

<sup>250</sup> The Berlin Ms. no. 301 [Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnīs*] has exceptionally الليل (sūra 16:12).

<sup>251</sup> In which case, though, some read لتتخذت (from a secondary verb تتخذ).—In Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnīs*, Berlin Ms. no. 331 also فاتخذتم for افتخذتم, sūra 13:17.

<sup>252</sup> The transmitted spelling naturally indicates the pronunciation *wa-sal*.

p. 360), and ليكة (see above, p. 420), لولى (cf. see above, p. 420 sq.<sup>253</sup>), وَاَتُوا (see above, p. 424);<sup>254</sup> but not dropped in ابن (عيسى ابن مريم).

Ninth.—There are some irregularities to be found in the orthography of the sibilants where on account of assimilation س is replaced by ص (صراط; ويصط, sūra 2:246, and بصطة, sūra 7:67;<sup>255</sup> مصيطر, sūras 52:37 and 88:22), or that ض and ظ are mixed up (بضنين, sūra 81:24, for بظنين).<sup>256</sup>

Tenth.—Finally, it must be noted that although the somewhat changed pausal pronunciation of the rhyme is mostly also expressed in the script, like in الظنونا, sūra 33:10, الرسولا v. 66, السبيلا v. 67; سلطانيه, sūra 69:29, etc., but not always (e.g., ازيد, sūra 74:15, *azīdā*).

[iii/53]

If we add to all these spelling possibilities the fact that the script did not generally<sup>257</sup> differentiate between ب ث ت ب in the initial and medial positions, and between ث ت ب at the end of a word, between ق and ف in the initial and the medial positions, ذ ر and ز, س and ش, ص and ض, ط and ظ, ع and غ, and that, moreover, next to no signs assisted in the pronunciation, and that the words were insufficiently separated from one another,<sup>258</sup> we come to the conclusion that this graphic representation of the Holy Text was still extremely imperfect.

### *The Orthography of Agnes S. Lewis' Sinai Palimpsests*

The orthography of Lewis' Koran palimpsests<sup>259</sup> requires detailed treatment since, by and large, it corresponds to the transmitted orthography of

<sup>253</sup> Ibid.

<sup>254</sup> Further, يسجدوا, sūra 27:25, if you read previously الّا (instead الّا) and then consider يسجدوا to be يسجدوا. According to a note in *Nashr*, the form *with* connecting *alif*, يسجدوا, is said to have been in the *Imām*, and in Damascene manuscripts, and was fabricated solely in order to support this variant (cf. al-Dimyāṭī al-Bannā', *Ithāf*, s.v.).

<sup>255</sup> So here also the Gotha Ms. no. 441.

<sup>256</sup> Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām in al-Dimyāṭī al-Bannā', *Ithāf*, s.v., points out the insignificance of the difference in the Kūfic script.

<sup>257</sup> But as final letter not only ن and ي but also ف and ق have their individual shapes that cannot be confused with one another.

<sup>258</sup> Kūfic writing does not leave a larger space between words as is customary between the average ligatures of the same word so that only the sense can tell whether one ought to read كفروا نامن or كفروا نامن or كفروا نامن.

<sup>259</sup> *Leaves from three ancient Qorāns*, edited by A.S. Lewis and A. Mingana. The leaves consist of three groups, A, B, and C, which according to their style are uniform (A and B possibly not entirely). According to the likely accurate opinion of the editors, A and B are approximately of the same period, B somewhat later. However, the editors misjudged the character of the orthography of their texts—which could have easily been accurately determined had they consulted Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorāns*—as well as many details. In addition,

the Koran<sup>260</sup> (particularly its sparse use of the prolongation of the *alif* which likely goes beyond the literary transmission and the Kūfic Korans)<sup>261</sup> but still shows a number of deviations which are listed here in the order of the section on the orthography of the 'Uthmānic Korans.

II. The writing in one word goes considerably further, namely words with final *-m* are preferably connected to the following word (A: sūras 41:40 and 41:41, C: sūra 7:146 and 7:155, and often), once even و and still attached to the preceding word (A: sūra 41:38).<sup>262</sup>

[iii/54]

On the other hand, at the end of a line, even after letters that potentially can connect two letters, the word can be separated; thus in A after ك, sūra 45:12; in B after ع, sūra 11:33 (?); after ش, sūra 13:36; after ل, sūra 16:17; after ن, sūra 16:26; after ك, sūra 17:16; in C after ل, sūras 7:153, 154, 156, and 9:37; after ك, sūra 9:72. That the phenomenon is relatively rare in A is occasioned partly by the fact that here many ends of line and beginnings of line are illegible. But also in other respects, the three groups display considerable differences.

III. As is the case with ل, for no apparent reason also و and ی are occasionally missing as vowel letter: Thus, A: الاثم, sūra 44:44, for الائم; B: عضن, sūra 15:91, for عضيْن; انا, sūra 16:92, for ابناء; C: ملقنا, sūra 7:154, for مليقاتنا; شت, sūra 7:154, for شيت (شئت);—B: النجم, sūra 16:12, for النجوم; C: جندا, sūra 9:26, for جنودا.<sup>263</sup>

IV. Instead of ي before a suffix we frequently encounter ل, which later became accepted practice (or, what amounts to the same, entirely without a vowel letter); thus, A with ل, sūra 44:56, without vowel letter, sūra 29:23; B: with *alif*, sūra 11:29 and 30, and without vowel letter, sūras 13:18, 14:6 and 17:14 (but with ي sūra 11:31, 11:37 and often); C: with *alif*, sūra 7:139, and without vowel letter, sūras 7:156 and 9:51 and often (so also التورة, sūra 7:156); occasionally also at the end ل instead of ي; so A: بوحًا, sūra 41:5; B: أربًا, sūra 16:94.<sup>264</sup>

some of their readings are extremely unlikely. The edition needs expert verification. The use of brackets, square brackets or none at all when referring to the three groups has been retained from the German edition.

<sup>260</sup> Also the writing of تر sūra 16:14 (B) for تری and يهد sūra 9:24 and 9:37 (C) for يهدى, both with connecting *alif*, fit here; see above, p. 409.

<sup>261</sup> E.g., in group B, where ل still dominates, sūra has 13:38 كتب, where the transmission demands كتاب; although conversely sūra 15:87 آتيناك and sūra 17:14 طائره. C always writes contrary to the rule يا أيها, e.g., sūra 7:157 and 9:23.

<sup>262</sup> Conversely B ما إن sūra 13:40, for أما.

<sup>263</sup> The alleged spellings عيلم, sūra 13:43 (B), and الصيلوة, sūra 9:72 (C) which in contrast ought to have a superfluous ي still need to be confirmed.

<sup>264</sup> Conversely B: الاقصى الذي, sūra 17:1, where it ought to be اقصا.—The apparent *imāla* in the middle of the word in اقمتمكم, sūra 16:82 (B) for اقامتمكم and يحيدد, sūra 9:64 (C) for يحادد (يحدد) where, as far as I know, no reader reads with *imāla*, seems as equally incredible as the spellings mentioned above in note 263.

[iii/55] V. The *alif* of separation is more frequently missing before a word that begins with *alif*; thus A: sūra 24:22; B: sūra 13:19; C: sūras 9:34 and 9:68.<sup>265</sup>

VI. The *hamza* remains still more frequently unmarked, namely in the middle of the word also in the connection *a'i* (يومئذ for يومئذ sūra 24:25 [A]; 16:89 [B], يسوا for يسوا sūra 29:22 [A], تطمن, sūra 13:28 [B], and مطمن, sūra 16:108 [B] for تطمئن and مطمئن), *ā'i* (ملكة, sūra 41:13 [A] for ملائكة, جار, sūra 16:9 [B] for جار), *i'ā* (سيت, sūra 45:20 [A], 16:36 [B], 7:152 [C] for سيئات); in addition also *ā'u* in شركانا, sūra 16:88 [B] for شركاؤنا, cf. above, p. 421sq.<sup>266</sup>

Not all of the peculiarities of the *hamza* orthography are repeated; it is written انا, sūra 16:92 [B] for ابناء, not ايتاي; ساوريكم, sūra 7:142 (C), not ساوريكم; ولأوضاعوا, sūra 9:47 (C), not ولأوضاعوا; بايت, etc. A sūras 29:22, 41:14, and often, B sūras 14:5, 16:106, and often, C sūras 7:144 and 7:155 for بايات, not بايبت.

[iii/56] Conversely, the spelling شىء for شىء, which occurs only once in the transmitted orthography of the Koran, is here the rule—(A: sūra 29:19; B: sūras 16:91, 17:13, and often; C: sūras 7:142 and 7:155; شى only B sūra 16:37)—whereas for بايس, sūra 13:30 (B) ييس<sup>267</sup> (e.g. يئيس) is written.

The context form at the beginning of the word also ائيا, sūra 41:10 (A: for ائتيا).<sup>268</sup>

VII. A simplified writing of two *n*'s is اذنا, sūra 41:4 (A) for آذنا, reproducing the pronunciation *ādhānnā*, which is represented by al-Muṭawwi'ī 'an al-A'mash (Kūfa). Corresponding abbreviations can be found in the 'Uthmānic consonantal text as variants to sūras 18:94, 27:21, and 39:64; see above, p. 397sq.

VIII. B writes in sūras 16:12 and 17:13 الليل.—The connecting *alif* is several times ostentatiously omitted: A, يوملفصل, sūra 44:40; B, هملخسرون, sūra 11:24 (for هم الأחסرون).<sup>269</sup>

A quick glance will indicate that here we are apparently dealing with a mixture of discrepancies in the Palimpsests from the orthography of other old Korans, displaying traits of great antiquity interspersed with quite recent

<sup>265</sup> In addition irregularly once B ادعو, sūra 13:36.

<sup>266</sup> In addition perhaps after the article in لالخسرون, sūra 11:24 (B) for لالأخسرون; see below, p. 428 n. 268.

<sup>267</sup> That this spelling is very old is evident from the transmission referred to above on p. 341, according to which *yay'as* is a mistake for *yatabayyan*, which presupposes the graphic outline نس for the former.

<sup>268</sup> The identical graphic outline اما is presupposed by al-Zamakhsharī's reading آتياً; perhaps this applies also in this case.

<sup>269</sup> If it is not rather a case of a variant: هم لخسرون; in support of this is perhaps the fact that, unlike the previous example, the *m* is written together with the second word.

ones, the most ostentatious being the preference for **نا** instead of **يٰ** in a medial position, corresponding entirely to later orthographic usage. In this case we would be dealing with a text that is not really old but has adapted some antique habits, probably from non-ʿUthmānic secondary sources. From this point of view, however, it remains inexplicable that particularly the more recent group B displays a decisive retreat of **نا** in favour of **يٰ**. This makes sense only if AC represents an old parallel text to the ʿUthmānic text, which is already incorporated in B. Thus, we here find the converse of the development also in the field of orthography, which we shall encounter later repeatedly not only in the field of the variant readings but also in the field of orthography.

There is one peculiarity that points in the same direction as these considerations, namely the frequency of the almost exclusive writing of **شاي** instead of **شي**,<sup>270</sup> which has been documented precisely in the Koran of Ibn Masʿūd (see above, p. 424 n. 243). But it is hardly conceivable that the Palimpsests belong directly to this recension. This, at least, is the result of the examination of the variants. We must conclude that Ibn Masʿūd is not the only one with this orthography so that **شاي** in the ʿUthmānic Koran is not an accidental peculiarity, rather it is the casual adaptation of a rarely used but otherwise quite common orthography.

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When we thus arrive at an early origin for the Palimpsests we must consider variants like **نا** for **يٰ** to be the influence of a somewhat different dialectical basis or, at least, a different interpretation of the identical dialectical basis. The same conclusion will apply to the disappearance of *hamza* in writing; age alone is no explanation.

*The Non-ʿUthmānic Orthographic  
Variants and Readings: The Sources*

We have seen that the ʿUthmānic text itself was not completely uniform because of the multitude of equally recognized copies; it contained already a number of variants, even a still greater variety of orthography, and at least the latter could easily multiply by copying. In spite of this, the ʿUthmānic text represents a relatively compact unity in view of the considerably large number of consonantal variants or variant readings which presupposed the existence of a divergent consonantal text.

<sup>270</sup> It is typical that again **شي** occurs only in B.—That the absence of the ʿUthmānic writing **يايس** is no indication of the age has already been determined above, p. 428 n. 267.

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The earliest extant collection of such variants is contained in the section, *Bāb al-zawā'id min al-ḥurūf*<sup>271</sup> *allatī khūlifā bi-hā l-khaṭṭ* of Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 223 or 4/838) in his above-mentioned *K. al-Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān* (Berlin Ms. no. 451, fol. 37<sup>r</sup> sqq.). It contains slightly more than one hundred variants and variant readings that depart from the 'Uthmānic consonantal text. In strictly traditional habit, nearly all of them are traced back to Companions, and thus partly to the Prophet. The copies of the Koran of Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubayy b. Ka'b are frequently mentioned, without being favoured above the other authorities. The collections of traditions,<sup>272</sup> although they include special sections on variant readings—or at least commentaries of the Koran—contain relatively little pertinent material and—apart from their more or less rigid critical standards—recognize only what has been ascribed to the Prophet and, less so, to his most prominent Companions, particularly 'Umar. Al-Ṭabarī, on the other hand, included a great deal of such material in his commentary on the Koran. From among the later commentators it is al-Zamakhsharī<sup>273</sup> who stands out with his extraordinary mine of relevant details, which offers far more than he could have adapted from al-Ṭabarī, whom he undoubtedly utilized. It is likely that Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām also resorted to an older *shawādh* work; (see more details, below).<sup>274</sup> In so far as the non-'Uthmānic readings belong to closed systems of Koranic recitation of which we have descriptions, they represent a valuable addition to the data recorded by al-Zamakhsharī. Isolated references to non-'Uthmānic variant readings are to be found not only in many passages in the literature of traditions, commentaries, grammar, and lexicography,<sup>275</sup> but also in relatively extensive references in works on variant readings that are not limited to listing them, but

<sup>271</sup> The list is not at all limited to additions to the 'Uthmānic text.

<sup>272</sup> Cf. the summary in the chapter on the variant readings in al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 1, p. 284 sqq., where are considered—apart from the literature of tradition, and also al-Ṭabarī's commentary on the Koran as well as several special relevant writings—first of all *al-Faḍā'il* of Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, and the *maṣāhif*-books of Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, and Ibn al-Anbārī (see above, p. 405 n. 110, and p. 389 n. 2).

<sup>273</sup> Being a Mu'tazilite, he seems to have listed with a certain purpose extra-canonical variant readings. Unfortunately, his statements are by no means complete, neither as far as the variants are concerned, nor the names of the readers. The lacunae increase in the second part of his work.

<sup>274</sup> Most likely from the one of Aḥmad b. Mūsā IBN MUJĀHID [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 14] because on sūra 19:85 he refers to *Muḥtasab* (thus, not *Muḥtasib*, the only Ms. in Constantinople, Ragīb Paşa Küttüphanesi, no. 13) of 'Uthmān IBN JINNĪ [*EP*; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 173–182], to whom he frequently refers. Whether this might be the sole source can be determined only after scrutiny of the manuscript.

<sup>275</sup> I did not list the material scattered throughout this literature, except the *Mufaṣṣal*

are searching for their underlying causes, and for this purpose utilize also non-ʿUthmānic variant readings that concur with them.<sup>276</sup> For the first sūra some passages are added, that serve as a model for a rich apparatus of variants.<sup>277</sup>

*The Text of Ibn Masʿūd*<sup>278</sup>

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Among the mass of non-ʿUthmānic variants and variant readings there are above all two groups that deserve a separate treatment, namely those ascribed to ʿAbd Allāh IBN MASʿŪD and Ubayy b. Kaʿb, because we have the reliable transmission that both men had their own collection of the Koran (*muṣḥaf*; cf. above, p. 234sq.). The question therefore poses itself whether those variants and variant readings<sup>279</sup> ascribed to them might derive from their very own recensions of the Koran.

In order to get at the core of this question it is necessary first of all to list<sup>280</sup> the transmitted variants and variant readings in so far as they differ<sup>281</sup> from the ʿUthmānic consonantal text, and briefly explain them. We begin with those of Ibn Masʿūd.

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of both Sibawayh and al-Zamakhsharī. Whatever I collected offers nothing new from the commentaries or works on tradition, and variant readings.

<sup>276</sup> From among them I utilized mainly the *Kūtab al-Kashf ʿan wujūh al-qirāʾat wa-ʿilalihā wa-ḥujajihā* of Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Qaysī (d. 437/1045; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 406) in Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, Berlin Ms., 578 (Petermann, no. 17). It represents a commentary on the same author's *Tabṣira*; [edited at Damascus, 1974, by Muḥyi l-Dīn Ramaḍān].

<sup>277</sup> Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Qaysī, *Maʿāni l-qirāʾāt* (appendixed to his *Kashf ʿan wujūh al-Qurʾān*), Berlin Ms., Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 578, p. 517sq.; al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr fī l-qirāʾāt al-ʿashr*; Berlin Ms., Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 657, fols. 18<sup>r</sup>–19<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>278</sup> About him, cf. above, p. 235sq.; and also A.J. Wensinck in E.I., s.v.; Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, p. 5; Jeffery, *Materials for the history of the ... text*, pp. 114–116; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 7–8; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. 7, year 32, nos. 126–144.

<sup>279</sup> No differentiation is here made between these two types since also the variant readings—if, indeed, they can be traced back to Ibn Masʿūd and Ubayy b. Kaʿb, respectively—must have been in their respective copies (the later separation of writing and reading cannot be presupposed in this case) thus being true variants at the same time. Tradition usually does not differentiate, it rather uses completely synonymous expressions like *fī qirāʾat Ibn Masʿūd*, *fī ḥarf Ibn Masʿūd*, *fī muṣḥaf Ibn Masʿūd*, and similar ones, referring to him and Ubayy b. Kaʿb.

<sup>280</sup> This list and the following list are based on al-Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf*; other lists are explicitly referred to as the case may be, but, conversely, the absence of a variant in al-Zamakhsharī is particularly mentioned.—I think I can offer the material of the *Kashshāf* pretty comprehensively. I cannot dare claim to have exhausted al-Ṭabarī with any degree of completeness. Other commentators have not been systematically consulted.

<sup>281</sup> Whereby also those deviations have been omitted that agree with the ʿUthmānic text not *lafẓan*, but as the scholars of the Koran say, *taqdīran*, and this in the way that thanks to the liberties of the old Koranic orthography an acceptable spelling for both variant readings could become possible.





correction to safeguard the former licence against the slowly penetrating opinion that the ceremony of *sa'y* between al-Ṣafā' and al-Marwa is indispensable. | 2:172, <sup>298</sup>بَأْنُ:بَأْنُ, elimination of the odd construction. | 2:183, الرَفَثُ : | 2:194, behind رِكْمٌ added اللهُ illustrative addition. | 2:209, after واحدة added فَاخْتَلَفُوا<sup>301</sup> explanatory addition going back to the parallel passage from sūra 10:20 (Goldziher, *Schools*, pp. 7–8). | 2:214, before قتال added عَنْ<sup>302</sup> repetition of the preposition before the apposition to determine the grammatical relation, cf. the quite frequent repetitions after 2:239, 4:1 and 5:62 (see below), and cf. 5:146, وفي قوم:وقوم, after في قوم v. 43. | 2:226, أَلَوْا:يُولُونَ; equally perfect instead of imperfect after الذين 3:20<sup>303</sup> (قَاتَلُوا) for the second (ويقتلون, where the past tense is substantially more appropriate). 7:169 (see below), and after مَنْ 79:36. | 2:226 after فَأَوْأ added فِيهِنَّ<sup>304</sup> explanatory addition. | 2:229, بِخَافَا:تَخَافُوا<sup>305</sup> parallel to the following خَفَمَ; smoothing correction. | 2:241, لَازِوَاجِهِم—والذين لازواجهم: كُتِبَ عَلَيْكُمْ الوصية لازواجكم: and the standard form (cf. above, p. 395 n. 46). | 2:261, بِتَسْتَه: يتسهن, the standard form (cf. above, p. 395 n. 46). | 2:269, تَبِمَمَا: تَبِمَمَا<sup>307</sup> the original and literary form. | 2:276 after المتس complementary addition, بِيَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ<sup>308</sup> | 2:281, تُرْجَعُونَ: تُرْجَعُونَ, necessarily to be read as passive. | 2:282, بِضَارَرٍ: بِيضَارَرٍ<sup>309</sup>, clearly apocope. | 2:285, بِفِرْقُونَ: يَفِرْقُونَ, following preceding 3. pers. plural.

Sūra 3:1 الْقِيمُ:القيوم<sup>310</sup> (i.e. القيام) | 3:5, (القيام) | 3:16, يَعْلَمُ:يَعْلَمُ<sup>312</sup> (before direct speech.) | 3:16, قَائِمًا<sup>313</sup> a *hāl* very difficult to accommodate. | 3:43, فَاَنْفَخْ فِيهَا: فَاَنْفَخْ فِيهَا<sup>314</sup> with better attachment to the preceding كِهَيْئَةَ الطَّيْرِ and the clearer ruling (*inflate*). | 3:44 after فَانقوا اللهُ added

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<sup>298</sup> Also Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, *Kashf*.

<sup>299</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, vol. 9, 91, 5.

<sup>300</sup> Abū 'Ubayd; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>301</sup> Probably also means Ṭabarī, vol. 2, 188, 30.

<sup>302</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, vol. 2, 194, 18.

<sup>303</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 3, 132, 28; Makkī b. Abi Ṭālib, *Kashf*.

<sup>304</sup> By Abū 'Ubayd apparently rather ascribed to Ubayy b. Ka'b.

<sup>305</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 2, 261, 22.

<sup>306</sup> Cf. also al-Ṭabarī, 2, 338, 16.

<sup>307</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 3, 51, 2.

<sup>308</sup> Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>309</sup> al-Ṭabarī, 3, 83, 15; al-Zamakhsharī without names.

<sup>310</sup> So, explicitly as writing, Abū 'Ubayd; al-Ṭabarī, 3, 101, 8 القيام. Not in al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>311</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 3, 113, 29.

<sup>312</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 3, 128, 31.

<sup>313</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 3, 129, 18.

<sup>314</sup> al-Ṭabarī, 3, 173, 2, leaves it open whether Ibn Mas'ūd or Ubayy (*fi ihdā al-qirā'atayn*).

as explanation *الايات* بما جئتم به من الايات, and after *واطيعون* اليه added *فيما ادعوك* (cf. Goldziher, *Schools*, pp. 7–8). | 3:75 *الذين اوتوا الكتاب: النبيين*:<sup>315</sup> which much better fits the context, which for the “prophets” would result in an unfounded criticism. | 3:86 *بما بعض*: clearer. | 3:114 *بدا: بدت*: immediately preceding feminine; conversely, in the identical case feminine instead of masculine of the ‘Uthmānic text, 68:49. | 3:127 *وسابقوا: وسارعوا*:<sup>316</sup> clearer; the same 8:19,<sup>317</sup> and cf. 6:154 (see below). | 3:169 *يخوفكم: يخوف*, whereby the misunderstanding shall be avoided that *اولياءه* shall be frightened (instead of becoming the object of frightening). | 3:177 *ويقول* [the letter after *و* has two dots underneath and one above]: *ويقال*: (and evidently before, *وسيكتب*) so that Allāh is not directly the subject; similarly 50:29.

[iii/64] Sūra 4:19 *بالفاحشة: الفاحشة* after *اتي* the more ordinary construction; cf. 6:57 *يقضى = يقض* after *بالحق*:<sup>318</sup> *الحق*: (whereby at the same time excluding the reading *ان*: 27:84 [anna or inna]: *كلم* after *بأن*: (whereby at the same time the conjunction is identified as *ان*, and the verb as II. Form = “to speak”), and 49:2 *اصواتكم: اصواتكم* after *رفع*: 4:38 *حافظات*: sound plural. | 4:38 after the second *الله* added *فاصلحوا اليهن*, complement to the ellipsis parallel to the Imperfect of the second half of the verse. | 4:44 *نملة: نمة*: better known synonym. | 4:56 *يؤتون: يؤتوا*:<sup>319</sup> after *لا* *فإذا*: 4:81 *فمن نفسك* added *وانا كتبناها عليك*:<sup>320</sup> to mitigate the rather strong indeterminate expression “from yourself.” | 4:102 *ان ختم*:<sup>321</sup> missing, the following *ان* than = so that not. The “when you fear” of the ‘Uthmānic text might be from the parallel passage 2:240. | 4:109 *عنه: عنهم*: unwarranted change in favour of reference to a particular person. | 4:127 *يصلحا: اصلحا*:<sup>322</sup> whereby the governing *ان* becomes definite by *ان*: 4:134 *اغنيا او فقيرا*: *غني او فقير* after *يكن* which would otherwise be without subject; similarly 10:2 *عجبا: عجب*: 4:160 *والمقيمين: والمقيمين*:<sup>323</sup> correction of a famous mistake (see above, p. 390 sq.)

[iii/65] Sūra 5:2 *آمين: آمين*, before object and genitive, respectively; conversely, 19:94 *آتي: آت*: 22:36 *والمقيمين: والمقيمين*: 5:3 *صدوك: صدوك*:<sup>324</sup> after *ان* [*alif* with both, *fatha* and *kasra*,] this as *ان* identifying (*ان* = “therefore that” would require

<sup>315</sup> See above, p. 390, n. 14; Mujāhid b. Jabr refers to Ibn Mas‘ūd’s reading.

<sup>316</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 4, 109, 15.

<sup>317</sup> al-Ṭabarī, 9, 131, 12, rather the equivalent *و إن ... آ*.

<sup>318</sup> Also Abū ‘Ubayd.

<sup>319</sup> Cf. Ubayy on 17:78.

<sup>320</sup> Abū ‘Ubayd (the manuscript has *كاتبها* thus at best also *كاتبها* might be read); not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>321</sup> Probably by mistake ascribed to Ibn Mas‘ūd; al-Ṭabarī, 5, 144, 7, rather Ubayy.

<sup>322</sup> Makki b. Abī Ṭālib al-Qaysī, *Kashf*; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>323</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, *juṣ’*/vol. 6, p. 16, 112.

<sup>324</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 6, 37, 15.



Sūra 7:19, اورى :وورى, dialectically different. | 7:25, ذلك missing before خير; it is redundant and annoying since it is immediately repeated; its deletion was quite obvious. Cf. the deletion of the first انكم 23:37,<sup>339</sup> of the first ان 33:49,<sup>340</sup> and the restituting فانه 62:8. | 7:38 after الجملة added الاصغر.<sup>341</sup> | 7:38 ان missing before على 7:103. | المخيط :المخيط استمسكوا :يمسكون 7:169.

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Sūra 8:1 missing;<sup>342</sup> it is then intended that الانفال = الشبان is the subject of يسألونك but the word apparently does not have this meaning. In reality الانفال is likely to be meant; in this case the 'Uthmānic text qualified this rather hard construction by inserting عن, without changing the meaning. | 8:2: وفرت :وجلت; common synonym. | 8:39 لهم :لم the punctuation of the preformative must be changed accordingly. | 8:61 before سبقوا add انهم,<sup>343</sup> which after superordinated حسب could easily be inserted before perfect.

Sūra 9:51 هل :بن 9:107. علم رحيم :علم حكيم 9:107. علم رحيم, whereby the preceding علم رحيم prevails over بعذهم 9:111. الا ان تقطع :ولو قطعت,<sup>344</sup> stronger. | 9:118 كاد/تزيغ :زاعجت; the 'Uthmānic text is a moderation!

Sūra 10:12 لتضى (active or passive): لفضينا (clearly active, although hardly fitting the preceding subject الله). | 10:81 السحر :سحر,<sup>345</sup> as predicate more common. 10:98 فلولا<sup>346</sup> :فها! whereby the former is used as explanation in the commentaries.

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Sūra 11:30 see in Ubayy b. Ka'b. | 11:60 ولا تضروه :ولا تضرونه (continuation of a conditional subordinate clause beginning with فقد). | 11:74 after قائمة addition وهو<sup>347</sup> (cf. Goldziher, *Schools*, pp. 8–9). | 11:75 شيخا :شيخ,<sup>348</sup> this is what makes more sense. | 11:83 ولا<sup>349</sup> :واحد, the sentence might have come here from the parallel passage 15:65. | 11:113 كلاً, very difficult to explain: كلاً. | 11:113 لما :لا, more unequivocal and common, لا.

<sup>339</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 18, 14, 2.

<sup>340</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, *ju2*/vol. 22, p. 14, l 19.

<sup>341</sup> Abū 'Ubayd, and al-Ṭabarī, 8, 121, 4; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>342</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī 9, 110, 19 sqq.

<sup>343</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 10, 18, 28.

<sup>344</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 11, 23, 15.

<sup>345</sup> Also Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām; al-Ṭabarī, 11, 95, 1.

<sup>346</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 11, 111, 11; the sentence that follows there, and despite the similar introduction, cannot be intended as a variant but only as an explanation.

<sup>347</sup> al-Ṭabarī, 12, 41, 21 وهو جالس.

<sup>348</sup> Sibawayh § 119; al-Zamakhsharī without name.

<sup>349</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 12, 53, 24 sqq., from Abū 'Ubayd (not in his *Fadā'il*).

Sūra 12:31 بشرًا, which as predicate of ما is suspect because of its accusative which is seldom found in the Koran: بشر<sup>350</sup>, cf. the other passage with accusative (others, nominative) after ما 58:2 بمآتهم : أمماتهم | 12:35 حتى<sup>351</sup> considered a dialectical form of the Hudhayl (Ibn Mas'ūd was a Hudhalī) but appears at this place evidently under the dissimilative influence of the following حين | 12:36 حمرا : عنبا<sup>352</sup> after عصر more obvious. | 12:64 خير حافظا (and حفظا respectively) : خير الحافظين<sup>353</sup> likely an unwarranted assimilation to the following ارحم الراحمين | 12:70 جعل : جعل | 12:105 يمّون : يمّون but then preceding الارض required; the inclusion of the other verb safeguards this reading which was purported also in other ways.

Sūra 14:47 كان<sup>354</sup> : كاد a moderation of the sense which results from the interpretation of وان as conditional.

Sūra 15:66 before ان<sup>355</sup> added وقلنا in order to qualify the strong direct connection of الامر with dependent أن. [iii/69]

Sūra 16:9 ومنها<sup>356</sup> : ومنكم more likely. | 16:78 يوجّه : يوجهه.

Sūra 17:1 ليلا next to اسرى tautologic: الليل<sup>357</sup> من الليل (partitive). | 17:24 وقضى considered a spelling mistake by some (see above, p. 390 sq.): ووصى<sup>358</sup> | 17:95 زخرف<sup>359</sup> : زخرف. cf. Goldziher, *Schools*, p. 10 sq.

Sūra 18:14 before ولبثوا added وقالوا<sup>360</sup> dogmatic correction because of the آتى اكله : آتت اكلها, and then كل : كلنا | 18:31 الله اعلم بما لبثوا eliminating the disagreement between كلنا and the singular predicate. | 18:36 لا اله الا هو : هو الله | 18:36 لكن انا : لكننا peculiar form of the *shahāda* formula which is difficult to understand. | 18:62 ان اذكره | 18:76 لا تتخذت<sup>362</sup> : لتتخذت clearer spelling | 18:76 الشيطان<sup>361</sup> the more natural position.

<sup>350</sup> Also *al-Mabānī li-nazm al-ma'ānī*, section 4 of the introduction.

<sup>351</sup> Also al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 1, no. 4821. 'Umar allegedly protests against the pronunciation in a letter to Ibn Mas'ūd!

<sup>352</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 12, p. 119, l 7 sqq.

<sup>353</sup> Makki b. Abī Ṭālib, *Kashf'an wujūh al-qirā'āt*; al-Zamakhsharī, rather Abū Hurayra.

<sup>354</sup> So al-Ṭabarī, vol. 13, p. 147, l 2 and 8 (also intended, 145, 28 and 146, 2, where, as frequently in this section, by mistake كان instead of كاد has been printed), Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, and Makki b. Abī Ṭālib *Kashf*; not al-Zamakhsharī, after Ibn Mas'ūd with وما instead of وان excludes the certainly correct conditional interpretation. This variant—and the negative interpretation in general—owe the origin to the same attempt to moderate, like the variant كاد supported by many old authorities.

<sup>355</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 14, p. 27, l 10.

<sup>356</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, vol. 14, p. 54, l 4.

<sup>357</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 15, 3, 7.

<sup>358</sup> al-Ṭabarī, vol. 15, p. 44, l 18; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>359</sup> Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 15, p. 102, l 5 sqq; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>360</sup> al-Ṭabarī, vol. 15, p. 142, l 3; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>361</sup> So al-Ṭabarī, vol. 15, p. 164 l 27; al-Zamakhsharī not this but only اذكره instead of اذكره, hardly correct.

<sup>362</sup> Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām; not al-Zamakhsharī.

(cf. above, p. 425 n. 251). | 18:78 after سفينة add صالحة,<sup>363</sup> motivating addition. | 18:102 أفضن: الحسب rejecting the reading أفضن: الحسب.

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Sūra 19:35 قول: بامر<sup>364</sup> قال: قول, likely intentionally more general.

Sūra 20:32 واشدد, suffixed to the preceding Imperatives and thus itself identified as Imperative (not also read as such, 1. pers. singl. apocopative.) | 20:66 لساحران: لساحران<sup>365</sup> (and preceding أن as introduction of the direct speech); elimination of a serious grammatical offence (see above, p. 390 sq.). | 20:83 لا يجلن: فيجلن. | 20:96 after فرس added اثر, corresponding to the more common variant of the narrative. | 20:97 لنحرقنه: لنحرقنه<sup>366</sup>.

Sūra 22:28 صوافن: صواف<sup>367</sup> probably correct, and only incorrectly written in the 'Uthmānic text (صواف instead of the pausal form صوافن). | 22:45 فانها (conditional pronoun): فانه<sup>368</sup> obvious correction of the feminine explainable by attraction.

Sūra 23:20 تخرج الدهن: تبتت بالدهن<sup>369</sup> verb better fits the object. 23:20 للاكلين الدهن, determination because of preceding الكليلين: وصبع.

Sūra 24:14 تتفقونه: تتفقونه unusual synonym! | 24:37 تستاذنوا (rather recognized mistake, see above, p. 390 sq.): تستاذنوا and this positioned after اهله<sup>370</sup> | 24:35 نوره added في قلب المؤمن<sup>371</sup> cf. above, p. 390 sq.

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Sūra 26:19 الجاهلين: الضالين<sup>372</sup> weakening. | 26:166 خلق poorly fits ازواجكم as object: اصلح<sup>373</sup>.

Sūra 27:25 الا يسجدوا: هلا تسجدون; cf. p. 373 n. 247. | 27:25 الخبا: الخبا (i.e., likely الخبا by retaining hamza).<sup>374</sup> | 27:32 قاضية: قاطعة, a synonym which is a bit easier to understand. | 27:36 جاء: جاؤا, corresponding to the preceding plural. |

<sup>363</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 16, p. 3 l 6.

<sup>364</sup> So al-Ṭabarī, vol. 16, p. 55 l 20 (cf. also line 10); in al-Zamakhsharī this is followed by وقال الله.

<sup>365</sup> Also *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*, section 4 of the introduction.

<sup>366</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 16, p. 138 l 12, p. 138 l 12, for و.

<sup>367</sup> Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām; al-Ṭabarī, 17, 107, 28; al-Zamakhsharī without name. ليدذكروا, where in Abū 'Ubayd begins the quotation from the Koran, is likely to be a simple error for فاذكروا.

<sup>368</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 17, 117, 10.

<sup>369</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 18, 10, 19.

<sup>370</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 18, 78, 10, from Abū 'Ubayd; not in his *Faḍā'il*.

<sup>371</sup> Nöldeke in the first edition of this work on p. 273, in a source unknown to me.

<sup>372</sup> Also Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām; al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 19, 38, 33.

<sup>373</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 19, 59, 13.

<sup>374</sup> al-Zamakhsharī considers the spelling الخبا to be rather the rendering of a pausal form with ā. This can only mean that the transmission is based on a written copy of the Koran, with an orthography that already in its beginning was no longer comprehensible.

27:83 | 27:83. انظر في كتاب ربي ثم added انا after 27:40 | بهم : جنود relating to بها 27:37  
 ان تهدي : انت بهادي<sup>376</sup>?

Sūra 28:8 before لا تقنلوه where by this receives a bearer. | 28:14 فوكزه :  
 من خطيئاتهم ما : خطيئاتهم مما 71:25 cf. اي الاجلين ما : ايما الاجلين 28:28 | فلكزه

Sūra 29:24 before مودة added is انما, whereby the انما at the beginning be-  
 comes *inna + mā* “what.”

Sūra 31:26 والبحر : وبجر,<sup>377</sup> peculiar and therefore perhaps original.

Sūra 33:6 behind انفسهم added is وهو اب لهم,<sup>378</sup> cf. Goldziher, *Schools*, pp. 7–8.  
 | 33:40 خاتم [second last vowel *a* or *i*] رسول الله و<sup>379</sup> نبيا ختم : simplification in the  
 sense of the reading خاتيم | 33:49 before اللاتي هاجرن added is و,<sup>380</sup> difficult with  
 regard to content, which can hardly be attributed to an intentional change. |  
 33:49 ان missing before وهبت (which is followed immediately by a second  
 parallel (ان).<sup>381</sup> | 33:51 كلهن before بما, the usual position.

Sūra 34:13 ان الجن : الجن ان<sup>382</sup>, conformity with the common form of [iii/72]  
 narrative.

Sūra 35:41 ومكر السيئ : ومكر سيئا,<sup>383</sup> which is more likely, particularly next  
 to indeterminate استكبارا.

Sūra 36:7 اعناقهم : اياهم,<sup>384</sup> supplies a plastic illustration. | 36:28 صيحة :  
 36:52 | 36:52 لا مستقر : لمستقر<sup>387</sup> | 36:38 | 36:30 من : كم<sup>386</sup> | 36:30 من : كم<sup>385</sup> رقيق  
 36:56 متكئين : متكئون<sup>388</sup> | 36:56 متكئون : متكئين, both equally possible;

<sup>375</sup> Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>376</sup> For اتلوا, 27:94, al-Zamakhsharī has اتل, Abū ‘Ubayd, اتلوا (which is no variant, cf. above, p. 418sq.); common base possibly the Imperative اتلوا.

<sup>377</sup> Makki b. Abī Ṭālib, *al-Kashf*—probably wrong—rather ascribed to Ubayy b. Ka’b.

<sup>378</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, 21, 70, 8sq., where Ibn Mas‘ūd is not mentioned, and where the variant of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is considered the original text (القرأة الاولى).

<sup>379</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, *juz’/vol. 22*, p. 11 l 28.

<sup>380</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *juz’/vol. 22*, p. 14, l 7sq.; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>381</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, *vol. 22*, p. 14, l 19.

<sup>382</sup> According to al-Ṭabarī, 22, 45, 8sq., it is rather the text of Ibn ‘Abbās. For Ibn Mas‘ūd al-Ṭabarī, line 27, supplies the *qirā’a* كاملاً حولاً موته بعد موته حولاً كاملاً, without indicating the passage in the regular text. What follows ... فأيقن الناس عند ذلك ان الجن ... is a paraphrase of the text of Ibn ‘Abbās, which thus also presupposes this tradition in Ibn Mas‘ūd.

<sup>383</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 22, 85, 22.

<sup>384</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 22, 88, 17.

<sup>385</sup> Also Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām; *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*, section 4 of the introduction.

<sup>386</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 23, 3, 22.

<sup>387</sup> A tradition in al-Bukhārī, *Kūb al-tawhīd*, *bāb 22* (Goldziher, *Schools*, p. 7, note 33), rejects this statement; Muslim, *Kūb al-īmān*, *bāb 71*, which ends: *thumma qara’a* (the Prophet) “*dhālika mustaqarrun lahā*” *fi qirā’at ‘Abd Allāh*; but al-Ṭabarī, *juz’/vol. 23*, 4, 35, it says in the same tradition, merely as a continuation of the words of the Prophet, *wa-dhālika*.

<sup>388</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, *juz’/vol. 23*, 11, 7.

cf. 59:17, conversely خالدان : خالدین<sup>389</sup> | 36:58 سلام : سلاما<sup>390</sup> grammatically equally difficult, but next to the accusative is قولا still more likely.

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Sūra 37:45 صفراء : بيضاء<sup>391</sup> cf. Goldziher, *Schools*, pp. 11–12. | 37:54 لتردين : الياسين (and accordingly v. 130, الياسين<sup>392</sup> | 37:123 ادريس : الياس | 37:66 لتغوين | 37:171 لعبادنا : لعبادنا<sup>393</sup>), (ادراسين<sup>393</sup>), فبئس : فساء<sup>394</sup> clearer. 37:177

Sūra 38:5 واصبروا : ان امشوا واصبروا<sup>395</sup> | 38:22 ولي نعمة<sup>396</sup> added is 38:38 عطواؤنا after امسك<sup>397</sup>, extremely unusual word order. اتى, peculiar.

Sūra 39:4 after اولياء added is قالوا<sup>398</sup> as introduction to the following direct speech.

Sūra 40:16 على الله : عليه, without clear connection. | 40:37 كل قلب : كل قلب<sup>399</sup> excluding the attributive connection of قلب with متكبر.

Sūra 42:1 سق : عسق<sup>400</sup>

Sūra 43:58 هو , هذا<sup>401</sup> ascertaining the connection with Muḥammad. | 43:77 يا مال : يا مالك

Sūra 44:54 بجور<sup>402</sup>, بعيس, thus, hardly a more common synonym, which, particularly in this frequently cited expression, must be very old. | 44:57 before الموت added is طعم, that better fits as object of the verb يذوقون.

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Sūra 45:23 نموت ونحيا<sup>403</sup> : نموت ونحيا, the more natural order.

Sūra 47:22, for محكمة<sup>404</sup> as explanation محدثة

Sūra 48:9, تسبحوه الله : تسبحوه<sup>405</sup> to exclude connection with رسوله | 48:26 اهلها واحق بها : احق بها واهلها<sup>406</sup> perhaps inversion to express a comparison.

<sup>389</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 28, 33, 4, drawing on the Kūfan grammatical tradition, rather gives فيها في النار, and then خالدان.

<sup>390</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 23, 13, 26.

<sup>391</sup> al-Ṭabarī, 23, 31, 18 sqq.; not in al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>392</sup> Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām; al-Ṭabarī, 23, 38, 6; not in al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>393</sup> al-Zamakhsharī mentions the name of Ibn Mas'ūd only in the first instance, and al-Ṭabarī only in the second one (23, 55, 35.) According to al-Ṭabarī, 7, 158, 14, belongs Ibn Mas'ūd to those who consider الياس and ادريس to be identical. Cf. Goldziher, *Schools*, p. 11.

<sup>394</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 23, p. 65 l 26.

<sup>395</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 23, 71, 29.

<sup>396</sup> According to al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 23, p. 81, l 24 rather after the first نعمة.

<sup>397</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 23, 94, 14.

<sup>398</sup> Also Sibawayh § 269; al-Ṭabarī, 23, 110, 26 and 28.

<sup>399</sup> Abū 'Ubayd and from him al-Ṭabarī, 24, 38, 17 sqq.; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>400</sup> Also *Fihrist*, p. 26, l 29; al-Ṭabarī, 25, 5, 11.

<sup>401</sup> According to al-Ṭabarī 25, 47, 27 sqq., rather the text of Ubayy b. Ka'b.

<sup>402</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 25, 75, 12 sqq.

<sup>403</sup> Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>404</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 26, 31, 28.

<sup>405</sup> Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, not al-Zamakhsharī; al-Ṭabarī, 26, 43, 19 sqq. without mentioning names. عروه at the beginning of the quotation from the Koran in Abū 'Ubayd is likely a mistake.

<sup>406</sup> According to al-Zamakhsharī this is how it was written in the manuscript of al-Ḥārith



Sūra 49:2, ان تحبظ (after expression of prohibition): <sup>407</sup>فتحبط clearer. | 49:11, عسین and عسوا: عسي, respectively (both types occur in the Koran). | 49:17, اذ: هداكم اذ before ان.

Sūra 50:18, الحق بالموت: الموت بالحق, <sup>408</sup>more natural.

Sūra 51:58, انى انا: ان الله هو <sup>409</sup>continuing the 1. Pers. of the preceding verses.

Sūra 55:6, ووضع: وخفض <sup>410</sup>| 55:8, بالقسط: باللسان <sup>411</sup> cf. Goldziher, *Schools*, pp. 10–11. | 55:27, ذى: ذو <sup>412</sup> both possible, cf. verse 78 where both as variant in the Uthmānic text (see above, p. 398 sq.). | 55:43, يكذب بها المجرمون which violates the rhyme: تصليانها لا تموتان فيها ولا تحيان \* <sup>413</sup>كتما بها تكذبان with a dual that is difficult to understand (where the continuation fits only when in verse 44 it is read يطوفون instead تطوفان).

Sūra 57:23, اناكم, I. or IV. Form with vague subject: اوتيتم clearly IV. Form.

Sūra 58:8, هو (three times): الله, clearer. | 58:8 after رابعهم added لا اربعة الا <sup>414</sup>cf. Goldziher, *Schools*, p. 7 sq. | 58:8 after اذنى: اقل: اذنى | 58:8 after اذا اتجوا added is اذا اتجوا <sup>414</sup> or اذا اخذوا فى التناجى <sup>415</sup> cf. Goldziher, *Schools*, p. 7 sq.

Sūra 60:11, من ازواجكم; similarly <sup>416</sup>الذى: ما, 60:3.

Sūra 61:11, وجاهدوا... وآمنوا... وتجاهدون... <sup>417</sup>clearer. | 61:14, after كونوا added to intensify اتم; cf. 87:16, before تؤثرون added is اتم <sup>418</sup> here, at the same time, safeguarding the 2. Pers.

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b. Suwayd [Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 8, col. 1, p. 95, col. 2, p. 96, col. 2] (see section c at the end, note); al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 26, 61, 26, says only *fī qirā'at 'Abd Allāh*.

<sup>407</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 26, 69, 16.

<sup>408</sup> Also Makki b. Abī Ṭālib, *Kashf 'an wujūh al-qirā'āt*, appendix; apparently also al-Ṭabarī, 26, 91, 14.

<sup>409</sup> al-Dhababī, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz*, vol. 1, *ṭabaqa*, 7, no. 76 (Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, p. 29, note 47); al-Zamakhsharī only as *qirā'at al-nabī* and as such, however, transmitted by Ibn Mas'ūd, also Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan*, *kitāb al-ḥurūf*, no. 25, and al-Tirmidhī, *Abwāb al-qirā'āt 'an rasūl Allāh*, no. 14.

<sup>410</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 27, p. 62 l 32.

<sup>411</sup> Goldziher from al-Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, *K. al-kasb wa-l-ma'āsh*, *bāb* 3, *qism* 2, no. 3; not in al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>412</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, vol. 27, p. 70, l 25; Makki b. Abī Ṭālib, *Kashf 'an wujūh* on 55:78.

<sup>413</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 27, 75, 19. Al-Zamakhsharī has, probably by mistake, تصليانها instead تصليان.

<sup>414</sup> al-Zamakhsharī only this.

<sup>415</sup> Goldziher from Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, s.v.

<sup>416</sup> So al-Zamakhsharī. Although according to the prevailing tradition—Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām; al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb faḍā'il al-aṣḥāb*, *bāb* 27, and *Kitāb al-tafsīr*, s.v. (Goldziher, *Schools*, p. 7 n. 38); al-Tirmidhī, loc. cit., no. 15; al-Ṭabarī, 30, 119, 33 sqq.; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Nashr*, Berlin Ms. no. 657, fol. 6<sup>r</sup>—the reading of Ibn Mas'ūd agrees rather with the one of Abū l-Dardā, which he traces back to the Prophet, namely والذكر والامثى (without ما خلق). al-Ṭabarī, 30, 120, 20, offers for ما الذى as the interpretation of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

<sup>417</sup> The first part also al-Ṭabarī, 28, 54, 27.

<sup>418</sup> According to al-Ṭabarī, 30, 86, 30, rather the text of Ubayy b. Ka'b.

Sūra 62:9, فامضوا<sup>419</sup> : فاسعوا, correction because hastening (سعى) to prayer was considered objectionable.

Sūra 66:4, زاعت : صفت<sup>420</sup> | 66:12, فيها : فيه, as it says more appropriately in the parallel passage 21:91.

[iii/76] Sūra 68:24, أَنْ (continuation of the direct speech already introduced by أَنْ verse 22, but interrupted by verse 23) missing | 68:51, ليزهقونك : ليزلقونك<sup>421</sup>

Sūra 69:9, مننه : قبله, better suits the context.

Sūra 74:6, before أن تستكثر<sup>422</sup> added is أن<sup>422</sup>, an elucidation interfering with the poetic expression. | 74:43, at the beginning of the verse added يا أيها الكفار<sup>423</sup> as an explanation. | 74:43, اسلككم : سللكم<sup>424</sup>

Sūra 76:30, ان يشاء : ان يشاء<sup>425</sup> | 76:31, للظالمين : والظالمين<sup>426</sup> picked up again with لهم what in the case of الظالمين and is grammatically hardly possible.

Sūra 77:17, تبصروهم [دamma and sukūn on the ع] : سنبصروهم, to reject the reading with ʾ.

Sūra 81:11, قشطت : كقشطت<sup>427</sup> dialectical variant; cf. conversely, 93:9, تقهر : تكهر<sup>428</sup> | 81:24, بظنين : بظنين, the correct form (see above, p. 425 sq.).<sup>429</sup>

Sūra 89:29, before عبدى (so) added جسد, elucidation which, at the same time, safeguards the reading of the following word as a singular, but reverses the meaning.

Sūra 93:5, ولسعطيك : ولسوف يعطيك<sup>430</sup>

Sūra 94:6, missing, as repetition of verse 5 it could easily be omitted; this way, however, verse 5 would lose its corresponding rhyme.

Sūra 95:2, سيناء : سيناء<sup>431</sup> against the rhyme, like 23:20. | 95:5, سافلين : سافلين, conforming to regular Koranic usage.

Sūra 96:15, لأسفعا : لسفعا, less well fitting to سذع verse 18.

<sup>419</sup> Also Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām; al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 28, p. 60, l 32; and 28, 61, 9 sqq; al-Zurqānī on *al-Muwatta'* (which even Ibn Mas'ūd himself does not mention), vol. 1, p. 197; and others.

<sup>420</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 28, 93, 15.

<sup>421</sup> Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām; al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 29, p. 26 l 20; al-Zamakhsharī without names.

<sup>422</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 29, 81, 34.

<sup>423</sup> Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām; missing in al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>424</sup> Ibid.

<sup>425</sup> So al-Ṭabarī, vol. 29, p. 122, l 24; al-Zamakhsharī probably by mistake يشاء.

<sup>426</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 29, p. 122, l 29.

<sup>427</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 30, 40, 21.

<sup>428</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 30, 128, 31.

<sup>429</sup> Also al-Dimyāṭī al-Bannā', *Ithāf*, s.v.

<sup>430</sup> al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 19:67; not s.v.

<sup>431</sup> al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 1, no. 4813; not al-Zamakhsharī.

[iii/77] Sūra 98:2, رسول, grammatically better following the preceding text. | 98:4, الدين:دين,<sup>432</sup> perhaps the original (because of the rhyme القيمة الدين instead of Masc.).

Sūra 99:4, تنبي:تحدث,<sup>433</sup>

Sūra 101:4, كالصوف:كالعين,<sup>434</sup> better known synonym.

Sūra 103, totally different text:

والعصر\* لقد خلقنا الانسان لخير\* وانه فيه الى آخر الدهر\* الا الذين آمنوا وتواصوا بالتقوى  
\* وتواصوا بالصبر<sup>435</sup>

Sūra 107:1 | 107:7, ساهون:سأهون,<sup>436</sup> ارايتك:ارأيت

Sūra 109:1, قل للذين كفروا:قل يا ايها الكافرين<sup>437</sup> which does not fit the rhyme, but is unlikely to be intended to be an independent verse.

Sūra 111:1, وتب:تبت,<sup>438</sup> thus a clear statement in contrast to the wish تبّت.

Sūra 112:1–2, قل هو الله احد الله<sup>439</sup>

As an example of orthographic peculiarity cf. the spelling شاي instead of شىء, above, p. 424 n. 243.

Goldziher considered all of Ibn Mas‘ūd’s different variants—like Koranic readings in general—under the aspect of the deviations from the genuine text of the Koran. Indeed, even among both the variants and variant readings that can be traced back to Ibn Mas‘ūd, there are plenty of instances in which the ‘Uthmānic text has erroneously been changed,<sup>440</sup> or where at least a motive for the deviation from the ‘Uthmānic text can be recognized, the text of Ibn Mas‘ūd thus being of secondary importance. For Goldziher the most important of these motives—although not the most frequent one—is probably the elimination of substantial offences,<sup>441</sup> or factual comments,<sup>442</sup> or

<sup>432</sup> al-Ṭabarī, 30, 145, 31 doubtful (فيها ارى); al-Zamakhsharī without names.

<sup>433</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 30, 147, 18.

<sup>434</sup> Also *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma‘ānī*, section 4 of the introduction.

<sup>435</sup> *Fihrist*, p. 26, l 23; not al-Zamakhsharī. Verses 1 to 3 also *Kanz al-‘ummāl fī sunan al-aqvāl wa-l-aḥwāl*, vol. 1, no. 4770, but there verse 2, وان الله لخير—ان الانسان ليخير is listed in al-Ṭabarī, 30, 160, 19 sqq., as the text of ‘Alī as well as l 23 as anonymous.

<sup>436</sup> Apparently meant also al-Ṭabarī, 30, 173, 9.

<sup>437</sup> *al-Fihrist*, p. 26, l 25; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>438</sup> Also *al-Fihrist*, p. 26, l 25; note on Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, p. 231; al-Ṭabarī, 30, 190, 26.

<sup>439</sup> So *al-Fihrist*, p. 26, l 26; according to al-Zamakhsharī only قل is missing, which is perhaps a confusion with the text of Ubayy b. Ka‘b, which he supplies at the same time.

<sup>440</sup> See on sūras 2:29, 4:109, 14:47, 74:6, 89:27, 95:2; cf. 94:6, where there is hardly an intentional change, but still an obviously corrupted text.

<sup>441</sup> See on sūras 2:131 and 153, 3:75 and 177, 4:109, 5:62, 9:107, 14:47, 17:1, 18:14, 24:27, 34:13, 62:9; by additions to the text, see on sūras 4:81, 24:5, 58:8. Included are also passages that merely purport to smoothen contextual roughness. [Cf. Goldziher, *Schools*, pp. 22–24.]

<sup>442</sup> For explanatory, also descriptive touches, supplemental, smoothing additions see on sūras 2:194, 209, 226 and 276, 3:44, 4:38, 11:74, 18:78, 20:97, 27:40, 33:6, 44:57, 58:8, 74:43, 89:29;

linguistic elucidation<sup>443</sup> of the text; added to this are the removal of peculiarities or mistakes,<sup>444</sup> stylistic heaviness, and a general polishing and improvement.<sup>445</sup> But Ibn Mas'ūd's text must not be considered a correction even where it reads smoother than the 'Uthmānic text. A study of the synonyms used for the individual words of the 'Uthmānic text alone—also Goldziher points out the great number of synonyms in the non-'Uthmānic variant readings—shows that frequently the word used by Ibn Mas'ūd was the better known and more convenient expression,<sup>446</sup> but not always.<sup>447</sup> There is no other explanation than that in the latter cases the 'Uthmānic text, conversely, is secondary with regard to that of Ibn Mas'ūd, or more properly speaking, that many Koranic passages were circulating in different versions differing—among other things—by their respective use of synonyms, and that Ibn Mas'ūd's text—or both texts directly and independently—draw on this transmission. Still more probable is the direct take-over from the oral transmission in most of the cases, in which Ibn Mas'ūd offers<sup>448</sup> an unambiguous<sup>449</sup> alternative *vis-à-vis* the ambiguous form or orthography of the 'Uthmānic text. In this case the relation between the text and the variants is

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further, a decisive addition settling a controversy, sūra 5:91; another one effecting a variant to a narrative, sūra 20:96; averting an ambiguity by textual changes, see on sūras 3:5 and 169, 43:58, 48:9.

<sup>443</sup> See on sūras 2:214, 3:86, 5:42 and 65, 6:16, 11:113, 20:83, 27:25, 49:2, 58:8, 61:11, 74:6.

<sup>444</sup> See on sūras 2:58, 261 and 269, 4:134 and 160, 5:4 and 73, 6:140, 11:113, 17:24, 18:36, 20:66, 22:45, 76:31, 81:24.

<sup>445</sup> See on sūras 2:29, 100, 172, 229, 241 and 285, 3:16 and 20 (in 2:226) as well as 43, 4:19, 5:65 and 96, 6:70, 94 and 154, 7:25 and 103, 8:61, 10:81, 11:75, 12:64, 15:66, 16:9, 18:31 and 62, 23:20, 27:36, 28:8, 33:40, 49 and 51, 35:41, 36:58 (?), 39:4, 45:23, 48:26 (?), 50:18, 51:58, 57:23, 60:11, 61:14, 66:12, 68:24, 69:9, 95:5, 98:2.

<sup>446</sup> See on sūras 2:34 and 94, 4:44, 8:2, 10:98, 12:36, 17:95, 23:20, 26:166, 27:32, 28:14, 36:7, 47:22, 101:4; twisting see on sūras 19:65, 26:19; qualification with regard to content, see on sūra 5:42. Further, elimination of ambiguities, see on sūras 2:281, 12:105, 18:102.

<sup>447</sup> No noticeable improvement results from the use of synonyms in sūras 1:5, 2:46, 63 and 100, 3:127, 33:40, 37:54 and 177, 55:6, 58:8, 66:4, 68:51, 99:4, 107:7; more difficult to explain are Ibn Mas'ūd's synonyms in sūras 24:14, 36:28 and 52, 44:54, deviation from subject, sūra 37:45, and 55:8.

<sup>448</sup> Even in cases in which Ibn Mas'ūd certainly made changes, this need not necessarily be based on an already fixed written 'Uthmānic text; also in such instances it might have been derived directly from the oral transmission. Graphical—but perhaps accidentally—are possibly the variants to sūras 28:14, 68:51, and 107:7.

<sup>449</sup> Form, see on sūras 2:77 and 282, 6:155 (in 5:42), 11:113, 29:24, 37:171, 57:23, 111:1 (cf. also 2:214); orthography, see on sūras 2:19, and 18:76, in particular remoulding in a way that the existing possibility of double vocalization (or punctuation) in the 'Uthmānic text is eliminated, see on sūras 2:113 and 281, 3:165, 4:127, 5:3, 6:57 (in 4:19), 105 and 154, 10:12, 12:105, 18:102, 20:32, 27:84 (in 4:19), 77:17, 87:16 (in 61:14), 89:29. Establishing unambiguous syntactic connections by change, see on sūra 40:37.

not that the originator of Ibn Mas'ūd's variants had the actual 'Uthmānic text at his disposal, realized its ambiguities, and settled for one particular interpretation which he then put down in script. Rather, it is that he was vividly aware of the meaning of the passage and tried to reproduce it as clearly as possible in writing.<sup>450</sup> He distinguished himself from the authors of the 'Uthmānic text by a stronger determination to a clear written expression, at least as far as this was possible in view of the imperfection of the script. In the case of the numerous variants, which are too insignificant and unimportant to be interpreted as deliberate changes<sup>451</sup> (including the purely orthographic cases),<sup>452</sup> one must ultimately assume that one is dealing with an independent concurrent transmission of the 'Uthmānic text, displaying the obvious mark of either originality<sup>453</sup> or—particularly with some greater differences in the last sūras—of total independence from the 'Uthmānic text.<sup>454</sup> If thus the origin of many a variant from the oral transmission is to be admitted, the possibility must be recognized that also more elegant and easier, nay, even linguistically more correct variant readings might have been derived from it. Of course, a safe verdict regarding the individual passages cannot be reached.

It is probable that the greater part of the variants traced back to Ibn Mas'ūd is of a relatively uniform origin. This forms a unit by the frequent repetition of similar traits in different passages.<sup>455</sup> In this process, however, no principle is artificially established that would have been followed consistently. However, we are unable to determine if this form of the text goes back to Ibn Mas'ūd, and to what extent he himself really took down genuine oral transmissions in the form that has come down to us, and, at the

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<sup>450</sup> This circumstance gives the text of Ibn Mas'ūd—apart from the deliberate additions of explanation, etc., pointed out by Goldziher—the character of a commentary on the 'Uthmānic text. Cf. the alleged saying of Mujāhid ابن مسعود قبل أن أسأل ابن عباس ما احتجت أن أسأله عن كثير مما سأله عنه لو كنت قرأت قراءة ابن مسعود قبل أن أسأل ابن مسعود (note to Ibn Hishām *Sīra*, p. 231.)

<sup>451</sup> See on sūra 1:6; 2:126, 183 and 226; 3:16 and 114; 4:38 and 56; 5:2, 60 and 114; 7:38 and 169; 9:51; 12:70; 20:83; 22:28; 23:103 (in 2:19); 27:37; 36:30; 38:56; 43:77; 49:11; 55:27; 74:43; 76:30; 93:5; 107:1; in addition dialectical deviations in the phonetic field, see on sūras 7:19; 12:35; 27:25; 66:4 (?); 81:11; cf. also on sūras 2:58 and 269; and 81:24.

<sup>452</sup> There is the theoretical possibility that some copies of the Koran with considerable differences to the 'Uthmānic text might have erroneously been considered to be the famous recension of Ibn Mas'ūd; in this case, the alleged variants of Ibn Mas'ūd could partially constitute ordinary mistakes of the copyist. But chances that this is the case are negligible.

<sup>453</sup> See on sūras (4:102), 5:69 (in 5:4); 8:1; 9:118; 11:83; 12:31; 22:37; 31:26; 98:4; cf. further the peculiar—even if not original—variants of sūras 11:60; 33:49; 38:22 and 38; 40:16; 109:1.

<sup>454</sup> See on sūras 2:22 (in 2:19), 98, 122 and 261, 3:1, 8:39, 9:111, 16:78, 18:36, 19:35, 27:83, 28:28, 37:123, 38:5, 42:1, 49:17, 96:15; 103; 112:1–2; and the additions 7:38, and 55:43.

<sup>455</sup> See sūras 2:19, 126, 214 and 226; 3:165 and 177; 4:19 and 134; 5:2 and 42; 7:25; 28:28; 60:11.

same time, also recording changes in the true text, indeed, perhaps even occasionally making changes himself. At any rate, his authorship cannot be excluded. First of all, there are no chronological objections because the *terminus ante quem* applies to the variants produced by the deliberate change of the text, because this emerged for us from all the non-‘Uthmānic variants (see above, p. 391). The only aid available to ascertain the authenticity, the *isnāds*—which Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām supplies for all variants, and al-Ṭabarī for roughly half of them—and other information regarding their origin, naturally cannot produce reliable results, particularly as the variants, certainly in instances containing difficulties or giving rise to differences of opinion, are closely linked with the entire exegetic material of tradition, and thus subject to the identical criteria. Still, the *isnāds* leave a favourable impression since they are not traced back too far, only to the second century AH; and their critical investigation<sup>456</sup> confirms this impression. The *isnāds* of both Abū ‘Ubayd, in his *Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān* and in al-Ṭabarī generally, lead through Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad al-A‘war (d. 206/821)<sup>457</sup> to Abū ‘Abd Allāh HĀRŪN IBN MŪSĀ al-A‘war<sup>458</sup> al-Azdī in Baṣra (grammarian and expert in variant readings, particularly the uncanonical ones, d. ca. 170/786) or, less frequently, to the expert in the Koran (‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz) IBN JURAYJ, lately of Baṣra (d. 149 or 151/ca. 767);<sup>459</sup> another Baṣran authority is Qatāda b. Di‘āma (60/679–118/736),<sup>460</sup> who does not appear in Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām. Next to this Baṣran group there is yet another group from Kūfa, neglected by Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim, but prevailing in al-Ṭabarī, which includes Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd AL-NAKHA‘Ī,<sup>461</sup> the famous traditionist (d. 96/715), Abū Ishāq ‘Amr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Hamdānī AL-SABĪ‘Ī (d. ca. 127/745),<sup>462</sup> and (Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān) AL-SUDDĪ (d. 127/745),<sup>463</sup> they are all equally renowned exegetes.<sup>464</sup> If in the case of Abū ‘Abd Allāh HĀRŪN (IBN MŪSĀ)

<sup>456</sup> It cannot be their task to reach results regarding the individual passages by checking the *isnāds*, rather this must be limited to the general character of the transmission.

<sup>457</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 153 sq.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vols. 1 and 9.

<sup>458</sup> *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 43–44; Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentaries*, p. 26.

<sup>459</sup> Who frequently refers to older authorities, particularly Muḥāhid, who also in other ways appears as a follower of Ibn Mas‘ūd. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 438–449, Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 31.

<sup>460</sup> In al-Ṭabarī there are several additional Baṣran readers who are not mentioned by name.

<sup>461</sup> Who occasionally refers to his maternal uncle ‘Alqama b. Qays al-Nakha‘ī (d. 62/681); (Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 398).

<sup>462</sup> *EP*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 47–50; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 283, no. 12.

<sup>463</sup> *EP*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 1, 470, 630, 640; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 32–33.

<sup>464</sup> In addition again occasionally undisclosed readers and grammarians.

we find ourselves on more solid interest in the text of the Koran and outside the dubious subject of exegetic *ḥadīth*; the Kūfan authorities, on the other hand, lead us to a place and time when the *qirā'a* that followed in Ibn Mas'ūd's footsteps was still alive.<sup>465</sup> In the case of the great mass of traditions without *isnād* in al-Ṭabarī, but most of all in al-Zamakhsharī as well as Sībawayh<sup>466</sup> (d. before 180/796), we are probably dealing with an origin from the living practice or from Koranic-grammatical transmission, both of which are likely to deserve more confidence than the transmission from the science of tradition.<sup>467</sup>

There is certainly the possibility, if not probability, that a not inconsiderable core of variants traced back to Ibn Mas'ūd do indeed go back to his copy of the Koran. It needs no proof that at best we know only an insignificant portion of the deviations of his text from that of 'Uthmān.

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*The Text of Ubayy b. Ka'b*<sup>468</sup>

We again start with a summary and short explanation of the transmitted material.

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Sūra 1:4, at the beginning of the verse *اللهم* is added as the beginning of a new sūra.<sup>469</sup>

Sūra 2:19, *يُخطف* (I. or VIII. Form, cf. Ibn Mas'ūd): *يُتخطف*; cf. below on 2:261. | 2:19, *مشوا فيه* (*مشوا فيه* <sup>470</sup> *مشوا فيه* مروا فيه : مشوا فيه), accumulation of synonyms. | 2:29, *يهوديا* and *من كان هودا او نصارى* 2:105; cf. Ibn Mas'ūd. | *عرضها* : *عرضها* <sup>471</sup>; *نصرانيا* <sup>472</sup> | 2:113, *وما* : *ولا* <sup>473</sup>; cf. Ibn Mas'ūd. | 2:120, *فأمتعه* and *اضطره* (of God) : 1. pers. plur., whereby excluding reading as imperative.<sup>474</sup> | 2:131, *بأذى* : *بمثل ما* cf. Ibn

<sup>465</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 6, p. 133, l 2, and *juz'*/vol. 7, p. 19, l 13 *fi l-qirā'atinā*, l 14 *fi qirā'at aṣḥāb 'Abd Allāh* (i.e. Ibn Mas'ūd), l 18, and *juz'*/vol. 9, p. 110, l 21, *kāna aṣḥābu 'Abd Allāhi yaqra'ūna(hā)*; *juz'*/vol. 16, p. 55, l 10, *Kānū yaqūlūna ... fi qirā'ati 'Abd Allāhi*.

<sup>466</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 51–63.

<sup>467</sup> Some substantiations can be derived from the totally isolated transmission in the *Fihrist* which makes a reliable impression.

<sup>468</sup> For details about him see above, p. 235 sq.; Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, p. 5; L. Caetani, *Annali*, year 19, no. 91–101; A. Jeffery, *Materials for the history*, pp. 114–116; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 93, col. 2, p. 265, col. 2, p. 479, col. 2.

<sup>469</sup> *Fihrist*, p. 27, l 16; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>470</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, *naw'*, 16, *mas'ala* 3, *qawl* 9; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>471</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 1, p. 167, l 6.

<sup>472</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 1, 371, 20.

<sup>473</sup> al-Ṭabarī, 1, 389, 12 only *ha*.

<sup>474</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 1, p. 407, l 14 lists Ubayy as authority only when considered 1. Pers., but not for a variant.

Mas'ūd. | 2:139, تلقاء : شطر, explanation. | 2:143, وجهة : وقبة, the same.<sup>475</sup> 2:180 after after اخر added متتابعات, likewise 2:192 after أيام; cf. Ibn Mas'ūd (and Ubayy himself) sūra 5:91. | 2:181, وان تصوموا, والصيام, the reading وان is excluded. | 2:200, ويستشهد : ويشهد, whereby the reading وَيَشْهَد (instead the usual وَيُشْهَد) is precluded. | 2:201, وميلك : وميلك,<sup>476</sup> with resumption of the conjunction after و; cf. above, Ibn Mas'ūd on 2:214. | 2:216, اقرب : اكبر, the Ṭhmanic text is easier but suspected to be influenced by the preceding اثم كبير | 2:228, 477, يظننا : يخافا, more suitable in the context. | 2: 239, after الوسطى added is صلوة العصر;<sup>478</sup> addition which purports to settle a related controversy (Goldziher, *Schools*, p. 9sq.). | 2:241, متاع : وصية (according to others, فمتاع), probably outright to exclude the idea of an extended application. | 2:249, التابوت : لتابوه (cf. above, p. 259). | 2:250, قليل : قليلا, constructed according to sense, contrary to the general grammatical rule. | 2:261, يستته : يتسته,<sup>479</sup> but in reverse 9:57, المتصدقين والمصدقات, 19:68, 25:63, يذكر : يتذكر, 57:17, المتصدقين والمصدقات : فاصدق, 63:10, المتصدقين والمصدقات, all safeguarding the derivation from the V. Form; cf. above on sūra 2:19, and in addition Ibn Mas'ūd. | 2:276, جاءه immediately before موعظة : جاءته. | 2:280, ذا : ذو,<sup>481</sup> linguistically more natural. | 2:281, ترجعون : تصيرون; cf. Ibn Mas'ūd. | 2:283, أمن : أمن, which produces a very heavy construction.

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Sūra 3:5, يقولون ... والراسخون : والراسخون;<sup>482</sup> cf. Ibn Mas'ūd. | 3:17, الاسلام : (شهد الله أن, dependent on إن (not أن, fixing the vocalization للاسلام, 3:20, 483, ويقتلون النبيين والذين : ويقتلون النبيين بغير حق ويقتلون الذين : بغير حق and establishing the meaning “to kill” (not “to fight,” cf. Ibn Mas'ūd on 2:226) also in the case of the second object. | 3:32, وكنها : تصعدون added is 484, في الوادي explanatory addition which identifies the verb as IV. Form (not I. Form). | 3:185, اتوا : فعلوا, a clear synonym which at the same time excludes the variant اتوا (Passive).

<sup>475</sup> 2:172, Makki b. Abī Ṭālib, *Kashf 'an wujūh* has the variant أن, which otherwise derived only from Ibn Mas'ūd.

<sup>476</sup> al-Ṭabarī, 2, 179, 8; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>477</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 2, 261, 15.

<sup>478</sup> Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām; not al-Zamakhsharī. Cf., however, al-Ṭabarī, 2, 327, 15 and 328, 23, where Ubayy rather approves of the variant صلوة العصر.

<sup>479</sup> Cf. in this connection the account above, p. 395 n. 46.

<sup>480</sup> Makki b. Abī Ṭālib, *Kashf 'an wujūh al-qirā'āt*; al-Zamakhsharī without name.

<sup>481</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 3, p. 67, 129; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>482</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 3, 113, 27; *Itqān, naw'* 43, *faṣl* 2 (according to al-Farrā').

<sup>483</sup> In al-Zamakhsharī the first و is missing, probably unintentionally.

<sup>484</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 4, 82, 16.



Sūra 4:15, after *اخت* added is *من الام*, a necessary clarification of the meaning and therefore easily added. | 4:92, *او* missing, which makes the heavy construction of the 'Uthmānic text even more difficult. | 4:102 see Ibn Mas'ūd. | 4:128, *كالمسجونة : كالمعلقة*, one of the interpretations of the disputed word.<sup>485</sup> 4:134 *بهما*<sup>486</sup> referring to two duals: *بهم* | 4:157, *موته*,<sup>487</sup> to be vocalized according to the following *عليهم* (and then previously *ليؤمنن*); this form of the text excludes the reference of the suffix to 'Īsā, as it is often claimed. | 4:162, an accusative *ورسلا* (twice): *ورسلي*,<sup>488</sup> which is out of place in this construction, and can be explained only as a preceding object picked up again by a suffix, thus either a combined nominal sentence or a continuation of the preceding *الى ابراهيم*, etc.

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Sūra 5:49, *وانزل الله على بنى اسرائيل : وكتبنا عليهم*, a better continuation of the preceding *انزل الله*, and avoiding an incorrect reference of the suffix. | 5:49, *وأن وليحكم*,<sup>489</sup> with clear expression of the dependency. | 5:51, *والجروح : والجروح*, whereby both the character of summons and the dependency on the preceding sentence is to be made explicit. | 5:62, *ومن الكفار : والكفار*,<sup>490</sup> with the resumption of the preposition after *و*; cf. above, Ibn Mas'ūd on 2:214. | 5:73, *والصائبين : والصائبين*,<sup>491</sup> cf. Ibn Mas'ūd, and above, p. 397 sq.

Sūra 6:16, see in Ibn Mas'ūd. | 6:74, *يا أزر : آزر*,<sup>492</sup> clearly vocative. | 6:109, *انها*,<sup>493</sup> better fits the context. | 6:111, *قبلا*,<sup>494</sup> establishing the interpretation of the word (like 17:94) and better fits the preceding singular than a plural *قبلا*.<sup>495</sup> | 6:144, *المعزى : المعزى*. | 6:154, *ان هذا صراطى* [with *fatha* or *kasra* on the first *alif*] : *وهذا صراط ربك*; cf. Ibn Mas'ūd.

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Sūra 7:103, *وقد تركوك ان يعبدوك : ويذرك*,<sup>496</sup> daring correction of a rather obscure text. | 7:169, *ميسكون : ميسكون*, after *الذين* (cf. Ibn Mas'ūd on 2:226), clearly II. Form, not IV. Form.

<sup>485</sup> As such, e. g., al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 5, p. 187, l 16 sq.

<sup>486</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 6, 18, 16.

<sup>487</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 6, 13, 35.

<sup>488</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 6, 18, 16; al-Zamakhsharī says nothing about the vocalization, al-Ṭabarī presupposes a nominative.

<sup>489</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 6, 153, 24, who, however, explicitly doubts the reliability of the transmission.

<sup>490</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 6, 166, 31.

<sup>491</sup> According to Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, fol. 37<sup>r</sup>, rather *والصائبون*, and *يا ايها* for *ان*; this, however, is the variant that is normally ascribed to Ibn Mas'ūd!

<sup>492</sup> *Ithāf*, s.v.; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>493</sup> Also al-Dimyāṭī al-Bannā', *Ithāf*, s.v.

<sup>494</sup> Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>495</sup> Abū 'Ubayd's *Faḍā'il* in the Berlin Ms., no. 451, has as a variant *هذه انعام وحرث*, sūra 6:139, but which is identical with the 'Uthmānic text, probably a mistake in the manuscript.

<sup>496</sup> Also Abū 'Ubayd, and from him al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 9, p. 16, l 4; not al-Zamakhsharī.

Sūra 9:49, يسقطوا : سقطوا, corresponding to the preceding singular يقول.

Sūra 10:2 (ساحر) لَسَحَرَ : إِنْ هَذَا لَسَحَرٌ : cf. below on 20:66. | 10:25, added قَطَعٌ...: أَعْشَبَتْ وَجُوهُهُمْ قَطَعًا مِنَ اللَّيْلِ مَظْلَمًا, 497 | 10:28, وَمَا أَهْلَكْنَاهَا إِلَّا بِذُنُوبِ أَهْلِهَا مَظْلَمٌ, 498 active instead of the required passive construction. | 10:59, (فَلتَقْرَحُوا) فَاذْعُوا : فَاذْعُوا شُرَكَاءَكُمْ : وَشُرَكَاءُكُمْ, 499 ascertaining the interpretation as 2. pers. (= فلتقروا) | 10:72, since شُرَكَاءُكُمْ poorly suited as object of the preceding verb. | 10:81, جَنَّتُمْ : جَنَّتُمْ, 500 and reverse, 21:48, جَنَّتُمْ : جَنَّتُمْ, which, of course, at the same time rejects the punctuation جَنَّتُمْ, as well as the interpretation as IVth form.

[iii/87] Sūra 11:30, فَعَمَّيْنَا : فَعَمَّيْنَا, 501 establishing the reading as II. Form (and this way Allāh as the originator).

Sūra 12:7, آيَةٌ : آيَةٌ (cf. above, p. 402 n. 92). | 12:18, فَصَبْرٌ جَمِيلٌ (nominative without coherence of the sentence, difficult to understand) : فَصَبْرًا جَمِيلًا. | 12:90, أَنْتَ : أَنْتَ (predicate) : أَنْتَ لَنْتَ (the surprised question that better fits the context).

Sūra 13:2, تَرَوْنَهَا : تَرَوْنَهَا (referring to عمَد which in this case is the only possibility, and this considered singular).

Sūra 14:43, وَلَوْلَا الَّذِي لَوْلَا الَّذِي, excluding the readings وَلَوْلَا الَّذِي and وَلَوْلَا الَّذِي, 14:47, وَمَنْ مَكْرَهُمْ : مَنْ مَكْرَهُمْ, 505 very daring correction of the passage which in Ibn Mas‘ūd is only lightly softened.

Sūra 16:39, هَادِيٍّ : هَادِيٍّ (‘‘for Allāh—has no leader, whom He leads astray,’’ i.e., ‘‘whom Allāh leads astray, he has no leader,’’) whereas in the ‘Uthmānic text Allāh is concurrently the subject of the non-rightful-guidance and the leading astray. (Cf. Ibn Mas‘ūd, p. 379, note 285). | 16:39, يَضِلُّ : يَضِلُّ, 506 rejecting the reading as Ist form which serves the same purpose as just mentioned.

<sup>497</sup> So Abū ‘Ubayd and al-Ṭabarī, 11, 65, 22, here, after بالامس of the text; al-Ṭabarī, *juz’/vol. 11*, p. 65, l 15 sqq., but rather لَيْلِكُمْ اللهُ لَيْلِكُمْ اللهُ, etc., after عليها of the text; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>498</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 11, 70, 16.

<sup>499</sup> According to Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan, kitāb al-ḥurūf*, no. 12; al-Ṭabarī, *juz’/vol. 11*, p. 80, l 6 sqq., and al-Dimyāṭī al-Bannā’, *Ithāf*, s.v., rather فلتقروا, in agreement with the ‘Uthmānic consonants.

<sup>500</sup> Also Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām; al-Ṭabarī, 11, 94, 31.

<sup>501</sup> Also al-Farrā’; *Ma‘ānī l-Qur‘ān* (Ms., Constantinople, Vehbi, 60), s.v.; according to al-Ṭabarī, 12, 17, 21, rather the text of Ibn Mas‘ūd.

<sup>502</sup> Abū ‘Ubayd; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>503</sup> So the ‘Uthmānic consonantal text even though most people read أَنْتَ, in which case, however, 3 is hardly suitable.

<sup>504</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 13, 32, 18.

<sup>505</sup> Makki b. Abī Ṭālib, *Kashf‘an wujūh*; not al-Zamakhsharī. At the beginning of the Koranic passage the Ms. has مَكْرُوا instead of مَكْرُوا; probably by mistake.

<sup>506</sup> The wording in al-Zamakhsharī is not quite clear.

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Sūra 17:14, ونخرج له <sup>507</sup>(?) يقراه : ونخرج له <sup>508</sup>فكروا likely a moderation of the hazardous idea that Allāh induces sin in order then to be able to punish it. | 17:17, تسرفوا [first letter *tā'* or *yā'*] تسرفوا, plural 2. pers. as before and after, whereas the 'Uthmānic text suggests the wording as 3. pers. sing., referring to the preceding <sup>509</sup>ولق. | 17:78, يلبثوا : يلبثوا, after <sup>509</sup>وَأدَّا, cf. above, p. 402 n. 90, and Ibn Mas'ūd on sūra 4:56. | 17:104, ... مثبورا, with the good old construction of <sup>510</sup>وَإِنْ أَخَالَكَ ... لمثبورا : وَإِنْ لَأَطَّتْكَ (see above, p. 392 n. 24).

Sūra 18:24, سنين, after مائة contradicting the general rule: سنة. | 18:76, introduction of a synonym, probably because of the peculiarity of the spelling (cf. Ibn Mas'ūd).

Sūra 19:35, after الذى added كان الناس in order to establish the يمترون as 3. pers., and past tense. | 19:37, وَإِنْ [with *hamza* above and *kasra* below the *alif*] : وَإِنْ <sup>511</sup>excluding the reading.

Sūra 20:15, at the end of the verse added من نفسى <sup>512</sup>cf. above, p. 402, n. 94. | 20:32 and 20:33 reversed, and the و before verse 32 (cf. in this connection Ibn Mas'ūd). | 20:66, إِنَّ هَذَانِ لَسَاحِرَانِ : إِنَّ هَذَانِ لَسَاحِرَانِ see above on 10:2; cf. Ibn Mas'ūd.

Sūra 22:77, الله : هو, preventing the reference to Abraham.

Sūra 23:20, تنبت : تخرم; cf. Ibn Mas'ūd.

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Sūra 24:14, تتلقونه : تلقونه <sup>514</sup>the more explicit form. | 24:35, نور من آمن : نوره <sup>515</sup>cf. Ibn Mas'ūd. (or instead of بالله only به)

Sūra 26:129, كَأَنكُمْ لَعَلَّكُمْ : وبيروه : فيأتينهم.

Sūra 27:8, تباركت الارض : بورك من فى النار, or تباركت النار <sup>517</sup>both serving to eliminate مَنْ which could only refer to Allāh, and then affect a new interpretation. | 27:25, من السماء : فى السموات <sup>518</sup>better suitable to the IVth form of

<sup>507</sup> Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>508</sup> Abū 'Ubayd; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>509</sup> To سَيِّئَةٌ, 17:40, which many people in order to attain consistency with مَكْرُوهًا read سَيِّئَةٌ (cf. also the variant above, p. 401 sq.), Abū 'Ubayd refers to a variant which the Ms. suggests as سَيِّئَاتٍ meant is perhaps al-Zamakhsharī's anonymous reference to the reading سَيِّئَاتٍ.

<sup>510</sup> Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>511</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 16, p. 56, l 27.

<sup>512</sup> al-Ṭabarī, 16, 99, 17, anonymous (*fi ba'd al-hurūf*).

<sup>513</sup> Also *al-Mabāni li-naẓm al-ma'āni*, section 4 of the introduction.

<sup>514</sup> al-Ṭabarī, 18, 69, 30; al-Zamakhsharī, anonymous.

<sup>515</sup> al-Zamakhsharī, and al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 18, p. 94, l 33, only به, Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, has both. Al-Ṭabarī, however, *juz'*/vol. 18, p. 94, l 28, seems to offer نور المؤمن.

<sup>516</sup> al-Ṭabarī, 19, 54, 26, anonymous (*fi ba'd al-hurūf*).

<sup>517</sup> Thus two forms of the text excluding one another.

<sup>518</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 19, p. 85, l 15, cites as the text from Ubayy يعلم سرهم بالله الذى يعلم سرهم, so that thus يعلم سرهم—الارض و

the verb *خرج* | 27:25, *ما تخفون*, <sup>519</sup> *سرکم*: a more explicit synonym which, however, destroys the parallelism. | 27:30, *وآته* [with *hamza* above and below |] *تكلّمهم* : كتاب "letter." | 27:84, *أَنْ ... وَأَنْ : إِنَّهُ ...* <sup>520</sup> cf. Ibn Mas'ūd (on 4:19). | 27:94, *ان اتلو*, <sup>521</sup> *واتلّ عليهم هذا*: cf. also above, p. 439 n. 376.

Sūra 34:13, *الجن : الانس*, whereby the allusion is eliminated, which impedes the appreciation of a legend that is no closer identified, but destroys the sense of the narration; cf. Ibn Mas'ūd. | 34:23, *لعلّى : لعلّى*, more forcefully emphasizing the disjunction (followed by *او*).

Sūra 36:29, *على* is missing, <sup>522</sup> whereby also the explanation, which also appears <sup>523</sup> as a variant, *يا حسرة العباد على انفسها*, is alluded to. | 36:72, *ركوبهم* : *ركوبهم*; <sup>524</sup> more explicit (= *ركوب*, not *ركوب*).

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Sūra 39:4, *تعبدهم* : *تعبدهم* (and further preformative *ت* instead of *ي*), consistently keeping the direct speech. <sup>526</sup>

Sūra 43:58, see in Ibn Mas'ūd. | 43:61, *لعلّم*, <sup>527</sup> *لذكر*: a difficult word replaced by another one that is hardly better.

Sūra 48:26, after *الجاهلية* added is *ولو حميت كما حموا لفسد المسجد الحرام*, <sup>528</sup> an additional explanation of the situation.

Sūra 53:29, *به* (vague, referring to *الملائكة*).

Sūra 55:31, *اليكم* : *لكم*, in order to provide an acceptable meaning to the governing verb, *فرغ*.

Sūra 56:22, *وحورا عينًا* : *وحوور عين*, <sup>529</sup> very peculiar.

Sūra 57:29, *لا : لا*, <sup>530</sup> *انهم* to avoid the construction of *ان* with indic. imperf.

Sūra 65:1, *يا تين* : *يفحشن عليكم*, more definite (against you, not against Allāh).

Sūra 72:21, *غيتا* : *ضرا*, better fitted for the contradistinction *شدا*.

Sūra 74:39, *نذير* : *نذير*, grammatically more transparent.

Sūra 87:16, see in Ibn Mas'ūd on 61:14.

<sup>519</sup> Identical reference to the previous note.

<sup>520</sup> Also Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām.

<sup>521</sup> Also Abū 'Ubayd, but without *هذا*. It is not quite clear how the variant is supposed to fit the context.

<sup>522</sup> Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām; al-Zamakhsharī without name.

<sup>523</sup> al-Ṭabarī, juz'/vol. 23, p. 3, l 8 and 11.

<sup>524</sup> Abū 'Ubayd; al-Zamakhsharī, anonymous.

<sup>525</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 23, 110, 26.

<sup>526</sup> Cf. Ibn Mas'ūd who has *قالوا* precede.

<sup>527</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 25, 49, 26.

<sup>528</sup> *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*, section 4 of the introduction; al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl fi sunan*, vol. 1, no. 4823 sq.; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>529</sup> Sibawayh, § 27; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>530</sup> Sibawayh, § 276; not al-Zamakhsharī.

Sūra 89:27, before المطمئنة الآمنة is added as an explanation.<sup>531</sup> | 89:28, : ارجعي الى آثي, intentionally more general.

Sūra 112:1, قل missing; cf. Ibn Mas'ūd.

In addition there is a number of passages, where Ubayy's text is identical with that of Ibn Mas'ūd:<sup>532</sup> Sūra 2:58 (مصر),<sup>533</sup> 2:77,<sup>534</sup> 2:126 and 2:172,<sup>535</sup> 2:209,<sup>536</sup> 2:222 (see above, p. 432, l 12);<sup>537</sup> 3:75,<sup>538</sup> 3:127; 4:81,<sup>539</sup> 5:65 (only وعبدوا without من),<sup>540</sup> 5:91,<sup>541</sup> 6:105,<sup>542</sup> 6:154 (but ربك instead ريك), 7:25, 10:81,<sup>543</sup> 10:98,<sup>544</sup> 11:113 (only كل),<sup>545</sup> 17:24,<sup>545</sup> 18:36 (only انا لكن), 18:78,<sup>546</sup> 24:27 (without change),<sup>547</sup> 27:25 (only نسجدون),<sup>548</sup> 69:9.

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It must be observed that Ubayy frequently appears as the defender of the 'Uthmānic text against deviations; so in the case of sūras 4:160,<sup>549</sup> 9:101 (والذين), not الذين,<sup>550</sup> 62:9,<sup>551</sup> and 81:24. Here also belongs the report<sup>552</sup> that during the collation (عرض) of the copies of the Koran 'Uthmān sent his client, Hāni' al-Yazdī, to Ubayy with a shoulder-blade of a sheep, containing the three passages, sūras 2:261 (see above, p. 395 n. 46, at the end) 30:29, and 86:17, and he changed فإهل to فاهل, and خلق الله للخلق, يتسنه to يتسن, restoring the 'Uthmānic form of the text.<sup>553</sup>

<sup>531</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, vol. 30, p. 105, l 16 sqq.

<sup>532</sup> Only such passages have been listed where at least one source documents the same text for both so that in case there should have occurred a confusion this must be older than the source.

<sup>533</sup> al-Dimyātī al-Bannā, *Ithāf*; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>534</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 1, 295, 13.

<sup>535</sup> Makki b. Abī Ṭālib, *Kashf'an wujūh*; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>536</sup> al-Ṭabarī, 2, 188, 16; cf. 29; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>537</sup> Makki b. Abī Ṭālib, *Kashf'an wujūh*, and *Ithāf*; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>538</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 3, 217, 2.

<sup>539</sup> Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (see above, Seite 64, note 310); not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>540</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 6, 169, 3.

<sup>541</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 7, 19, 7 sqq.

<sup>542</sup> al-Ṭabarī, 7, 189, 20; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>543</sup> Also Abū 'Ubayd; al-Ṭabarī, 11, 94, 31.

<sup>544</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 11, 109, 10.

<sup>545</sup> al-Ṭabarī, 15, 44, 18; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>546</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 16, 3, 7.

<sup>547</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 18, 78, 3. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, s.v., has a different text for the entire second part of the verse حتى تستأذنوا لكم والتسلم خير لكم من تحية الجاهلية والدمور. This is an explanatory version of the 'Uthmānic text that violates the rhyme.

<sup>548</sup> Also al-Ṭabarī, 19, 85, 15.

<sup>549</sup> al-Ṭabarī, 6, 17, 1; not al-Zamakhsharī.

<sup>550</sup> Also Abū 'Ubayd; al-Ṭabarī, 11, 6, 14 and 29 (here from Abū 'Ubayd); al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 1, nos. 4831, and 4866 sq.

<sup>551</sup> Also Abū 'Ubayd; al-Ṭabarī, 28, 60, 22; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, s.v.; al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 1, nos. 4816, and 4830.

<sup>552</sup> See above, p. 395 n. 46.

<sup>553</sup> On the other hand, 'Umar opposes Ubayy on several occasions, both when deviating

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It is reported that Ubayy's orthography went further than the 'Uthmānic *imāla*, recognizing in the middle of a word the spelling ى; e.g. للرجيل (instead of للرجال), جيا (instead of جاء), and جياتهم (instead of جاءتهم);<sup>554</sup> (cf. above, p. 417 sq.).

The impression we get from the text going back to Ubayy is less favourable than that of Ibn Mas'ūd's text. Even a quick look reveals the close relation of the two texts,<sup>555</sup> particularly in cases where this is secondary. That both recensions should have so frequently arrived at the same changes independently from one another is hardly less unlikely than that they independently drew on the same differences from the 'Uthmānic text from oral transmissions. But if one of the recensions is dependent on the other, it is likely to be Ubayy's from the one of Ibn Mas'ūd, which is the richer and safer transmission.

When attempting to characterize the variants going back to Ubayy, and disregarding all those that touch upon Ibn Mas'ūd, we first find as the most prominent trait the endeavour to attain a smoother and more correct linguistic expression;<sup>556</sup> secondly, a more precise and distinct formulation or the resolution of possible doubts<sup>557</sup> (and most of all a decision in the case of rivalling vocalizations, etc.)<sup>558</sup> and accordingly the elimination of substantial offences and objections<sup>559</sup> or, less frequently, more precise definitions by means of additions,<sup>560</sup> which otherwise also serve as mere explanation.<sup>561</sup> The frequent use of synonyms also makes for an easier and simpler<sup>562</sup> or a clearer, more explicit and appropriate<sup>563</sup> text. In all these instances the incentive for change is evident, and therefore the change, the non-originality of the variant, is likely; occasionally the text obtained

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from the 'Uthmānic text (see on sūra 48:26), and when approving it (see on sūras 9:101 and 62:9); cf. further, *Kanz*, vol. 1, no. 4827. 'Umar says of him (regarding sūra 62:9) ان أبيتاً كان أقرأنا للمنسوخ

<sup>554</sup> al-Dānī, *al-Muqni'*, *bāb* 13.

<sup>555</sup> Apart from the above list of literal agreements there are contacts in sūra 2:19, 29, 113, 131, 201 and 281; 3:5; 5:62, 73 and 154; 7:103; 9:57, etc; (in sūra 2:261); 14:47 and 66; 23:20; 24:35; 27:84; 34:13; 112:1.

<sup>556</sup> Sūras 2:105, 229 and 276, 3:20; 4:134, 157 and 162; 5:49; 6:109 and 111; 9:49; 10:68; 12:18 and 90; 13:2; 17:35; 18:24 and 27; 25:30; 39:4; 53:29; 55:31; 57:29; 74:39.

<sup>557</sup> Sūras 5:49, 51 and 157; 6:16 and 111; 17:35; 19:35; 22:77; 34:23; 36:29; (43:58.)

<sup>558</sup> Sūras 2:120, 181 and 200; 3:17; 20 and 32; 6:74; 7:169; 10:59; 11:30; 16:39; 19:35 and 37; 24:14; 36:72; (87:16).

<sup>559</sup> Sūras 16:39, 17:17, 27:8.

<sup>560</sup> Sūras 2:180 and 239, 4:15, 19:35.

<sup>561</sup> Sūras 7:124, 10:25 and 72, 20:15, 48:26; 89:27.

<sup>562</sup> Sūras 2:139 and 143; 4:128; 18:76.

<sup>563</sup> Sūra 2:241; 3:185; 26:129; 27:25; 65:1; 72:21; 89:28; exclusion of possibilities in vocalization, sūras 3:147; 14:43; 21:48 (in 10:81).

can be demonstrated to be outright wrong.<sup>564</sup> It is peculiar that compared with Ibn Mas'ūd the motives with regard to content recede considerably, whereas the linguistic-stylistic aspects very much come to the fore. Signs of truly oral transmission are much less numerous and less clearly to be found than in Ibn Mas'ūd. There remains, though, a remainder of grammatically difficult<sup>565</sup> and unintelligible<sup>566</sup> variants as well as difficult synonyms,<sup>567</sup> and a still somewhat larger residue of variations<sup>568</sup> and replacements of synonyms,<sup>569</sup> for which at least no plausible motivation can be found. But this rest is not considerable, and, most of all, hardly a single instance can be found where the text going back to Ubayy would have in its favour the likelihood of greater originality *vis-à-vis* the 'Uthmānic text.<sup>570</sup> One must add that this recension is void of internal cohesion, which we have been able to identify in Ibn Mas'ūd: there is next to no trace of homogeneous treatment of different passages,<sup>571</sup> and one of the very few is even congruent with a case that is typical for Ibn Mas'ūd.<sup>572</sup>

The conclusion that the form of the text ascribed to Ubayy falls far short of the originality and coherence of Ibn Mas'ūd's text has in itself no bearing on the question of whether it really originates from Ubayy.<sup>573</sup> But the external evidence is also weaker. Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām relies almost exclusively on HĀRŪN (b. Mūsā) AL-AKHFASH who was also the main authority for Ibn Mas'ūd; in al-Ṭabarī, who in approximately half of his examples refers to the latter's authorities, this *isnād* is dominated by another person, leading through the intermediary of ABŪ JA'FAR 'Īsā b. 'Abd Allāh AL-RĀZĪ, from Merv, living at al-Rayy (d. ca. 160/776) through al-Rabī' b. Anas [al-Bakrī] from Baṣra, living in Khurāsān (d. 140/757 or earlier),<sup>574</sup> and occasionally through the famous scholar of the Koran, ABŪ AL-'ĀLIYAH Rufay' b. Mihrān al-Riyāḥī at Baṣra (d. 90/708 or later).<sup>575</sup> Compared with the rich transmission of Ibn Mas'ūd—one portion of which was derived from Kūfan readers, grammarians, and traditionists of the circle of the immediate

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<sup>564</sup> By mistake in the rhyme, sūra 20:15; by interference with the parallelism, sūra 27:25.

<sup>565</sup> Sūra 2:250 and 283, 4:92, and 56:22.

<sup>566</sup> Sūra 1:4, 2:249, 10:2, 17:14, 26:202, and 27:94.

<sup>567</sup> Sūra 2:216, and 17:104.

<sup>568</sup> Sūra 2:228 and 261, 6:144, and 20:32sq.

<sup>569</sup> Sūra 2:19, 10:81, 12:7, and 43:61.

<sup>570</sup> Possibly sūra (4:102), and 17:104.

<sup>571</sup> Still, see on sūra 2:180 and 261, and 10:2.

<sup>572</sup> See on sūra 2:261.

<sup>573</sup> Cf. the opposite view, A. Jeffery, *Materials for the history of the text of the Qur'ān*, p. 116.

<sup>574</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 34, no. 13.

<sup>575</sup> *EP*<sup>2</sup>; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 34.

followers of Ibn Mas'ūd's text—we here have an insufficient, purely Baṣran transmission, collected far from its origin, and which does not display any repercussions of a living practice.<sup>576</sup>

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Thus, the probability that our variants derived from Ubayy represent genuine remnants of his codex are rather negligible. It is of course possible that a part of the variants—and also those which appear in Ibn Mas'ūd in the same or similar form—really derive from them. But we have no way of ascertaining this.<sup>577</sup>

This difference in the character of transmission from Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubayy is well founded in the difference of the external conditions for the survival of the two recensions. As can be seen from the uncertainty of Ubayy's date of death, he played no important role after the death of Muḥammad, and soon disappeared from the political scene, either because of an early death or because of other circumstances. The distribution of his codex must have remained a strictly private matter. Ibn Mas'ūd, on the other hand, had the opportunity, as the governor of Kūfa, to enjoy the official sanction of his codex of the Koran; and he made good use of it.<sup>578</sup> Accordingly, also the fate of these two copies of the Koran seems to have been dissimilar. Ubayy's copy vanished early; copies were hardly ever made.<sup>579</sup> On the other hand,

<sup>576</sup> Also Muslim criticism values the transmission of the text of Ibn Mas'ūd higher than Ubayy b. Ka'b's text; according to Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar AL-TAFTAZANĪ (d. 792/1390; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 427: e) the *muṣḥaf Ubayy* is transmitted *bi-ṭarīq al-āḥād*, the *muṣḥaf b. Mas'ūd* however (*bi-ṭarīq*) *al-shuhra* (*al-Tabwīh*, *qism* 1, *rukn* 1, beginning (Cairo ed., 1327/1909, pp. 1, 27, note 3)).

<sup>577</sup> Most authentic are perhaps those that are derived from statements of a special arrangement of the *Fihrist* (see above, p. 237 sq.; from this originates also the reference to the variant on sūra 1:4).

<sup>578</sup> That the *qirā'a* of Ibn Mas'ūd was legitimized at Kūfa (or in Iraq in general) is presupposed by the attempts to derive the claim of 'Āṣim b. al-Jahdārī from it (see below), and documented by accounts regarding the motivation for 'Uthmān's text (see above, p. 251 sq.), and regarding Abū l-Dardā's reading of sūra 92:3 (see above, p. 441 n. 416). This account in its earliest version (Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il*, Berlin Ms., Ahlwardt, no. 451, fol. 42<sup>r</sup>) reads as follows: ... *'an 'Alqamata qāla: laqītu Abā l-Dardā'ī fa-qāla lī: mimman anta? qultu: min Ahl al-'Irāq. qāla: a-taqrā'ūna 'alā qirā'at 'Abd Allāh? qultu: na'am. qāla: fa-iqrā' "wa-l-layli idhā yaghshā" l-fa-qara'tu: "wa-l-layli idhā yaghshā, wa-l-nahār idhā tajallā, wa-l-dhakari wa-l-unthā."* qāla: *fa-ḍahika wa-qāla: hākadhā samī'tu rasūl Allāh ... yaqrā'uhā* (on this several parallel versions in Abū 'Ubayd); further, by the statement that the mother and the maternal grandfather respectively of Sufyān b. 'Unayna (d. 198/813–814) followed the text of Ibn Mas'ūd (Ibn Mujāhid in Ibn Jinnī, *Muḥtasab*, on sūra 24:14, and—probably from there—al-Zamakhsharī, s.v.). Cf. finally, above, p. 447 n. 465.

<sup>579</sup> Reliable related reports have come down only through al-Kisā'ī (see above, p. 418 n. 192), and an otherwise unknown Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Anṣārī who, because of the remark *rawaynāh* (i.e., the *muṣḥaf Ubayy*) *'an ābā'ina* is to be looked for among Ubayy's descendants (*Fihrist*, p. 27, l 3). These facts are in contrast to the information derived from



copies of Ibn Mas'ūd's text are definitely known to have existed for quite some time.<sup>580</sup>

[After I completed the preceding sections, new material regarding the text of the Koran became available to me, which I published in 1933 under the title *Nichtkanonische Koranlesarten im "Muḥtasab" des Ibn Ğinnī* [uncanonical variant readings in Ibn Ğinnī's *al-Muḥtasab*]. As far as the text of Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubayy is concerned, I refer to the index of that publication.]

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### *The Text of the Lewis' Palimpsests*

From among other pre-ʿUthmānic recensions of the Koran mentioned by tradition<sup>581</sup> none, or hardly any, have left traces in literature. The manuscripts of the Koran, as far as they have been investigated, all display the ʿUthmānic consonantal text,<sup>582</sup> the only exception being the aforementioned Lewis' palimpsests (see above, p. 53). In the same way that they dis-

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Ubayy's son, Muḥammad, that ʿUthmān confiscated (*qabaḍah*) Ubayy's copy (Abū ʿUbayd, *Faḍā'il* [Berlin Ms. no. 451, fol. 36<sup>v</sup>; *Kanz*, vol. 1, no. 4789].—Additional claims of personal inspection of Ubayy's codex in section 3 of the introduction to *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-maʿānī* are questioned by the author with reference to a possible falsification (لا تأمن أن يكون ذلك من) لا تأمن أن يكون ذلك من بحب الاختيار بالغريب (حجة بعض من يحب الاختيار بالغريب). *al-Ṭabarī*, 15, 44, 20, mentions an alleged copy (*muṣḥaf... ʿalā qirāʾat Ubayy*) from the property of Ibn ʿAbbās, which still Yahyā b. ʿĪsā (d. 201/816–817) claims to have seen.

<sup>580</sup> That Ibn Mas'ūd successfully refused to hand over his copy to Uthmān is attested by Abū ʿUbayd (*Faḍā'il al-Qurʾān*, Berlin Ms. no. 451, fol. 36<sup>v</sup>) and the apology of al-Kindī (see above, p. 392 n. 27, p. 444sq. and below, p. 486, respectively), according to which, still at the time of composition (204–205<sup>?</sup>/819–821), it was passed down in the family (pp. 446sq. and 488 respectively). A copy of it is likely to be the manuscript of the *ṣāhib* of Ibn Mas'ūd, al-Ḥārith b. Suwayd (d. after 70/689), which, according to al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 48:26, was hidden in the ground during the time of Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf [*EQ; EP*, d. 95/714]. A manuscript allegedly containing a copy of Ibn Mas'ūd's codex, to which the Baghdād Shīʿites refer, was burnt in 398/1007–1008; (cf. Goldziher, *Schools*, p. 172; A. Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, pp. 195–196). Ibn al-Nadīm has seen a number of manuscripts (*Fihrist*, p. 26, l 29); others are mentioned in *Muqniʿ* (see above, p. 424 n. 242), and *al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-maʿānī* (section 3 of the introduction). The manuscripts that Ibn al-Nadīm has seen differ considerably from one another, but this does not come as a surprise, because the codex of Ibn Mas'ūd was not copied for scholarly interest but for practical purposes, and could hardly escape mixture with other forms of the text, primarily with the ʿUthmānic codex.

<sup>581</sup> See above, 192sq. and 206sq.; in addition the version of ʿUqba b. ʿĀmir al-Juhānī [*EP*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 15sq.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 341, d. 58/678]; cf. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān, nawʿ 20* [Sprenger ed., p. 169, l 22] which allegedly had been in the possession of Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan IBN QUDAYD (d. 312/925) [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 356]. Cf. R. Guest in the introduction to al-Kindī's *The Governors and judges*, p. 18; quoted by A. Mingana in his "An ancient Syriac translation of the Kurʾān," p. 9.

<sup>582</sup> The occasional differences are throughout erroneous misspellings of the ʿUthmānic text. For details see below, the chapter on manuscripts of the Koran.



insignificant. | 9:33, هو added only by another hand, but it is indispensable. | 9:36, فيها : فيهن, the more common syntax. | 9:36, the first كافة is missing; next to the second one it could have been omitted by accident. | 9:37, النسيء : الناسي,<sup>588</sup> wrong interpretation of the orthography of السى, which in this case really expresses *al-nasīʿ*. | 9:38, ما لكم which is indispensable for the idea is missing. | 9:43, وتعلم ومهم: Mingana correctly interprets as وممن<sup>589</sup> remarkable variant. | 9:54, وما : وما, insignificant.

The gain in important variants is thus limited. Most of the deviations are of the kind that can be sufficiently explained as accidental variations of the oral or written transmission; some of them clearly indicate a written original. This agrees with the fact that according to the character of the writing the Palimpsest itself does not seem to be as old as the character of the orthography of the text<sup>590</sup> on which it is based. The few more serious variants make it at least likely that we are not merely dealing with deformations of the 'Uthmānic text but with repercussions of a non-'Uthmānic transmission.<sup>591</sup> A historical connection with it cannot be established on the basis of the literature available to us. In any case, there is no trace of the text of either Ibn Mas'ūd or Ubayy b. Ka'b in the Palimpsests. In group A, sūras 24:27, and 44:54 against Ibn Mas'ūd; group B, sūras 16:9, 17:1, and 17:24 against Ibn Mas'ūd, and 11:30, 16:39 (twice), 17:17 and 17:35 against Ubayy; group C, sūra 9:51 against Ibn Mas'ūd, and 9:49 and 9:57 against Ubayy but agreeing with the 'Uthmānic text. The fact that the Koranic excerpts contained in the Palimpsests—even in our fragmentary transmission—consist of such a large number of important variants of Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubayy also shows how relatively close Lewis' Palimpsests are to the authorized text of the Koran.

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*The Alleged Syriac Translation of a Non-'Uthmānic Text of the Koran*

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Mingana<sup>592</sup> speculates that he has unearthed large pieces of a pre-'Uthmānic text of the Koran at an unexpected place, going beyond the literary trans-

<sup>588</sup> Missing from Mingana's list.

<sup>589</sup> This requires الكاذبون as continuation instead of the 'Uthmānic الكاذبين; the passage in the Palimpsest does not seem to be legible.

<sup>590</sup> Cf. Mingana, p. xxxiisq. about the palaeological character.

<sup>591</sup> Differences of the character of the text of the three groups, A, B, and C cannot be identified with certainty; striking is the large number of omissions in the relatively short group C.

<sup>592</sup> "An ancient Syriac translation of the Qur'ān ...," with facsimile of the relevant sections (fol. 73a to 84b) of the Ms. Mingana, no. 89.

mission. He claims that the anti-Islamic polemics of Dionysios Bar Ṣalībī (d. 565/1171),<sup>593</sup> the Jacobin polyhistorian of the late period of Syriac literature, contain remnants of a Syriac translation of the Koran from about the time of the Umayyad ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (seventh century AD) and at any rate represent a quite different text than ours. Bar Ṣalībī arranges chapters 25 to 30 of his work, which constitute the last of the three *mēm̄rē*, in two columns: The first of which contains almost exclusively quotations from the Koran, and the second one now and then mostly brief refutations. Rather than subjecting Mingana’s interpretation of these quotations to negative criticism, pointing out the individual errors and the historical impossibility of his assumptions, we shall immediately proceed to the positive presentation of the facts.

The quotations have not been taken from a Syriac Koran at some indeterminate time. It is rather that an Arabic-writing Christian apologist incorporated them in the original version in polemics against Christianity as documentation. They were only later taken from a Syriac translation or edition of the polemics and put together separately as a kind of Koranic florilegium.<sup>594</sup> This becomes sufficiently clear from the arrangement and the type of passages, but particularly from the abruptness of many of the adductions, which show that they are ruthlessly taken out of context for which they were tailored from the undivided whole of the text of the Koran. However, evidence beyond doubt is the fact that on several occasions the identical verse of the Koran is referred to in different passages and in different translations.<sup>595</sup> Indeed, even in one instance a verse is followed immediately by a translation variant<sup>596</sup> with the introduction “in a different place it is written (!)”. All this makes sense only if the translator encountered the same verse several times in his original text, and on the second occasion translated anew without regard for the first one. The origin of the translation from polemics against Islam, which—as is common with such writings—are not particularly conscientiously documented, explains not only the deviations

<sup>593</sup> A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 297, note 1.

<sup>594</sup> Not to be excluded, but it is far more unlikely that the quotations were first collected and later translated into Syriac.

<sup>595</sup> Sūra 2:130 in fol. 77a, l 10 sqq., and fol. 81a, l 13 sqq.; sūra 5:77 in fol. 82b, l 13 sq., and fol. 84b, l 5 sq.; sūra 10:94 in fol. 79a, l 24 sqq., fol. 83a, l 11 sqq., and fol. 84b, l 16 sq.; sūra 17:96 in fol. 83b, l 7 sqq., and fol. 84a, l 20 sq.; sūra 41:10 in fol. 77b, l 16, and fol. 84b, l 2; sūra 66:12 in fol. 82b, l 1 sqq., and fol. 84a, l 27 sqq.

<sup>596</sup> Sūra 11:9 in fol. 77b, l 5 sqq.; the first of the two variants is an inaccurate quotation influenced by sūra 41:8. With Mingana, p. 20, to find an otherwise unknown verse of the Koran here is superfluous.

from the Arabic text but also the fact that among the genuine quotations from the Koran all sorts of things from tradition have been intermingled.<sup>597</sup>

Thus, these quotations say nothing about the earliest history of the text of the Koran. We can leave them aside, although they deserve an unbiased and competent investigation.<sup>598</sup>

### *The Victory of the 'Uthmānic Text*

The variants mentioned in the preceding sections by no means exhaust the store of transmission; the rest of them, however, cannot be grouped coherently. They are traced back to a large number of the Companions of the Prophet as well as to members of the following generation.<sup>599</sup> The names of the authorities vary frequently, sometimes in a way that one source lists a younger authority whereas another one lists an older authority to whose pupils and transmitters the former belongs, so that both references must originate from the identical *isnād*, differing only in their place in the strand of transmission. According to the more traditionally minded interpretation of later times, essentially all variants originate from the Prophet,<sup>600</sup> or else

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<sup>597</sup> Mingana, pp. 21–22, who, following his general attitude, assumes that also these sentences had been part of the underlying basis of the text of the Koran, although in one instance (fol. 82b, l 14) the introductory formula, “Muḥammad has said,” is used. Of the four sentences referred to by Mingana (pp. 19–20) that cannot be ascertained in either Koran or tradition, the first one (Mingana, no. 4) has been discussed in the preceding note no. 594; the second one (no. 3), fol. 84a, l 1 sq., is sūra 3:5, which Mingana did not recognize because, against the punctuation, he applied the words of the Syrian to what was said before; the third one (no. 2), fol. 84b, l 3 sq., seems to be an inaccurate quotation from sūra 16:104, mixed up with 5:50, which explains the connection with passages like sūras 2:81, 2:254, and 5:109; and the last one (no. 1), fol. 84a, l 7 sqq., carries—as Mingana himself admits—the distinct mark of tradition, even if until then it had not been documented in *ḥadīth* (the Koranic model is sūra 17:90). Moreover, it would in no way weaken the above-mentioned opinion if also some material would be found that could not be documented elsewhere.

<sup>598</sup> Nöldeke in a letter of 13 April, 1925, gives the following opinion. “I have now looked carefully at the deviations of the Syriac text that Barṣalībī presents to us, but have not found anything that supports the existence of a variant in the Arabic original of the Syrian author. This Syrian rather added some things for the better explanation of the meaning, even if in most cases unnecessarily so; and some things he simply misunderstood. ... But that Barṣalībī inserts many brief, but also some longer, additions not derived from the Koran—either *ḥadīths* or entirely different material—adds to the confusion of everything. In any case, the Syriac text that the person used is not from the early period of Islam ... The language of the Syriac Koran does not leave me with the impression of great antiquity.”

<sup>599</sup> Cf. the list in the first edition of this book *Seite 267* sq., and the index to my (Bergsträsser) *Nichtkoranische Koranlearten im Muḥtasab des Ibn Jinnī*.

<sup>600</sup> Cf., for example, Ibn Jinnī in his *al-Muḥtasab* on sūra 9:57: *zāhir ḥādḥā anna l-salafa*

they would not have been included in the Koran. It thus does not come as a surprise, and did not create astonishment in Islam, that some variants that deviate markedly from the 'Uthmānic text were explicitly ascribed to the Prophet himself.<sup>601</sup> It is strange that 'Uthmān himself is mentioned as authority for forms of the text that are in contradiction to his recension,<sup>602</sup> but no one considered it necessary to reconcile the contradiction.

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Even if 'Uthmān might have made an attempt to destroy the copies of deviating recensions,<sup>603</sup> and even if al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf might have been more successful in this respect,<sup>604</sup> the total destruction of all the copies

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*kānū yaqra'ūna l-ḥarf makān naẓīrīh min ghayr an tataqaddam al-qir'ātu bi-dhālik, lākinnah li-muwāfaqat ṣāhibihī fi l-ma'nā; wa-hādihā mawqī' yajid al-tā'īnu bih idhā kān hākadhā 'alā l-qir'āti ma'anan wa-yaqūl: laysat hādihī al-ḥurūf kulluhā 'an al-nabū ..., wa law kānat 'anh la-mā sāgha ibdāl lafẓin makāna lafẓin ...; illā ḥusna l-ẓanni bi-Anas yad'ū ilā r'itqadīh taqaddum al-qir'āti bi-hādihī al-aḥrūf al-thalātha ... fa-naqūl iqra' bi-ayyihā shi'ta, fa-jam'uhā qir'āa masmū'a 'anī l-nabī; Anas would not have read this way if he did not think that also this form was derived from the Prophet (although he does not refer to this, only to the equality of the importance, see below, p. 463!)*

<sup>601</sup> Cf, for example, Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *Faḍā'il* (Berlin Ms., Ahlwardt, no. 451) 38<sup>v</sup> to 42<sup>r</sup> (on sūra 5:85, *qissisīna* : *ṣiddiqīna*; 24:64, 'alimūn : *baṣīrun*; 39:54; 65:1; 92:3, see to this above, p. 441 n. 416, and *Seite* 95<sup>3</sup> [but there is no foot-note no. 3 in the German original]). Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan, Kitāb al-ḥurūf wa-l-qir'āt*, trad. 24 (on sūra 43:77, trad. 25 (on sūra 51:58; both like Ibn Mas'ūd), trad. 27 on sūra 104:3, *yaḥsibu: aḥsibu*); al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 1, no. 4823sq. (on sūra 48:26), no. 4880 (on sūra 18:76), and no. 4883 (on sūra 18:78); al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 39:54, 51:58, 56:81, 65:1, 91:15, 92:3, and 112:1; index to my (Bergsträßer) *Nichtkanonische Koranlesarten*.

<sup>602</sup> Cf., for example, Abū 'Ubayd, *Faḍā'il* (Berlin Ms., Ahlwardt, no. 451) 38<sup>v</sup>–39<sup>v</sup> (on sūra 5:120 as conclusion *wa-l-arḍi wa-Allāh samī' baṣīr*; 18:78 after *safīnatin* added *ṣāliḥatin*—introduced by *kataba 'Uthmān*, or something similar); al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 1, no. 4836 (on sūra 5:120); al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 2:280; index to my (Bergsträßer) *Nichtkanonische Lesarten*; and see p. 412 n. 528 (on sūra 3:100).

<sup>603</sup> See above, p. 307sqq.

<sup>604</sup> It is the undeniable merit of P. Casanova (*Mohammed et la fin du monde*, 2<sup>ème</sup> fasc., vol. 1 (1913), pp. 110 and 121–129) vigorously to have pointed out that similar to 'Uthmān's measures aiming at uniformity of the Koran such endeavours are reported to have been made also by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf [*El'*]. But the conclusion that "la recension d'al-Ḥadjjādāj a existé; celle de 'Uthmān est une fable" (p. 127) far overshoots the mark. The endeavours at vocalization going back to al-Ḥajjāj's suggestion—to which we shall return later—presuppose the existence of a written consonantal text; this is the result of the state of the transmission of the Koran as we have been able to observe in the *qir'ā'a* of al-Ḥajjāj's contemporary, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (see G. Bergsträßer, "Die Koranlesung des Hasan," pp. 51 and 54). Apart from these endeavours, it is a fact that al-Ḥajjāj tried to suppress the text and the *qir'ā'a* of Ibn Mas'ūd (Casanova, p. 128; and cf. above, p. 457 n. 581); a report from a local Egyptian tradition with unsuspecting connection makes it rather certain that he dispatched a model copy of the Koran to Egypt (Casanova, p. 124sqq.; Mingana, "An ancient Syriac translation of the Qur'an," p. 16). All this is a plausible continuation of 'Uthmān's efforts which the Umayyad administration followed throughout. The dispatch of a model copy makes sense since al-Ḥajjāj was governor of Kūfa, the centre of the *qurrā'* and the home of the "Kūfan" Korans,

of non-ʿUthmānic variants—which had certainly never been achieved—would not have totally eliminated all the copies of non-ʿUthmānic variants since they themselves were far from having disappeared. This became possible only when also the recitation of the ʿUthmānic recension was recognized as binding; but such a theoretical recognition of the ʿUthmānic text could have practical repercussions only when the careless licence of the treatment of the text—characteristic of the earliest period—was abandoned, and respect for the minute rendering of the word of God was awakened.

The Companion of the Prophet, Anas b. Mālik, is reported as saying that in sūra 73:6 he recited *aṣwabu* instead of *aqʾwamu* and when this was criticized he replied: *aqʾwamu wa-aṣwabu wa-ahyaʾu wāḥidun*.<sup>605</sup> The same leniency is expressed in the tradition *inna l-Qurʾān kullah ṣawāb mā lam yajʾal raḥmatan ʿadhāban aw ʿadhāba raḥmatan*,<sup>606</sup> or in the account that the Prophet left it to the copyist to choose from among the formula type of verse endings like ʿazīz ḥakīm or samīʿ ʿalīm or ʿazīz ʿalīm,<sup>607</sup> culminating in the classic example in the anecdote of Ibn Masʿūd and his pupil who cannot pronounce “*th*.”<sup>608</sup> That this was indeed how people felt is quite evident from

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and, furthermore, that Egypt had not received a copy of the ʿUthmānic recensions (see above, p. 305 sqq.), and generally—also later—was behind the other *amṣār* as far as Koranic studies was concerned. For al-Ḥajjāj’s subsequent and more basic activity there is only one rather dismal source in the form of al-Kindī’s apology (see above, p. 392 n. 27) from which Casanova derives too much. Al-Kindī’s account that al-Ḥajjāj *jamaʿa l-maṣāḥif* (1885 edition, p. 131, l 12, similarly p. 137, l 6)—not the Koran—is explained by the continuation, *wa-asqaṭa min-hā aṣhyāʾa kathīratan ...* (he collected the copies of the Koran in order to delete passages) and at the same time mark them as tendentious lies. The report that he dispatched six copies to different cities (p. 137, l 10 sqq.), is a duplication of ʿUthmān’s account.—Alphonse Mingana, “The transmission of the Qurʾān,” follows Casanova.

<sup>605</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *juzʾ*/vol. 1, p. 17, l 8 (here اھيا instead اھيا) and s.v. 29, 71, 24 sqq.; Ibn Mujāhid in the *Muḥtasab* of Ibn Jinnī, s.v., to which Ibn Jinnī procures a parallel tradition on Abū Sarrār al-Ghanawī on sūra 17:5 (*Muḥtasab*, s.v., rather Abū l-Sammāl [of Banū Asad; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 228–229; *EF*]) then both also al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 73:6; similarly on Anas b. Mālik on sūra 9:57; Ibn Mujāhid in the *Muḥtasab*, s.v., and afterwards al-Zamakhshari, s.v.

<sup>606</sup> al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 10, 19, following the seven *ahruf* tradition; etc.

<sup>607</sup> al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 17, l 25 sqq.

<sup>608</sup> See above, p. 41 n. 131, and apart from the passage cited there, for example, Abū ʿUbayd, *Faḍāʾil* (cites al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, *navʿ* 16, *qawl* 9 [Sprenger ed., p. 109, l 11;] thanks to the kindness of Herrn Studienrat A. Schachner, Schwetzingen, who is preparing an edition of the *Faḍāʾil*, the passage is missing in the Berlin Ms., Ahlwardt, no. 451); (Aḥmad b. ʿAlī) AL-JAṢṢĀṢ (d. 370/981, Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 444–445), *Aḥkām al-Qurʾān* (Constantinople, 1335), vol. 3, p. 445, l 3. Elsewhere the same is reported from Abū l-Dardā; al-Ṭabarī, *juzʾ*/vol. 25, p. 71, vol. 29, p. 33, and subsequently al-Zamakhshari on sūra 44:44. In the *Mabānī li-naẓm al-maʿānī* passage cited by Schwally (section 9 of the introduction), apart from these two, also Ubayy is mentioned; but he alone, al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, vol. 1, no. 4884.—Schwally did not properly understand the passage; the pupil, a Persian, “lightens” not only the *hamza*—this also many Arabs did, and this was not particularly noticed—rather,

the large number of old variants,<sup>609</sup> despite Abū l-Khayr IBN AL-JAZARĪ's (d. 833/1429<sup>610</sup>) strong opposition: *wa-ammā man yaqūl: inna ba'ḍa l-ṣaḥaba ka-Ibn Mas'ūd kāna yujīz al-qirā'a bi-l-ma'nā fa-qad kadhaba 'alayhi.*<sup>611</sup> It was possible to reflect upon these matters only when they were no longer obvious. Thus, the reports cited are likely to originate from a time when the controversy on the genuine Koran broke out. This was precisely the reason that the authorized version was established. Whereas 'Uthmān and al-Ḥajjāj radically deprived the controversy of its basis—the differences of the texts of the Koran—there were other men who tried to achieve this by cultivating tolerance.<sup>612</sup> This was the aim of tradition and related reports, namely that the Koran had been revealed in seven *aḥruf* and that the Prophet allegedly declined to mediate between contradictory versions of the text.<sup>613</sup>

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Both of these contradictory tendencies achieved their goal; in practice the 'Uthmānic text prevails, and in theory also the ancient non-'Uthmānic forms

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most important, he could not pronounce *th* so that *al-'athīm* in his pronunciation sounded like *al-yatīm*; to avoid the annoying wrong meaning, a word with the proper meaning had therefore to be inserted so that he, too, could pronounce (like *fājir*, *zālim*).

<sup>609</sup> Here belongs also the report that Abū Ḥanīfa gave permission to recite the Koran in Persian (al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 44:44; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, *naw'* 35, *mas'ala* 20 [Sprenger ed., p. 256, l 14]; in the Ḥanafite *fiqh* literature, for example, al-Kāsānī [*sic*, d. 587/1191–1192], *Badā'ī' ṣanā'ī'* [Cairo, 1327/1909], vol. 1, p. 112, l 24 sqq.), one of the archaic characteristics of his teaching. How it actually happened that verses of the Koran were recited in Persian is not clear from the juridical discussion.

<sup>610</sup> *EP*.

<sup>611</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr* (Damascus, 1345/1926—from here onwards all citations refer to this edition) vol. 1, p. 31, l 21, cites al-Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, *naw'* 27 (Sprenger ed., p. 182, l 16.) Ibn Jinnī, on the other hand, states completely correctly in *Muḥtasab* on sūra 73:6: *hādihā yu'annis bi-anna l-qawm kānū ya'tabirina l-ma'āniya wa-yukhlidūna ilayhā, fa-idhā ḥaṣṣalūhā wa-ḥaṣṣanūhā sāmahū fi l-'ibārāt 'anhā.*

<sup>612</sup> Ibn Mas'ūd might have been one of them; in his farewell message to the Kūfans, which at the core might be genuine, he displays a lenient disposition (al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 10, l 25 sqq.; cf. Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, *Ibāna*, [Berlin Ms., Ahlwardt, no. 578], p. 515).

<sup>613</sup> See above, p. 38 sqq.; the material could easily be enlarged. The interest of these traditions, particularly the latter group, is abstract and political, by no means specifically directed to the Koran; proof is that they never cite the passage of the Koran which is the source of the controversy, but mention only the name of the sūra. They clearly distinguish themselves from those transmissions which, although involved themselves in the controversy on the text of the Koran, report differences of opinion among old authorities regarding a certain passage. Best known are those on sūra 62:9 (cf. above, p. 441 n. 409), and the accounts of the dispute between 'Umar and Ubayy (see above, p. 453 n. 553); further, for example, according to Makkī, *Kashf*, s.v. (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 6, p. 72, l 20), 'Alī in sūra 5:8 reprimands his sons for reading *arjulikum* and demands the accusative. It is rare that the Prophet himself makes a decision; according to Makkī, *Kashf*; al-Dānī, *Taysīr fi l-Qur'ān*; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Nashr* on sūra 30:53 (also Aḥmad IBN ḤANBAL, *Musnad*, vol. 2, p. 58, l 26 sqq.), here, the Prophet rejects 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar's vocalization, *ḍa'f* and insists on *du'f*.



of the text have been recognized as divine, i.e., as Koran. [Abū ‘Amr] ḌIRĀR IBN ‘Umar [i.e., ‘AMR] is accused of heresy for dogmatically rejecting the texts of Ibn Mas‘ūd and Ubayy b. Ka‘b.<sup>614</sup> The doctrine of *naskh*, namely that the non-‘Uthmānic forms of the Koran are *mansūkh*, “abrogated,” offered the possibility of mediating between the two schools.<sup>615</sup> According to the most radical interpretation, this had already been the case after the ‘*arḍ*<sup>616</sup> *akhūr*: During every Ramaḍān the Prophet recited to Gabriel what had been revealed of the Koran up to that time; in the year before his death he did this twice. According to a more tolerant interpretation it was only the free choice (*ikhtiyār*) of the surviving Companions of the Prophet, who agreed on the *ḥarf* laid down in ‘Uthmān’s Koran—thus the *ijmā‘*—that the remaining six *aḥruf* were abrogated.<sup>617</sup> Their modest fragments have been transmitted, and even retained a certain importance, if not for the *qirā’a* but at least for the *tafsīr*: After all, the dogma of the Seven *aḥruf* presupposes that in principle their sense is identical. Thus the task emerged to prove this in the non-‘Uthmānic forms of the text in each and every case and, at the same time, there arose the possibility of using them as a means to interpret the canonical text, which indeed facilitated their disposition.<sup>618</sup> This is essentially the spirit of al-Ṭabarī’s treatment of the variants of the ‘Uthmānic text. Occasionally people went further and claimed that from the outset the variants were intended to be nothing but explanations,<sup>619</sup> but the science of the Koran abandoned this attitude.

<sup>614</sup> al-Shahrestānī, translated by Haarbrücker, vol. 1, p. 95 = Cairo printed edition, 1317–1321 (in the margin of Ibn Ḥazm), vol. 1, p. 115, l 15; [*EF*; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vols. 1 & 5 (brief)].

<sup>615</sup> Already in the saying of ‘Umar, above, p. 453 n. 553.

<sup>616</sup> Teaching term, see below, p. 494 n. 157.

<sup>617</sup> Both are possible interpretations, Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429–1430), *Nashr fi l-qirā’āt*, vol. 1, p. 14, l 16 (both connected, vol. 1, p. 31, l 19sq.); only the second one in the reverse (*maḥḍar*) of Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad IBN SHANNABŪDH of 323/935 (... *muḥḥafi ‘Uthmāna ... al-mujma‘i ‘alayhi*; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 302, l 20) and the *qāḍi* Ismā‘īl b. Iṣḥāq al-Mālikī, d. 282/895–896), in Makkī, *Ibāna* (Ms Berlin, Ahlwardt, no. 578), p. 501 (without using the expression *mansūkh*) as well as Makkī himself, *ibid.*, p. 497 (he says cautiously *ka-annahā mansūkhātun* and points out the difficulty that *al-naskh fi l-Qur‘ān bi-l-ijmā‘ fihī ikhtilāf*); cf. Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad AL-ṬAḤĀWĪ (d. 321/933, Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 439–442), Abū ‘Umar Yūsuf IBN ‘ABD AL-BARR (d. 463/1070–1071, Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 367), and the *qāḍi* Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib AL-BĀQILLĀNĪ [*EF*; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 608] (d. 403/1012–1013) in al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, *naw‘* 16, *mas‘ala* 3, *qawl* 9 (Sprenger ed., p. 109, l 11).

<sup>618</sup> See above, pp. 444sq., 445 n. 450, 454sq.

<sup>619</sup> Aḥmad b. ‘Alī AL-JAṢṢĀṢ (305/917–370/981), *Aḥkām al-Qur‘ān*, vol. 3, p. 445, l 3; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr* on sūra 73:6; cf. also below, p. 488sq. (The citation from Ibn Jinnī in the *Tafsīr* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, loc. cit., to which Goldziher refers in his *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, p. 224, note 2, does not belong here; the passage has been supplied above, p. 464 n. 611.)

Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795<sup>620</sup>) is the first person strictly to reject the use of Ibn Mas'ūd's recension in prayer. Later *fuqahā'* are influenced by this point of view since the question changed: It was no longer a question whether or not traditional forms of the text are admissible, but rather whether intentional or unintentional deviation from the 'Uthmānic *textus receptus*—presumed to be binding in principle—invalidates the prayer. For a long time, at least the Ḥanafites were surprisingly tolerant<sup>621</sup> on this question, despite the strict conditions imposed on the recitation of the Koran in ritual prayer as well as in private. From among the earliest Koranic scholars whom we can identify is *al-qādī* (Abū Ishāq) ISMĀ'ĪL (IBN ISHĀQ al-Mālikī al-Azdī al-Baghdādī, d. 282/895–896) who for his time rejects the non-'Uthmānic forms of the text;<sup>622</sup> al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) shares this opinion.<sup>623</sup> By that time, and in face of the realities of cult and teaching, they are likely to have fallen into oblivion. One stage on this road becomes apparent from Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's (d. 110/728) reading of the Koran: Here, a considerable number of variants is still to be found, but the typical interchange of synonyms is almost totally absent. Most of the variants are limited to one letter of the word, and very many amount to no more than simple orthographic differ-

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<sup>620</sup> *al-Mudawwana*, section *al-Ṣalāt khalf ahl al-ṣalāh* ... (Cairo, 1324/1906, vol. 1, p. 84, l 14 sqq.): *su'ila Mālik 'amman ṣallā khalf rajulin yaqra'u bi-qirā'at Ibn Mas'ūd; qāla yakhruju wa-yada'uhu wa-lā ya'tammu bi-hi* ... (cf. also below, p. 499). According to Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 14, l 12 sqq., also the reverse is transmitted from him, likewise also both views are represented in the other *madhāhib*. The use of non-'Uthmānic variants in and out of prayer is prohibited by the Shāfi'ite Taqī l-Dīn AL-SUBKĪ (d. 756/1355; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 86; *EF*) by Ibn al-Jazarī, *Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 44, l 5 (cited by al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, *naw'* 22–27, *tanbih* 3 [Sprenger ed., p. 191, l 20]).

<sup>621</sup> The decisive criteria for the judgement of *khata'* in prayer is that only such a change in the meaning of the recited passage of the Koran—which in itself represents neither *du'ā'* nor *thanā'*—annuls the prayer. (The most detailed casuistry I know of is *al-Fatāwī l-khāniyya* [Būlāq, 1310/1892 in the margin of *al-Fatāwā al-Ālamgīriyya*, vol. 1, pp. 139–161].) The recensions of Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubayy are still referred to (*Khāniyya*, vol. 1, p. 156, l 1 sqq.; *Ālamgīriyya*, vol. 1, p. 82, l 1 sqq.) but only by way of example; there is no uniform opinion, rather the rules governing deviations are applied to all deviations from the 'Uthmānic text that might be contained in them. The axiom cited nearly amounts to the toleration of the *qirā'a bi-l-ma'nā*; this becomes quite obvious from photocopies in my possession of the end (Leiden Ms. 1861, fol. 131<sup>v</sup> sqq.) of the *furūq* book of al-Naysābūrī al-Qummī, which Schacht analysed in "Aus zwei arabischen *Furūq*-Büchern," p. 505 sqq.

<sup>622</sup> Makkī, *Ibāna* (Berlin Ms., Ahlwardt, no. 578), p. 501, from his *Kitāb al-Qirā'at*.

<sup>623</sup> In the introduction to his commentary on the Koran, vol. 1, p. 21, l 20 sqq. (l 26: *fa-lā qirā'at al-yawm lil-Muslimīn illā bi-l-ḥarf al-wāḥid alladhī ikhtārah la-hum imāmuhum*, namely 'Uthmān) and in the commentary itself (vol. 1, p. 112, l 28, p. 239, l 31; vol. 2, p. 30, l 16; etc.), as well as in his work on variant readings, *al-Bayān*; (cf. Makkī, *Ibāna* [Berlin Ms., Ahlwardt, no. 578,] p. 500).

ences.<sup>624</sup> Within the transmission of Hasan al-Baṣrī's reading the tendency further to push back the variants asserts itself.<sup>625</sup>

Quite some time after the controversy had been decided against the non-ʿUthmānic variants, a respected<sup>626</sup> teacher (*muqriʿ*) of the Koran at Baghdad (Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ayyūb b. al-Ṣalt) IBN SHANNABŪDH (d. 328/939) attempted<sup>627</sup> once more to defend their correct status by using them in the ritual prayer (*fi l-miḥrābi*) while *imām*,<sup>628</sup> but

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<sup>624</sup> Bergsträsser, "Koranlesung des Ḥasan von Baṣra," p. 50.

<sup>625</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>626</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt: shaykh al-iqrāʿi bi-l-Trāqi ustādhan kabīran*, and in the brief biography, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 122: *kāna imāman shahīran wa-ustādhan kabīran*; he is one of the two transmitters of [Abū ʿAmr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad, d. 280/893] QUNBUL ʿan Ibn Kathīr (Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 118 sqq.). The unfavourable opinions of him—*fi-hi ... ḥumq, ... kathīr al-laḥn qalīl al-ʿilm* (in the *Ṭabaqāt* Ibn al-Jazarī says explicitly *maʿa ... al-ʿilm*)—are likely derived from his enemies.

<sup>627</sup> Sources for what follows: *Fihrist*, p. 31 sq.; al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, fol. 339; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, vol. 6, p. 300 sqq.; Ibn Khallikān, no. 639; al-Dhahabī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Berlin Ms. Or. Fol. 3140 (not yet catalogued in 2008) fol. 42<sup>v</sup> sq.); Abū l-Maḥāsīn IBN TAGHRĪBIRDĪ, ed. T.G.J. Juynboll, vol. 2, p. 266 sq.; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms., cod. simul. 55), 176<sup>v</sup> sq. (repeatedly mentioned in the *Nashr*, particularly vol. 1, p. 39, l 17, where *al-qādī ʿIyāḍ* b. Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī [d. 544/1149, *al-Shifāʿ*, vol. 2, p. 290, *EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 136, etc.] is cited); *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, s.v.; I. Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, p. 222, and *Schools of Koranic commentators*, p. 30 sq.; A. Wiener, "Die *Faraḡ baʿd aš-šidda*-Literatur," p. 292; A. Mez, *Renaissance of Islam*, p. 194 sq. In *Tāj al-ʿarūs* also the spelling Shannabūdh, and commonly Shanbūdh.

<sup>628</sup> He seems to have collected them personally; thus, in his *Kitāb Infrādātihī* (*Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 302, 3). The list of the reading violations he was charged with can still be found in its original form in the minutes of the proceedings in Ibn Khallikān and al-Dhahabī, introduced by *suʿūla ... Ibn Shannabūdh ʿammā ḥukiya ʿan-hu anna-hu yaqraʿuhu*, and with *fa-tarāfa bi-hi* after each passage; further, without this framework in the *Fihrist*, in the *Irshād*, and in the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn al-Jazarī; some portions also in Abū l-Maḥāsīn IBN TAGHRĪBIRDĪ. Verification shows that Ibn Shannabūdh followed the variants of Ibn Masʿūd in sūras 18:78 (not Ibn Khallikān), 34:13 (not *Irshād*; *al-Fihrist* erroneously الناس instead [thus var.], Abū l-Maḥāsīn IBN TAGHRĪBIRDĪ, likely also erroneously, *tayaqqanat* instead of *tabayyanat*); sūras 62:9, 92:3 (see above, p. 441 n. 416), 101:4 (not *al-Fihrist*), 111:1 (neither *al-Fihrist* nor al-Dhahabī); further, those of Ibn ʿAbbās in sūra 18:78 (*amāmahum* instead of *warāʾahum*, cf. al-Ṭabarī, vol. 16, p. 2, l 11; neither al-Dhahabī nor Ibn al-Jazarī); 25:77 (*kadhhaba l-kāfirūna* instead of *kadhhabtum*, cf. Ibn Mujāhid in Ibn Jinnī, *Muḥtasab* s.v.; Ibn ʿAbbās and Ibn al-Zubayr); 34:13 (after *labithū add ḥawlan*, cf. al-Ṭabarī, vol. 22, p. 45, l 9; not *Irshād*); 56:81 (*shukrakum* instead of *rizqakum*, cf. Ibn Mujāhid in Ibn Jinnī, *Muḥtasab* s.v.: ʿAlī, Ibn ʿAbbās and the Prophet, not *al-Fihrist*); and, finally, an addition of ʿUthmān and Ibn al-Zubayr in sūra 3:100 (after *al-munkari* added *wa-yastaʿnūna Allāh ʿalā mā aṣābahum*, see al-Ṭabarī, vol. 4, p. 24, l 19 sqq.; al-Muttaqī, *Kanz*, vol. 1, no. 4833;—in the *Fihrist*, *nāhūna* is an error in the preceding part of the verse, and the continuation is a misplaced portion of sūra 16:80; not *Irshād*). Only two deviations cannot be documented, but are undoubtedly based on old authorities: sūra 8:74, *ariḍum* instead of *kabīrun*, and sūra 5:118—only *Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 304, l 1, and al-Dhahabī outside the list—*al-ghafūr al-raḥīmu* instead of *al-ʿazīzu l-ḥakīmu* (cf. to it,

without avail. In 323/934 he was summoned before a special court of justice, consisting of *qāḍīs*, *fuqahā'*, and *qurrā'* presided over by the *wazīr* al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī IBN MUQLAH,<sup>629</sup> who demanded repentance (*tawba*). When he refused, he was subjected to corporal punishment until he finally signed the reverse (*maḥḍar*),<sup>630</sup> promising to respect the 'Uthmānic text. The populace, undoubtedly incited, bore so much resentment against him that under the cover of darkness he secretly had to leave<sup>631</sup> the house of the *wazīr*, where he had been held, and took temporary refuge at Madā'in (or Baṣra). The person who brought him to court and pursued his punishment was his old opponent,<sup>632</sup> Ibn Mujāhid (d. 324/935),<sup>633</sup> the most successful of all the teachers of the reading of the Koran, and the founder of strict orthodoxy in the field of the science of variant readings.

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Only very few and rather unimportant deviations from the 'Uthmānic text in their canonical form<sup>634</sup> found their way into the systems of the "Seven Readers"—apart from the extensive use made of variants as well as orthographic licence. Some readers<sup>635</sup> did not recognize in sūra 8:44 that حَيَّ<sup>636</sup> is constructed according to Form II and replaced it with *hayyā*. This is comparable with the case when some scribes<sup>637</sup> read *ātāniyah Allāhu* in sūra 27:36, although the text has اتين = *ātāni* < *ātānī* (see above, p. 413 sq.).<sup>638</sup> In the case of sūra 18:95 it was obvious to replace the second اتوني with Form I; this was

above, p. 463, and Ibn Mas'ūd on sūra 9:107). One deviation remains not clear in sūra 10:92; the lists are different, and the literature of the variant readings does not permit a sound verdict.

<sup>629</sup> *EP*<sup>2</sup>; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 386, l 3 from bottom.

<sup>630</sup> The text has survived, the most detailed version of which with signatures, is in the *Irshād*.

<sup>631</sup> This is in contradiction to the report in the *Fihrist*, which is also mentioned by Ibn Khallikān, with *wa-qīla*, that he died in prison; this report might explain that the year of his death is also given as 323/934 instead of 328/939.

<sup>632</sup> Details are reported by Ibn al-Jazarī, but first of all by Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 207, l 8 sq., as well as al-Dhahabī, according to whom Ibn Shannabūdh did not accept students who had taken classes with Ibn Mujāhid. Another opponent was Abū Bakr IBN AL-ANBĀRĪ (d. 327/938); he had polemized against him (al-Sam'ānī; *Ansāb*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 347 and 353.; *Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 300, l 5, and vol. 7, p. 77, l 2;—the name Ibn Shannabūdh is misrepresented in the title of the work in *al-Fihrist*, p. 75, l 23, and G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen*, p. 170, no. 10).

<sup>633</sup> Most clearly in *Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 302, l 7.

<sup>634</sup> Additional deviations from the consonantal text beyond these canonical forms of their *qirā'āt* are ascribed to some of the "Seven;" cf., for example, the index to my (Bergsträßer's) *Nichtkanonische Koranlesearten*.

<sup>635</sup> Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, al-Bazzī 'an Ibn Kathīr, Abū Bakr SHU'BAH (*EP*<sup>2</sup>; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 10–11) 'an 'Aṣim (Ibn Abī l-Najjūd).

<sup>636</sup> Thus al-Dānī, *al-Muqni'*, *bāb* 8.

<sup>637</sup> Nāfi' al-Laythī, Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā', Ḥaḥḥ b. Sulaymān 'an 'Aṣim (Ibn Abī l-Najjūd).

<sup>638</sup> Thus *al-Muqni'*, *bāb* 3, *faṣl* 1.

partly done also in the case of the first <sup>639</sup>آتوني where Form I is ill-suited. In sūras 11:71, 25:40, 29:37 and 53:52 the form <sup>640</sup>تموداً (triptote) violated the common rule so that it was changed to *Thamūda*.<sup>641</sup> All this is within the bounds of orthographic licence. Stronger interferences are found most frequently in Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’, whose text, despite all purges, retains remnants of its sometime originality. All this remains on the border of what was orthographically possible. Operating on the very fringe of what is perhaps orthographically still tolerable, he interprets<sup>642</sup> the *ننسهأ* of the text<sup>643</sup> (sūra 2:100) as *nansāhā = nansa’hā* “we postpone it”—the verse of the Koran—i.e., we do not yet make it binding, in order to avoid the offensive common reading *nunsihā* “we consign the verse of the Koran to oblivion.” Also transgressing these last orthographic limits, he corrects the grammatical error *هذان*, sūra 20:66 (see above, pp. 390 and 391 n. 20), deletes in sūra 77:11 the dialectal form *قئتت*<sup>644</sup> for *wuqqitat*, and honours Allāh’s privileges in sūra 19:19 by *li-yahaba* “may He grant you a pure boy”<sup>645</sup> instead the first Person *لاهب* of the text.<sup>646</sup> In accordance with the majority of the readers<sup>647</sup> he interprets the most obscure *الفهم ... ليلى*, sūra 106:1–2 (see above, p. 421) by sheer force as *li-ilāfi ... ilāfihim*.

In addition to these few passages the canonical interpretation of the Koran insists on the licence of the old compromise to read differently from what is written (see above, p. 418 sq.). Everywhere else the text of the Koran came out as the winner. If—as is nearly always the case—one does not adapt the reading to the text, at least one invents an alleged consonantal variant in support of the variant reading.<sup>648</sup> The subjugation to the letter of

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<sup>639</sup> In the second case Ḥamza, and according to most scholars Abū Bakr ‘an ‘Āṣim, in the first case only this one. Cf. above, p. 424 n. 244.

<sup>640</sup> Thus al-Dānī, *al-Muqni’*, *bāb 5, faṣl 1*.

<sup>641</sup> ‘Āṣim al-Jahḍarī (only in the first three cases, according to the transmission of Ḥafṣ [Ibn Sulaymān] and Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb).

<sup>642</sup> The same way here Ibn Kathīr.

<sup>643</sup> Thus *Muqni’*, *bāb 21*.

<sup>644</sup> Thus *Muqni’*, *bāb 21*.

<sup>645</sup> Here likewise Nāfi’ b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān; (Qālūn’s transmission from him is controversial).

<sup>646</sup> Thus *Muqni’*, *bāb 5, faṣl 2*.

<sup>647</sup> Only ‘Abd Allāh IBN ‘ĀMIR al-Yaḥṣubī [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 6–7] reads *li-ilāfi ... ilāfihim (sic!)*

<sup>648</sup> Thus sūra 63:10 (see above, p. 401 n. 87), where again Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’ corrected the text; sūra 76:4 (see above, p. 401 n. 84), where Ibn Kathīr, Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’, Ibn Dhakwān ‘an Ibn ‘Āmir, Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān ‘an ‘Āṣim b. al-‘Ajjāj and Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb read *salāsila*, but Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’ and, according to a widely differing transmission, also part of the others recognize the *سلا سلا* of the true text, at least in pausal pronunciation *salāsila*; probably also sūra 76:16 (see above, p. 399 n. 79), where Ibn Kathīr, Abū ‘Amr, Ibn ‘Āmir, Ḥafṣ ‘an ‘Āṣim, and

the word reaches its apex when the ambiguity of the script is disregarded and, by slavishly following the closest interpretation, senseless forms of the text are construed that have never existed in genuine oral transmission.<sup>649</sup>

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Generally speaking, Ibn ‘Āmir’s variant reading is the most dependent on the consonantal text. In comparison, the most independent one is that of Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’, followed by that of Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb. Some remnants of liberty can still be found in the only two remaining systems today, Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān ‘an ‘ĀṢIM b. al-‘Ajjāj AL-JAḤDARĪ, and ‘Uthmān b. Sa‘īd WARSH ‘an Nāfi‘ b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Laythī: Even in our days, the ‘Uthmānic consonantal text has not yet been totally established.

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Ḥamza assume قوارير, although Hishām b. ‘Ammār ‘an Ibn ‘Āmir only for the pronunciation in context (verse 15 has قواريرا at the end of the verse, might thus be considered a rhyme; in spite of this, Ḥamza ignores the ʾ even in pause). As to the possibility of using the changes in pausal pronunciation for a closer connection to the consonantal text, see above, p. 425 n. 247. There are numerous similar cases, even if less spectacular.—Also in sūra 23:89 and 91, the Baṣran الله instead of everywhere else الله seems to support Abū ‘Amr’s—justified—correction, *Allāhu*; cf. above, p. 398 n. 63.

<sup>649</sup> Sūra 6:32, see above, p. 397 n. 56 (Ibn ‘Āmir reads *la-dāru l-ākhirati*); Sūra 6:57, see above, p. 409 n. 141 (meant was *yaqdi*, but Nāfi‘ Ibn Kathīr and ‘Āṣim read *yaquṣṣu*); sūras 12:110, and 21:88 (see above, p. 425) Ibn ‘Āmir and ‘Āṣim read *nujjiya* (in the second passage only according to the transmission of Abū Bakr); sūra 18:36, Ibn ‘Āmir reads also in context *lākinnā* although the final ʾ of لآكنا is likely to correspond to the one of لآكنا (*lākinnā < lākin ana*, cf. above, p. 437 sq.) the others, -ā only in pause; sūras 22:23, and 35:30, see above, p. 423 n. 233 (accusative read Nāfi‘ and ‘Āṣim); sūra 27:25, the ألا يسجدوا, which must somehow include an affirmative invitation in a peculiar form of speaking and writing (cf. above, p. 438 sq.), which the majority interpreted as *allā yasjudū* “in order not to prostrate,” and from among the “Seven Readers” only by al-Kisā’ī interpreted as *a-lā yā isjudū*, “prostrate!” (see above, p. 426 n. 254); sūra 49:14, six of the “Sevens” are misled by the spelling يَلِكُكُمْ, and only Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’ has the correct form, *yālītkum = ya’lītkum* (see Nöldeke in C.C. Torrey, *The commercial-theological terms*, p. 33 note 1); sūra 75:1, Ibn Kathīr reads *la-uqsimu* because of the spelling لا قسم (see above, p. 424 n. 239). Here, too, belong the forms *yāyas*, etc., sūra 12:80, etc. in al-Bazzī ‘an Ibn Kathīr (see above, p. 424 n. 245), even if indeed there had been beside *ya’isa* a secondary form *ayisa*, its Imperfect ought to read in Ibn Kathīr \**ya’yas*, since the deletion of hamza at the end of the syllable is unknown to him. Most likely also the reading *la-takhidhta*, sūra 18:76 (Ibn Kathīr, Abū ‘Amr) ought to be here (cf. above, p. 425 n. 251).

## THE VARIANT READINGS<sup>1</sup>

### *Basic Problems: The Sources*

The question whether deviations from the ‘Uthmānic consonantal text are permitted is only one of the many basic problems which developed early on from the practice of reciting of the Koran—beginning approximately with the tradition of the Seven *aḥruḥ*<sup>2</sup> and its family. The changing response to this question became in turn a permanent influence upon its praxis. It is such problems and their history that determine the place that the history of the Koran takes within Islamic history of ideas, and which, beyond the value of preliminary work for the establishment of the text of the Koran, creates a scientific merit of its own.

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Discussions of principles found their literary expression in introductions to commentaries of the Koran—certainly since al-Ṭabarī, but not yet in the time of Yaḥyā b. Ziyād AL-FARRĀ’ (d. 207/822)<sup>3</sup>—and in the works on variant readings. Our most precious source is the introduction to one of them, the great *al-Nashr fī l-qirā’āt al-‘ashr*, by Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429),<sup>4</sup> whose wealth of citations from relevant older literature make it particularly valuable for historical research.

Ibn al-Jazarī previously<sup>5</sup> treated the subject in a monograph entitled *Munjid al-muqri’īn<sup>6</sup> wa-murshid al-ṭālibīn<sup>7</sup>*; the following chapter headings<sup>8</sup> might serve to illuminate the range of the relevant questions: (1) *qirā’āt*, *muqri’* and *qārī’* as well as their functions; (2) *al-qirā’ā al-mutawātira*, *al-ṣaḥīḥa*, and *al-shādhḥa*, scholars’ differences of opinion, and the truth

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<sup>1</sup> Although I am quite aware of the imperfection of this translation I continue to use it for lack of something better, equally convenient. It must be observed that *qirā’u* is used in the double sense, for the individual type of variant reading (reading of one particular passage) as well as the totality of variant readings and pronunciations of one reader (*qārī’*); in the latter meaning the translation (Koranic) reading is been used. *Muqri’* is rendered also teacher of the Koran.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 463sq.

<sup>3</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 7, pp. 343–344, vol. 8, pp. 123–125, vol. 9, pp. 131–134.

<sup>4</sup> Printed, Damascus, 1345/1926; there, vol. 1, pp. 1–53; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 201.

<sup>5</sup> See below, p. 504 n. 219.

<sup>6</sup> *Muqarrabīn is taṣḥīf*.

<sup>7</sup> Manuscripts also in Istanbul, Ragıp Paşa Kütüphanesi, 14, 2<sup>v</sup>–27<sup>v</sup>, and 15, 219<sup>v</sup>sqq.

<sup>8</sup> With the exception of the first one, also in W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, no. 656.

about the matter; (3) the Ten Readings have been recognized (*mashhūra*) from their origin down to the present; (4) a list of the famous readers who recited and taught according to the Ten Readings; (5) citations of scholars' comments on those; (6) the Ten Readings constitute only one part of the Seven *ahruf*; (7) scholars who rejected the limitation to the Seven, and who therefore reproved Ibn Mujāhid.

The survey shows that Ibn al-Jazarī's purpose is not purely academic but rather that—as in *al-Nashr fī l-qirā'āt al-'ashr*—he struggles for the equal treatment of the three readings beyond the seven readings. This saves his discussion from scholastic dryness.

[iii/117] The second part of the title seems to allude to a work of Abū Shāma (d. 665/1266),<sup>9</sup> which, despite its more comprehensive title, one tends to associate with the *Munjid al-muqrī'in wa-murshid al-ṭālibīn* precisely because Ibn al-Jazarī repeatedly cites<sup>10</sup> *al-Murshid al-wajīz fī 'ulūm tata'allaq bi-l-Qur'ān al-'azīz*. As for the range and tenor of the subject, a precursor—probably the earliest—is Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib's<sup>11</sup> *Kitāb al-Ibāna*,<sup>12</sup> which was heavily used by Ibn al-Jazarī. As for substance, it remains far behind the introduction to *al-Nashr fī l-qirā'āt al-'ashr*, but is the next most important source on account of its greater age.

[iii/118] The *Nashr* itself is the main source of the relevant chapters<sup>13</sup> of al-Suyūṭī's (d. 911/1505) *al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, although it is not the sole source.

### *The Connection with the Consonantal Text*

Even if most of the Koran were written down during the lifetime of the Prophet,<sup>14</sup> indeed even on his orders, nevertheless the Koran still had to remain first of all the orally revealed Word of God, knowledge of which

<sup>9</sup> Actually Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ismā'il al-Maqdisī al-Dimashqī (d. 665/1266), Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol 1, p. 317.

<sup>10</sup> *al-Nashr fī l-qirā'āt al-'ashr*, vol. 1, p. 9, l 22; vol. 13, p. 9; and vol. 38, p. 9.

<sup>11</sup> Full name: Abū Muḥammad MAKKĪ IBN ABĪ ṬĀLIB Ḥammūsh al-Qaysī, d. 437/1045, Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, p. 251; and vol. 9, pp. 214–215.

<sup>12</sup> The title is not quite certain. On the one hand, Ibn al-Jazarī cites in his *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 46, l 17, a passage entitled *al-Ibāna* which is contained in W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, Berlin Ms. no. 578 on page 517 sq.; on the other hand, he everywhere else cites the introductory work of Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, without specific title, as “supplement to *al-Kashf 'an wujūh al-qirā'āt*” which actually is in the Berlin Ms. (pp. 494–519). On page 491, Makkī explicitly states that it was published separately, although without supplying its title. The content of *al-Ibāna* is given by Hajī Qalfa [*sic*], s.v.: *Fī ma'ānī l-Qur'ān*; Yāqūt, *The Irshad*, ed. D.S. Margoliouth, vol. 7, p. 174, l 19, however, has *Ma'ānī l-qirā'a*, and precisely *ma'ānī l-qirā'āt* is according to *Kashf*, p. 2, the content of the supplement.

<sup>13</sup> *Naw'* 22–27, and parts before *naw'* 16, 18, 20, and 21.

<sup>14</sup> See vol. 2, p. 1 sq.



was passed on by word of mouth. That this was actually the case becomes evident from the many deviations from the 'Uthmānic text originating from the oral tradition—and even in written forms fixed at an early date.<sup>15</sup>

In order to collect the revelations, one could have memorized them as a *rāwī* does poetry. Yet this task would have been far more difficult; it thus makes sense that, according to tradition, Zayd b. Thābit preferred to use written sources<sup>16</sup> when producing his first collection of the Koran under Abū Bakr or 'Umar. The other collectors are likely to have followed suit.

The emphasis of the transmission of the Koran thus shifted toward written books. The 'Uthmānic recension must have followed the same method, particularly as it claimed to be the officially sanctioned Koran. The oral transmission alone would have hardly been sufficient to spread knowledge of the Koran. Among the old followers of the Prophet there can hardly have been more men who had memorized considerable portions of the Koran than there had been among the Arabs who transmitted the ancient poems and narratives of the *ayyām al-'Arab*. The number of men who knew individual parts of the Koran must have varied greatly, although on average it was probably not considerable, and in the case of less important parts it could well have been extremely small. During the turbulent years of Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the activities of the Prophet's Companions did not allow them to pass on their Koranic knowledge to many other men. In Medina the source of oral transmissions might have been more abundant, but in the new centres of Islam in the conquered territories it would have been difficult for men desiring to know all of the Koran to find an expert in all of its parts. At the same time, it was precisely in those centres of Kūfa, Baṣra, and Damascus that the urgent need for competence in the Koran must have been felt, given the aim of establishing an Islamic communal life in close contact, and in rivalry with, the People of the Book. This was facilitated by the written collections—in Kūfa the one of Ibn Mas'ūd—but, most of all, 'Uthmān's recension.<sup>17</sup> The Battle of Şiffin (37/657) illuminates the situation: some five years after 'Uthmān's recension was issued, the Syrians are in possession of *maṣāḥif* which they fixed on their lances;<sup>18</sup> and among the Irāqīs the *qurrā'* constitute an influential party.

<sup>15</sup> See above, p. 444sqq., and 454sq.

<sup>16</sup> See vol. 2, p. 13sq.; A. Jeffery, *Materials for the history of the text of the Qur'ān*, p. 223; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 401–402.

<sup>17</sup> One may ask whether this was not the purpose or at least one of their purposes next to the uniformity of the text.

<sup>18</sup> This can hardly have been meant literally; a Kūfan *muṣḥaf* is usually rather voluminous.

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A number of facts suggest that the oral distribution of the Koran during the early period was followed by a period when the study of the written text prevailed. The variants of the 'Uthmānic copies survive in the *qirā'āt* of those cities to which these copies had been dispatched.<sup>19</sup> Some mistakes of the copyist, for example, in the *qirā'a* of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728),<sup>20</sup> appear in the text, but, most importantly, a vast number of variant readings developed that interpret identical consonantal forms in different ways. Naturally, it is conceivable that multiple versions of the text appeared when orally transmitted but their differences remained unexpressed in the consonantal script, with the result that, for example, someone who had heard sūra 11:48, *inna-hu 'amalun ghayru ṣāliḥin*, would say instead *inna-hu 'amila ghayra ṣāliḥin* or *vice versa*. Yet it is infinitely more probable here that the same consonantal form *إِنَّهُ عَمَلٌ غَيْرٌ صَالِحٌ* is read differently, and that conversely, in the case of oral variation, duplicates appear that also vary in consonantal form, as is the case, for example, in the interchange of synonyms. There is a whole group of variant readings in which the origin from the consonantal text is made still more likely. These are those that obviously result from the search for, and joy in, the unexpected aspects of the consonantal text. These types of variant readings are clearly visible in Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728).<sup>21</sup> The half century that separates Ḥasan's prime of life from 'Uthmān's recension (approximately 32/652) is likely to have been the period when the bulk of variant readings were created on the basis of the written text.

In the first half of the second century AH, the Baṣran grammarian (Abū 'Umar) 'ĪSĀ IBN 'UMAR AL-THAQAFĪ<sup>22</sup> (d. 149/766) could still attempt to establish<sup>23</sup> a strictly purist reading of the Koran (*'alā qiyās [or madhāhib] al-'Arabiyya*),<sup>24</sup> which undoubtedly means that he wanted to introduce new

<sup>19</sup> See above, p. 394sq.

<sup>20</sup> G. Bergsträßer, "Die Koranlesung des Ḥasan von Baṣra," p. 51.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>22</sup> *El'*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 37–39, etc.

<sup>23</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 161<sup>r</sup> (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. simulata orientalia, no. 55). Abū 'Ubayd (al-Qāsim b. Sallām) finds it typical for this reading of the Koran that Ibn al-Jazarī prefers the accusative, for example, sūra 11:4, *ḥammāla* (among the Seven only 'Āṣim al-Jahdarī, and therefore in the common text); sūra 24:2, *al-zāniyata wa-l-zāniya*; sūra 5:42, *wa-l-sāriqa wa-l-sāriqata*; sūra 11:80, *aṭhara*. The passages have been the subject of further discussion at Baṣra; still Sibawayh treats them (§§ 33, 116, and regarding the latter passage cf. al-Zamakhsharī) and says (§ 33): *wa-lākin abati l-'āmmatu illā l-qirā'ata bi-l-rafi'*.

<sup>24</sup> Similarly characterized is the much older reading of Ibn Muḥayṣin (d. 122/739 or 123/740) in Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, p. 207<sup>r</sup> (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mss. simulata orientalia, no. 55).

types of variant readings that better suited his linguistic inclination, and which were a novelty to tradition. In the second century the reverse tendency, the restriction of licence, also sets in in this city. In the third century, it is aggravated by the renewed battle against *ra'y* in *fiqh* and Koranic exegesis, initiated by Dāwūd (Ibn Khalaf) al-Zāhirī, d. 270/884.<sup>25</sup> The introduction of new types of variant readings, too, was nothing but an exercise in free judgement.<sup>26</sup> Al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898), as an outsider, was still assuming that the mature reader was permitted to use discretion;<sup>27</sup> al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), on the other hand, also shares the opinion of all orthodoxy in this case.<sup>28</sup> There are two main currents in this direction that run parallel: concurrently with the disappearance of the non-ʿUthmānic variants, independent interpretation of the consonantal text begins to wane. The latter current comes to an end shortly before the first one in a surprisingly similar fashion, namely the proceedings against Ibn Miqsam,<sup>29</sup> a pupil<sup>30</sup> of Ibn Shannabūdh, and the last representative of non-ʿUthmānic forms of the Koran.

Abū Bakr (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Yaʿqūb b. al-Ḥasan) IBN MIQSAM al-ʿAṭṭār (d. 354/965 in Baghdad), a respected teacher of the Koran and

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<sup>25</sup> *EP*; I. Goldziher, *The Zāhirīs*, p. 27 sqq.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 521, no. 10.

<sup>26</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *juzʿ*/vol. 1, p. 59, l 20, states: *mā shadhha min al-qirāʿati ʿammā jāʿat bi-hi l-ummamu naqlan zāhiran mustafīdan, fa-raʿyun li-l-ḥaqqi mukhālifun ...*; and regarding (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan) IBN MIQSAM (265/878–354/965, Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 149–150) his contemporary ABŪ ṬĀHIR (ʿAbd al-Wāhid b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad) b. Abī Ḥashim (d. 349/960) AL-BAZZĀR [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 167–168] and a pupil of Ibn Mujāhid says: *jaʿala li-ahli l-ilhādī fi dīni Allāhi bi-sayyīri raʿyihi ṭarīqan ... yatakhayyaru l-qirāʿati min jihati l-baḥṭhi wa-l-istikhrāji bi-l-ārāʿi dāna l-iʿtiṣāmi wa-l-tamassuki bi-l-athari l-muftaraḍi* (Yāqūt, *al-Irshād al-arib ilā maʿrifat al-adib*, vol. 6, p. 499, l 18 sqq.).

<sup>27</sup> His statement about sūra 2:172 (in al-Zamakhsharī, s.v.), *law kuntu mimman yaqraʿu l-Qurʾāna la-qaraʿtu “wa-lākinna l-barra”* (instead of *birra*), Ibn al-Munayyir (d. 683/1284, *EP*) properly interpreted in his *K. al-Intiṣāf* (in the margin of the Cairene *Kashshāf*) *anna ikhtilāfa wujūhi l-qirāʿati mawkulun ilā l-ijtihādī wa-annahu mahma iqtaḍāhu qiyāsu l-lughati jāzati l-qirāʿatu bi-hi li-man yuʿaddu ahlan lil-ijtihādī fi l-ʿArabiyati wa-l-lughati* and strictly rejected it. Cf. Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, p. 32 sq.

<sup>28</sup> The recognition of independent types of variant readings would be as little in agreement with the *ijmāʿ* that he always emphasizes as is the case with the *naql*; cf. above, p. 475 n. 26, and p. 484 sq., and also p. 477 n. 42.

<sup>29</sup> Sources for what follows are: Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbāʿi fi ṭabaqāt al-udabāʿ*, p. 360 sqq. (with wrong name); Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 498 sqq. (excerpts: al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt fi ṭabaqāt al-lughawiyīn wa-l-nuḥāt*; s.n. [not identified]); Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 17, l 4 sqq., p. 167, and *Ṭabaqāt* (Berlin Ms. cod. Or. simul. 55), fol. 195<sup>v</sup> sq.; *al-Fihrist*, p. 33, has only a brief note (with the differing year of death, 362). Cf. Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, pp. 221–222, his *Schools of Koranic commentators*, pp. 31–32; A. Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, pp. 195–196; G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 179 sq., does not mention the proceedings against him; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, p. 20.

<sup>30</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, Berlin Ms. cod. simul. 55, fol. 177<sup>r</sup>.

grammarians of the Kūfan School,<sup>31</sup> was of the opinion that any faithful and grammatically correct type of variant reading in agreement with the consonantal text is permissible, even if none of the ancestors ever read it this way. The sultan summoned him in 322/933 to appear before an assembly of *fuqahā'* and *qurrā'* who unanimously disapproved of his teaching, and threatened to punish him; Ibn Miqsam then recanted and signed a *mahḍar*, promising to abandon his particular types of variant readings.<sup>32</sup> But he later resumed his way of reading. The only example of this variant reading together with the subsequent discussion that has come down to us<sup>33</sup> shows that it was not only the theory that caused the ill-feeling against him, but also the way it was applied: Ibn Miqsam read sūra 12:80, *nujabā'a* instead *najīyan*, which his opponents declared senseless, and disapproved of particularly because not only did the vocalization differ from the common one but also the diacritical marks were displaced (*taṣhīf*).<sup>34</sup> Strictly speaking the designation *bid'a* did not apply to Ibn Miqsam's teaching because his application of *irtijāl*<sup>35</sup>—the liberal invention of possible readings of the consonantal script—had been common practice long before his time;<sup>36</sup> but it seems to have been considerably different<sup>37</sup> from the practice of younger predecessors to whom he refers as authorities<sup>38</sup>—Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 223 or 24/838), Khalaf b. Hishām al-Bazzār (d. 229/844), and Abū Ja'far al-Ḍarīr MUḤAMMAD IBN SA'DĀN<sup>39</sup> (d. 231/846). The man who opposed him, and who started the proceedings against him, was again Ibn Mujāhid.<sup>40</sup> It was probably after the latter's death in 324/936 that Ibn Miqsam reportedly returned to his early variant readings.

<sup>31</sup> Different from Ibn Shannabūdh's case, the verdict regarding Ibn Miqsam was generally appreciative. Apart from his writings on the science of the types of variant readings, he is important for his role as one of the four transmitters of Idrīs al-Ḥaddād 'an Khalaf b. Hishām 'an Ḥamza (Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 55, l 13, and p. 159 sq.).

<sup>32</sup> According to Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, vol. 1, p. 285, l 13; and 'Izz al-Dīn IBN AL-ATHĪR, *al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh*, year 322 AH, also his books were burned.

<sup>33</sup> Yāqūt, *al-Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 499, l 1 sq.; the variant reading is derived from Ibn Miqsam's *Kitāb al-Ihtijāj lil-qurrā'*.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. below, p. 490.

<sup>35</sup> Ibn Jinnī, *Muḥtasab*, on sūra 9:42.

<sup>36</sup> See above, p. 474 sq.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. above, p. 481 sq.

<sup>38</sup> Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 500, l 13.

<sup>39</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 135–136.

<sup>40</sup> One tends to consider Ibn Mujāhid's interference, and possible the entire proceedings against Ibn Miqsam, a duplicate to the reports about Ibn Shannabūdh if it had not already been witnessed by one of Ibn Mujāhid's younger contemporaries and pupil, ABŪ ṬĀHIR b. Abī Hashim AL-BAZZĀR (d. 349/960); in Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 499, l 12 sq.; cf. above, p. 475 n. 26.

The independent interpretation of the graphic outline of the script regardless of the existing oral transmission is recommended by statements—mostly ascribed to Ibn Mas‘ūd—like *dhakkir al-Qur‘ān*, i.e., in case of doubt—particularly when it concerns the imperfect preformatives—one ought to prefer the masculine to the feminine.<sup>41</sup> Frequently, hypothetical forms for one’s own readings, not taken from tradition, are supplied, e.g., *law qur’ā ... (la-) kāna jayyidan (ṣawāban, jā’izān, awjaha)* and similar ones.<sup>42</sup>

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### Linguistic Accuracy

Of the two conditions for the admission of a Koranic reading established by Ibn Miqṣam,<sup>43</sup> linguistic accuracy and the agreement with the ‘Uthmānic *muṣḥaf*,<sup>44</sup> the second one has already been discussed;<sup>45</sup> and the first of them is of no importance. In the face of the huge influx of *mawālī* into Islam mistakes in the recital of the Koran must have occurred frequently but could never claim recognition, and could hardly inadvertently become established, given the number of genuine Arabs,<sup>46</sup> and the fact that their linguistic self-confidence was too strong. Arabs, too, were prone to mistakes,

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<sup>41</sup> Makki b. Abī Ṭālib, *al-Kashf*, on sūra 2:45 (Abū ‘Ubayd from Ibn Mas‘ūd; in a slightly different form from Ibn Mas‘ūd and Ibn ‘Abbās) and more often; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, *naw’* 35, *mas‘ala* 18 (Sprenger ed., p. 255, l. 4 sqq.). al-Suyūṭī (Sprenger ed., p. 256, l 7) points out that the *qirā’āt* of Ibn Mas‘ūd’s followers conforms with this rule. According to another version (*al-Itqān*, loc. cit., Sprenger ed. p. 255, l 9 sqq.) Ibn Mujāhid (!) suggests that in case of doubt to prefer the form with preformative *y*-to that with preformative *t*-, the one without *hamz* to the one with *hamz*, the one with *waṣl* to the one with *qaṭl*, the one with *madd* to the one with *qaṣr*, and the one with *fath* to the one with *imāla*.

<sup>42</sup> Sībawayh § 264 (twice); Yahyā b. Ziyād AL-FARRĀ’ (d. 207/822 [sic]), *Ma‘ānī l-Qur‘ān* on sūra 11:29 and 11:37, and often; [N. Kinberg, *A Lexicon of al-Farrā’'s terminology*]; Ṭabarī, *juz’*/vol. 1, p. 295, l 14 (more explicit: *law kāna maqrū’an ka-dhālīka*); Ibn Jinnī, *Muḥtasab* often (cf. the introduction to my [Bergsträßer’s] *Nichtkoranische Lesearten*); al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 25:22 and 34:19, and often. Also *la-kāna jā’izān* of Ibn Miqṣam (Yāqūt, *al-Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 499, l 2) is likely to presuppose a *law*.—Already Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’ is ascribed to have said: *law lā an laysa lī an aqrā’ū illā bi-mā qur’ā, la-qara’tu ka-dhā wa-ka-dhā* (al-Dhahabī, *Ṭabaqāt*, Berlin Ms. Or. fol. 3140, 14<sup>r</sup>, twice; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, Berlin Ms., cod. simul. 55, 76<sup>v</sup>;—Ibn al-Jazarī reports something similar also about Nāfi’ al-Laythī in *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 17, l 16). The absence of a reference (cf. above, p. 464 n. 613) clearly indicates the tendency which is trying to present Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’ (Nāfi’) as the champion of the principle of tradition.

<sup>43</sup> See above, p. 476.

<sup>44</sup> The third type, faithfulness, can be ignored as being obvious.

<sup>45</sup> Page 342 sqq.; and p. 407 sqq.

<sup>46</sup> From among the Seven Readers Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’ and Ibn ‘Āmir al-Yaḥṣubī are still true Arabs (al-Dānī, *al-Ṭaysīr*, introduction).

either through inadvertence in difficult passages<sup>47</sup> or through pressure of particular readings or interpretations,<sup>48</sup> more frequently still—and particularly in face of the great variety of the dialects—what appeared to be correct for one person someone else might have considered wrong.<sup>49</sup> There were thus plenty of variant reading possibilities open to linguistic discussion. But this controversy never attained fundamental importance.

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Readers and grammarians are sometimes at variance in their approach. In the early period, at Kūfa as well as at Baṣra, several readers were grammarians at the same time;<sup>50</sup> whoever wanted to go beyond the mere routine of Koranic teaching turned to grammar or exegesis.<sup>51</sup> When people turned to collecting the variant readings as a purpose of itself, and transmitted them—thus establishing a proper science of variant readings—the confidence of the *qurrāʾ* was strengthened, and the preponderance of grammar declined. The outstanding exponent of this stage is Ibn Mujāhid (d. 324/936).<sup>52</sup> The same way that he is aware of his superior familiarity in the field of transmission compared with that of the grammarian and exegete al-Farrāʾ (d. 209 [sic]);<sup>53</sup> conversely Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/1002) looks down on Ibn Mujāhid's linguistic judgements<sup>54</sup> with the proud conviction of newly established virtuosity of linguistic explanation which makes it possible to recognize much that was previously difficult to accommodate in grammar but, at the same time, obliged one to reject other things that one previously

<sup>47</sup> al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 5, pp. 225–226], who was proud of his *faṣāḥa* [eloquence,] once read in sūra 9:24, *aḥabbu* instead of *aḥabba*—separated from the governing *kāna* by twelve words—(Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 7, p. 296, 117 sqq.).

<sup>48</sup> For example, *li-tittibāʾ al-muṣṣaḥaf*; the most glaring case being *al-takḥfif al-rasmī* of Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb (see above, p. 425 n. 247) to which Ibn al-Jazarī replies: *lā yajūz fī wajh min wujūh al-ʿArabīyya (al-Naṣhr fī l-qirāʾāt*, vol. 1, p. 16, 123).

<sup>49</sup> In the passage of the first edition of this book (*Seite* 285, note 1) al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, *nawʿ* 22–27, *tanbīh* 6 (Sprenger ed., p. 195, 11 sqq.), it reads *iʾrābānī* “two vowel possibilities for case and modus.”

<sup>50</sup> See below, p. 510 sqq. Later, for example, Muḥammad b. Saʿdān (d. 231/846, [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 135–136]; below, p. 484 n. 96), Abū l-ʿAbbās AL-FADL IBN IBRĀHĪM (p. 430), Ibn Miqṣam (p. 420 sqq.)

<sup>51</sup> Differences of opinion regarding linguistic accuracy among grammarians and readers of the Koran existed already at that time; cf. above, p. 474 sqq.

<sup>52</sup> His elder contemporary, al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/922), also knows his grammarians—it comes as no surprise in view of his comprehensive scholarship—and frequently compares Kūfan and Baṣran grammarians (for example, *juzʾ*/vol. 1, p. 59, 128 sqq.).

<sup>53</sup> He says, for example (in Ibn Jinnī, *Muḥtasab*, on sūra 2:19) about a variant reading which al-Farrāʾ had referred to as Medinan: *wa-lā naʿlamu anna ḥādhihi l-qirāʾa ruwīyat ʿan ahl al-Madīna*.

<sup>54</sup> See the introduction to my (Bergsträcker) *Nichtkanonische Lesarten im Muḥtasab des Ibn Ǧinnī*.

had blindly accepted; still, he considered himself phonetically superior to the readers.<sup>55</sup> The same feeling of superiority over the simple *qurrā'* is also evident in al-Dānī (d. 444/1052),<sup>56</sup> although he himself is a representative of the science of variant readings. In the intervening period this science went beyond the mere familiarity with the text and the variant readings, and began to incorporate grammar as a propaedeutic science.<sup>57</sup>

In the same way that some deviations from the 'Uthmānic *muṣḥaf* were perpetuated in the Seven Readings, this also happened to some linguistic mistakes,<sup>58</sup> with the exception that they are far more difficult to identify. It was obvious when something deviated from the *muṣḥaf*, but that a variant reading was linguistically wrong could always be challenged. It was hardly possible to agree beyond the fact that something was correct to a greater or lesser degree.

Perhaps the following variant readings might be cited as being pretty much unanimously rejected by the grammarians: Sūra 2:58, etc., *nabī'ina* instead of *nabīyyīna*, etc., and to this, sūra 98:5, *al-barī'atu* instead of *al-barīyyatu* (Nāfi' [b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Laythī], the second one also Ibn Dhakwān 'an Ibn 'Āmir al-Yaḥṣubī),<sup>59</sup> sūra 2:247, and frequently, *'asītum* instead of *'asaytum* (Nāfi'),<sup>60</sup> sūra 10:5, and often, *ḍi'ā'un* instead *ḍiyā'un* (Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān QUNBUL [d. 291/904, Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 9, p. 200, l 16] 'an Ibn Kathīr al-Kinānī);<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> With this point of view Ibn Jinnī is not the only one among the grammarians; already Sibawayh reproached the *rāwī* of Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' to have considered *ikhtilās* (reduction) of a vowel to be *taskīn* (elision; Abū l-Baqā' AL-'UKBARĪ on sūra 2:51); similar remarks can be found in al-Zamakhsharī (for example sūras 49:9, and 94:1, both not taken from Ibn Jinnī).

<sup>56</sup> He only compares the *naḥwīyyīn* with the *ḥudhdhāq min al-muqri'īn* (*al-Taysīr*, chapter *al-idghām al-kabīr*) and criticizes the phonetics of the readers (ibid., further on sūras 41:15, 69:9, and more often).

<sup>57</sup> Thus Makki b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 437/1045) in his *al-Kashf 'an wujūh al-qirā'āt* quotes grammarians on a large scale, particularly Sibawayh and al-Akhfash, further, from the Baṣrans, Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā', al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad [al-Farāhidī, died ca. 715/791; *EL*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, p. 613, vol. 8, pp. 51–56], Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, died 182/798 [*EL*; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, pp. 57–58], Muḥammad b. al-Mustanīr QUTRUB [died 206/821; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 61–67], Abū Zayd (al-Anṣārī Sa'īd b. Aws b. Thābit [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 67–68]), Abū 'Ubayda (Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā), Abū 'Uthmān Bakr b. Muḥammad AL-MĀZINĪ [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 75–76], and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad IBN KAYSĀN, d. 299/911 [*EL*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 158–160], and from the Kūfans al-Kisā'ī, and Yaḥyā b. Ziyād AL-FARRĀ'.

<sup>58</sup> See above, p. 468 sq.

<sup>59</sup> Sibawayh § 411: *qalīlum rad'ūn*.

<sup>60</sup> al-Zamakhsharī on sūra 2:247: *ḍa'īfatum*, on sūra 47:24: *gharibun*; al-Baghawī on sūra 2:247: *wa-hiya ('asaytum) al-lughatu l-faṣīhatu*.

<sup>61</sup> Ibn Jinnī, *Muḥtasab* (Ragib Paşa Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Ms 13, p. 2) as an example for *da'fu i'rābin*.

sūra 24:35, *durrī'un* instead of *durriyyun* or *dirrī'un* (Abū Bakr 'an 'ĀṢIM (b. al-'Ajjāj AL-JAḤDARĪ) and Ḥamza (b. Ḥabīb)),<sup>62</sup> sūra 34:9, *yakhsibbi-him* instead of *y/nakhsif bi-him* (al-Kisā'ī),<sup>63</sup> in addition two variant readings, which at least the Baṣran grammarians unanimously reject: sūra 4:1, *wa-l-arḥāmi* instead of *wa-l-arḥāma* (Ḥamza),<sup>64</sup> and sūra 6:138, *zuyyina ... qatlu awlādahum shurakā'thim* instead of *zayyana ... qatla awlādihim shurakā'uhum* (Ibn 'Āmir al-Yaḥṣubī).<sup>65</sup>

### *The Principle of Tradition*

[iii/127] Ibn Miqsam's principles, which we discussed in the preceding pages, are almost more important from their negative point of view than their positive aspects. By their claim to uniqueness they exclude other claims regarding permissible types of variant readings, particularly the one represented by Ibn Mujāhid—and finally established—that all must be traced back through an *isnād* to old authorities, and finally to the Prophet. Through the introduction of the principle of tradition evolves the classic dogma of the three criteria to which the variant readings must conform. Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 437/1045) formulates this as follows:<sup>66</sup> *an yunqala 'ani l-thiqāt 'ani l-nabiyyi ..., wa-yakūna wajhuh fi l-'Arabiyya ... sā'ighan, wa-yakūna muwāfiqan li-khaṭṭ al-muṣṣaḥf*. Here, the dogma of tradition has first priority, rightfully<sup>67</sup> so as far as importance is concerned, but not age. The dogma of *al-*

<sup>62</sup> al-Baghawī: *qāla akthar al-nuḥāt: huwa lahnun li-annahu laysa fi kalām al-'Arabi fī 'tḥun ...; qāl Abū Ubayda: wa-ana arā la-hā wajhan ...*

<sup>63</sup> al-Zamakhsharī: *laysat bi-qawīyyatin*.

<sup>64</sup> Regarding the accusative, al-Ṭabarī says in *juz'*/vol. 1, p. 141, l 31: *al-qirā'a allatī lā nastajīz al-qār'a an yaqrā'a ghayra-hā*, and al-Baghawī: *aḥṣahu*; with reference to al-Mubarrad and others; al-Ḥarīrī dismisses the genitive (al-Ḥarīrī, *Durrat al-ghawwās*, ed. Thorbecke, p. 62, l 5 sqq.), al-Zamakhsharī calls it *laysa bi-shadīd*, and even al-Bayḍawī, *dā'if*. Cf. Ibn al-Anbārī, *K. al-Inṣāf*, ed. G. Weil, p. 192, l 7 sqq.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. above, p. 397 n. 56 (where the non-Damascene variant شركاؤم is unfortunately missing); al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 8, p. 31, l 5, of the common reading: *al-qirā'at allatī lā astajīz ghayra-hā*;—the variant reading of Ibn 'Āmir (al-Yaḥṣubī) in Ibn Jinnī like above, foot-note 60, in al-Bayḍawī, *dā'if fi l-'Arabiyya*; al-Zamakhsharī says about it *fa-shay' law kāna fi makān al-ḍarūrāt wa huwa l-shi'r la-kāna samījan mardudan ..., fa-kayf bi-hi fi l-kalāmi l-manthūri fa-kayfa bi-hi fi l-Qur'āni ...?* Cf. Ibn al-Anbārī, *Inṣāf*, p. 179, l 17 sqq.; cf also above, p. 389 sqq.; p. 468 sqq.

<sup>66</sup> *al-Ibāna* (Berlin Ms., no. 578), p. 500, cites Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 13, l 21 sqq.; in detail about the whole subject, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 9 sqq. (excerpt in al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān, naw'* 22–27).

<sup>67</sup> The two other criteria must accept limitations; Ibn al-Jazarī defines the three criteria: *kull qirā'a wāfaqati l-'Arabiyya wa-law bi-wajh, wa-wāfaqat aḥad al-maṣāḥif al-'Uthmāniyya wa-law iḥtimālan (= taqdīran, see above, p. 400 n. 78, and p. 431 n. 281) wa-ṣaḥḥa sanadu-hā, fa*



*qirā'a sunna muttaba'a*<sup>68</sup> in this sense is to be found already in Sībawayh<sup>69</sup> (d. ca. 177/793). Even Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' (d. ca. 154/771) allegedly made a similar comment;<sup>70</sup> but it became the rule only gradually, as is evident from Ibn Miqṣam's opposition still in the fourth century AH. For Ibn Jinnī, who died in 392/1001, it already seems a matter of course that he dismisses strong linguistic reservations in its favour.<sup>71</sup>

The more scholars felt inclined towards tradition, the more they had to forgo their personal criticism that the other two criteria offered. Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429), who displays everywhere a true scholarly attitude, in theory upholds the three criteria.<sup>72</sup> Al-Ja'barī (d. 732/1331) had already stated that the two other factors are included in the principle of conformity to tradition,<sup>73</sup> and 'Alī b. Muḥammad AL-NŪRĪ AL-ṢAFĀQUSĪ (1053/1643–1118/1706) limited himself explicitly to the latter.<sup>74</sup>

Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib<sup>75</sup> contrasts the three variant readings that are in accordance with the three criteria with two other less reliable groups, i.e., variant readings that are transmitted *'an al-āḥād* and, although grammatically correct, do not conform to the *muṣḥaf*, and those that are either not transmitted by reliable traditionists (*thiqa*) or grammatically wrong. These variant readings are to be rejected (*lā yuqbal*) even if they are identical with the *muṣḥaf*. Those of the preceding group must be recognized (*yuqbal*), but are practically not used (*lā yuqra'u bi-hi*); only those that meet all three requirements are perfect.<sup>76</sup> In this division another fact clashes with the principle

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*hiya l-qirā'a al-ṣaḥiḥa ... (al-Nashr, vol. 1, p. 9, l 12, cited by al-Suyūṭī, al-Itqān, naw' 22 [Sprengrer ed., p. 176, l 12 sqq]).*

<sup>68</sup> An alleged comment by Zayd b. Thābit, see al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān, naw' 22* (Sprengrer ed., p. 176, l 16 sq.).

<sup>69</sup> § 34: *illā anna l-qirā'a lā tukhālaf li-anna-hā l-sunna*. [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 51–63].

<sup>70</sup> See above, p. 477 n. 42.

<sup>71</sup> *Muḥtasab* on sūra 55:76, about the reading *'abāqirīyya*, transmitted from the Prophet and other men: *ammā tarku ṣarfī 'abāqirīyya, fa-shādhdhun fi l-qiyās, ... wa-laysa lanā an natalaqqā qirā'ata rasūl Allāh ... illā bi-qabūlihā*; similarly on sūra 36:52 concerning the reading of Ubayy b. Ka'b, *habbanā*; and similarly often.

<sup>72</sup> See above, notes 67 and 68.

<sup>73</sup> In the introduction to his commentary on the *Shatībīyya*; cited by Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 13, l 14 sqq., and then al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān, naw' 22* (Sprengrer ed., p. 179, l 19 sqq.).

<sup>74</sup> *Ghayth al-naḥḥ fi l-qirā'āt al-sab'* (printed, Cairo, 1341/1922, in the margin of Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī b. 'Uṭhmān IBN AL-QĀSIḤ's commentary on the *Shatībīyya*), p. 6, l 1 sqq.; (Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 461; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, 74).

<sup>75</sup> *Ībāna* (Berlin Ms no. 578), p. 500, cited in Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 13, l 17 sqq., abbreviated in al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān, naw' 22* (Sprengrer ed., p. 179, l 21 sqq.).

<sup>76</sup> According to this classification grammatical accuracy would be the decisive criterion (variant readings which are grammatically wrong belong to the lowest group without

of tradition, which is alluded to in the mention of *āḥād*, but is expressed in an aside, *ukhidha ‘an ijma’*; this is the *ijma’*.

### *The Principle of Majority*

The canon of the three criteria for the admission of a reading variant is at variance with another canon of three criteria for preference—*ikhtiyār*—which Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib<sup>77</sup> ascribes to the two main representatives, more properly speaking, the founders of the science of variant readings in the early third century, Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 223 or 4/838)<sup>78</sup> and ABŪ ḤĀTIM (Sahl b. Muḥammad) AL-SIJISTĀNĪ.<sup>79</sup> The criteria of grammatical accuracy and congruence with the *muṣḥaf* are common to both; the role of conformity with tradition is subsumed in the second criterion, *ijtimā’ al-‘amma ‘alayhi*, namely that the majority opted for the particular variant reading.

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Certainly down to the fourth century *al-‘amma*<sup>80</sup>—also named *al-jamā‘a*,<sup>81</sup> *al-kāffa*,<sup>82</sup> *al-jumhūr*,<sup>83</sup> *al-nās*<sup>84</sup>—means in the science of variant read-

consideration for their other qualities). Agreement with the *muṣḥaf* is the least important element (its deficiency cannot even be compensated by the most reliable chain of transmission). It is obvious that the following three conclusions: (1) *yuqra’u bi-hi* (2) *yuqbalu wa-lā yuqra’u* (3) *lā yuqbalu*, result in a clearer picture than the preconditions, namely that the purpose is not to investigate how variant readings of diverse quality are to be judged, rather on the basis of the relevant criteria they must be assigned somehow to one of the three established grades of recognition.—Cf. also al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, *naw’* 22–25.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibāna* (Berlin Ms no. 578), p. 500.

<sup>78</sup> See above, p. 393 n. 30.

<sup>79</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 3, pp. 367–368, and others, particularly Yāqūt, *al-Irshād*, vol. 4, p. 258.

<sup>80</sup> Already Sibawayh, see above, p. 474 n. 23; Yahyā b. Ziyād AL-FARRĀ’ (d. 207/822), *Ma‘āni l-Qur‘ān* on sūra 11:30, and often (*‘ammat al-qurrā’* on sūra 11:48); Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām in Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Berlin Ms, cod. simul. 55), fol. 161r; Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī in Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, *al-Kashf* on sūra 2:12, and often; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 238, l 20, and often: *‘ammat al-qurrā’* (*‘ammat al-amṣār ft jamī‘ al-aqtār*, vol. 1, p. 306, l 18); Ibn Jinnī, *Muḥtasab* (cf. the introduction to my [Bergsträßer] *Nichtkanonische Koranlesearten*). The word is used with a different meaning in Yāqūt, *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 118, l 8; here *iftataḥ al-qirā’a ‘alā rasm al-‘amma* means “in the common way” not according to Ibn Mujāhid before whom the recital was performed.

<sup>81</sup> Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) in Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, *al-Kashf* on sūra 16:30; *al-qāḍī* Ismā‘īl b. Ishāq al-Mālikī (d. 282/895) in Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, *Ibāna* (Berlin Ms. no. 578), p. 501; al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 307, l 26; Ibn Mujāhid in Ibn Jinnī, *Muḥtasab*, and this itself, *ibid*.

<sup>82</sup> Ibn Jinnī, *Muḥtasab*.

<sup>83</sup> Ibn al-Sirāfi (d. 368/979) in Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 301, l 7; al-Dimiyāṭī al-Bannā’, *Ithāf fuḍalā’ al-bashar* on sūra 2:6, and often. Cf. *El’*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 98–101.

<sup>84</sup> Ibn Mujāhid in Ibn Jinnī, *Muḥtasab*, and this itself, *ibid.*; cf. *Ahl al-Islām*, al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 296, l 8.

ings not the totality but the majority, and accordingly *al-ijmā'*,<sup>85</sup> *al-ijtimā'*,<sup>86</sup> *al-ittifāq*,<sup>87</sup> not unanimity but majority vote.<sup>88</sup> Unanimity<sup>89</sup> is a borderline case and not even particularly important. As majority vote *ijmā'* was able to attain far-reaching significance for standardizing the text of the Koran for it could be used to displace small minority readings completely. But as unanimity it can have served only to state that such variant readings had already completely disappeared, and to prevent their reappearance, which in view of the convergent tendency of the Islamic development was in any case unlikely to happen. In order to arbitrate in cases when an overwhelming majority was in opposition to an imperceptible minority, Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī and others set up special guidelines as to what constituted a majority.<sup>90</sup> These guidelines recognize not only the diverse local variant readings and readers but also their importance. Thus, who should be considered as *'amma*: both the Medinans and Kūfans together or the Medinans and the Meccans (*ahl al-ḥaramayn*) or Nāfi' al-Laythī as well as 'ĀṢIM b. al-'Ajjāj AL-JAḤDARĪ?<sup>91</sup>

<sup>85</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 1, p. 230, l 15 and p. 285, l 17: *ijmā' al-qurrā'*; vol. 1, p. 87, l 15: *ijmā' al-ḥujja*, vol. 1, p. 266, l 15; in addition *min al-qurrā'* (thus to be read), vol. 1, p. 187, l 5; in addition still *wa-ahl al-ta'wīl min 'ulamā'* *al-salaf wa-l-khalaf* (*al-ḥujja*, the proper authorities, is a pet phrase of al-Ṭabarī, which in connection with *ijmā'* emerges more strongly also in his *Ikhtilāf al-fuqahā'*, for example, [ed. by Friedrich Kern], vol. 1, p. 1, l 5; p. 11, l 10; p. 24, l 18; p. 44, l 1, etc.)—Yāqūt, *al-Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 498, l 20; and p. 499, l 3 and 7, in the version of Ibn Miqṣam (in a somewhat more general sense);—cf. below, p. 496.

<sup>86</sup> Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām and Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī see previous page; Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 307, l 24: *ijtimā' al-ḥujja min al-qurrā' wa-ahl al-ta'wīl*.

<sup>87</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *juz'*/vol. 1, p. 240, l 2: *ittifāq qirā'at al-qurrā'*, vol. 1, p. 87, l 14: *ittifāq al-ḥujja min al-qurrā' wa-l-'ulamā' al-umma*.

<sup>88</sup> One is tempted to interpret the frequent comparison of individual readers (identified by name, *ba'd al-qurrā'*, or similarly) on the one side, and *al-'amma*, *al-ijma'*, etc., on the other, to mean that an earlier minority variant reading might have been repealed by a later *ijmā'* = agreement of all the authoritative readers. This fails in cases like Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 295, l 23, where the *'ammat qurrā' al-Kūfa* is confronted precisely by 'ĀṢIM b. al-'Ajjāj AL-JAḤDARĪ, the future authoritative Kūfan reader; or vol. 1, p. 187, l 5, where Ibn Kathīr al-Kinānī's variant reading is rejected by *ijmā'* (sūra 2:35, *Ādama ... kalimātun* instead *Ādamu ... kalimātin*), or vol. 1, p. 285, l 17, where it is the reading of Abū Ja'far Yazīd IBN AL-QA'QĀ' (sūra 2:73, *amāniyya* instead *amāniyya*).

<sup>89</sup> For example, al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 51, l 16: *ijmā' jamī' al-ḥujja min al-qurrā' wa-'ulamā'*, and similarly, vol. 1, p. 169, l 22.

<sup>90</sup> Makki b. Abī Ṭālib, *Ibāna* (Berlin Ms. no. 578), p. 509.

<sup>91</sup> Similar rules are applied also elsewhere, for example, by Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 120), in Makki b. Abī Ṭālib, *al-Kashf* on sūra 16:30; by Makki himself, *al-Kashf* (Berlin Ms. no. 578) p. 28; also by al-Zamakhsharī (likely from an old source) on sūra 1:3.

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The principle of the majority attained its greatest significance precisely since Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām and Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī made it the basis of their *ikhtiyār*, i.e., their selection from among different possible variant readings. From Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib’s *al-Kashf ‘an wujūh al-qirā’āt*<sup>92</sup> we are familiar with this *ikhtiyār*, which in its totality constitutes a complete reading of the Koran. That it was applied in practice is evident from al-Maqdisī’s statement written in the 370s AH<sup>93</sup> that the province of Jibāl read according to the *ikhtiyār* of Abū ‘Ubayd (al-Qāsim b. Sallām) and Abū Ḥātim (al-Sijistānī). Conversely, it is purely hypothetical when in a quite similar sense still ABŪ ṬĀHIR b. Abī Hāshim [al-Baghdādī AL-BAZZĀR]<sup>94</sup> (d. 349/960) has an *ikhtiyār*, and even Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 437/1045) in *al-Kashf* recognizes the variant reading of the *‘amma* and his own *ikhtiyār* and defends this in cases of doubt. Certainly since Ibn Mujāhid (d. 324/936) in theory and soon thereafter in practice the principle of tradition in a new, more unrestricted form carried the day over the principle of majority. Even later on there is occasionally mention of the majority.<sup>95</sup> It remains moderately important in the layout of many works on variant readings, for example, al-Dānī’s (d. 444/1052) *al-Taysīr fi l-qirā’āt al-sab‘*: Only the champions of the minority variant readings are mentioned, but the majority variant readings are treated as “miscellaneous,” the *bāqūn*-system.

Like Abū ‘Ubayd (al-Qāsim b. Sallām) and Abū Ḥātim (al-Sijistānī) also Ibn Qutayba practised *ikhtiyār* mainly according to the majority of the readers, and concurrently according to practical-linguistic considerations. Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib<sup>96</sup> lists Ibn Qutayba’s occasional deviations from the for-

<sup>92</sup> Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib states it frequently in cases of doubt. Both of them are nearly always in agreement; the only exception being sūra 2:9 where Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām—as well as al-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 95, l 30—opt for *yakdhībūna* whereas Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, for *yukadhdhibūna*. Al-Ṭabarī’s detailed and objective arguments make it probable that in this case also Abū ‘Ubayd followed objective considerations. The majority is undoubtedly against *yakdhībūna*, which from among the Seven is held only by the Kūfans. The principle of majority is thus for Abū ‘Ubayd—and equally for Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī—the most important aspect for the formation of *ikhtiyār*, although not the only one.

<sup>93</sup> al-Muqaddasi/al-Maqdisī, ed. de Goeje (1906). Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 230.

<sup>94</sup> See above, p. 474 n. 23. In the *Kashf* of Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib he mostly goes together with Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām.

<sup>95</sup> *al-‘amma* also in *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, for example, on sūra 31:2, further, see above, p. 482 n. 83; *ijmā‘* frequently also in Ibn al-Jazārī, for example, *al-Nashr*, vol. 2, p. 212, l 15.

<sup>96</sup> For example, sūras 14:2, 20:12; 26:176, and 38:12 (in sūra 15:78). It is precisely because such occasional deviations are emphasized that it is probable that the basic reason remains the same.—From the period between Abū ‘Ubayd and al-Ṭabarī we know still some other *mukhtārīn*: Muḥammad b. Sa’dān (d. 231/846) [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 135–136]; Yāqūt, *al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 7, l 12; Ibn al-Jazārī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Berlin Ms. cod. simul. 55), fol. 200<sup>v</sup>; Abū ‘Abd

mer two, partly supplying the reason. Al-Ṭabarī<sup>97</sup> (d. 310/923) takes a similar position as well,<sup>98</sup> but, following his excessive inclination towards harmonizing, he amalgamates *ijmā'* with *naql* to create a uniform, sublime dogma.<sup>99</sup> He thus paves the way for the *tawātur* teaching of later orthodoxy.<sup>100</sup> However in other cases, when there is nearly an equilibrium of opinions, he dispenses with decisiveness and pronounces both variant readings to be equal.<sup>101</sup>—Yaḥyā b. Ziyād AL-FARRĀ<sup>102</sup> (died 207/822) seems to have been the same kind of precursor as Abū 'Ubayd was.

Allāh MUḤAMMAD IBN 'ĪSĀ b. Ibrāhīm b. Razīn AL-IṢBAHĀNĪ (d. ca. 242–253/856–867); Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 177, l 17, and p. 180, l 15; *Ṭabaqāt*, fol. 222'. Nothing is known about their *ikhtiyār*; an investigation of (Ibn) al-Ṣafrawī's [d. 636/1238] *Taqrīb wa-l-bayān fī ma'rifat shawādh al-Qur'an* (a fragment, Berlin Ms. no. 613), where both are considered, might be helpful.

<sup>97</sup> In his commentary on the Koran al-Ṭabarī ends every information about variant readings by stating which type of reading is to be preferred, thus his *ikhtiyār*. He occasionally says outright *ikhtartu* (for example, vol. 1, p. 296, l 6). He states it quite clearly in the work on the types of variant readings that he himself established his *ikhtiyār* (vol. 1, p. 49, l 5); we may assume that the same way his *Ikhtilāf al-fuqahā'* is no mere learned and comparative work but serves the establishment of his own *madhhab* so that the establishment of his "Koranic reading *ikhtiyār*" was the actual purpose of his work on the variant readings.

<sup>98</sup> He says (vol. 1, p. 307, l 25): *wa-qad dalalnā 'alā anna mā jā'at bi-hi l-ḥujjat muttafiqatan 'alayhi ḥujja 'alā man balaghahu wa-mā jā'a bi-hi l-munfarid fa-ghayr jā'izi l-i'tirāḍ bi-hi 'alā mā jā'at bi-hi l-jamā'a allatī taqūm bi-hā l-ḥujja naqlan wa qawlan wa-'amalan fī ghayri hādhā l-mawḍi'i*. The reference seems to apply to a passage where al-Ṭabarī elaborated on the dogma of *ijmā'* in general, not limited to the variant readings, namely very likely a passage in the *Ikhtilāf al-fuqahā'*. According to this basic point of view, al-Ṭabarī is quite outspoken in his rejection of minority variant readings; for example, vol. 1, p. 240, l 1, ... *al-qirā'a allatī lā yajūzu'indī ghayruhā* (similarly vol. 1, p. 285, l 16, and p. 307, l 23, etc.; cf. above, p. 480 n. 64 and 65).

<sup>99</sup> For example, vol. 1, p. 266, l 2: ... *al-qirā'ati l-jā'iyat majr' al-ḥujja bi-naql man lā yajūz 'alayhi fī-mā naqalūhu mujmī'ina 'alayhi l-khaṭa'u wa-l-sahw wa-l-kadhib*; further, cf. the frequently repeated requirement of transmission that it must be *mustafīd*, "widely-held." (For example, above, p. 475 n. 26, and below, p. 485 n. 101).

<sup>100</sup> See below, p. 502 sqq.

<sup>101</sup> For example, vol. 1, p. 300, l 30, *luḡhatān ma'rūfatān wa-qirā'atān mustafīdatān* (cf. p. 428 n. 96) *fī amṣār al-Islāmī*; vol. 28, p. 30, l 17, *qirā'atān ma'rūfatān ṣaḥīhatā l-ma'nā*; vol. 13, p. 105, l 28, *qirā'atān mashhūrātān qad qara'a bi-kull wāḥida min-humā a'imma min al-qurrā' ma'nā-humā wāḥid* (on sūra 14:2; it is typical that this is one of the passages where Ibn Qutayba differs from Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, see above, p. 484 n. 96); cf. further, vol. 1, p. 214, l 6, and p. 293, l 23, etc.—That the decision is optional (*takhyīr*) happens also in older authorities, for example, Abū 'Amr in AL-DĀNĪ, *Taysīr fī l-qirā'āt al-sab'* on sūra 89 at the end; al-Kisā'ī, according to some of the transmitters, in Makki b. Abī Ṭālib al-Qaysī, *al-Kashf 'an wujūh al-qirā'āt wa-'ilalihā wa-ḥujajihā*, on sūras 1:3, 55:56, 67:11, and 79:11.

<sup>102</sup> For example, he states (*Ma'ānī l-Qur'an* on sūra 2:1) that sūra 3:1, *الم الله al-qirā'a bi-tarḥ al-hamz*.

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*Ikhtiyār*<sup>103</sup> is not necessarily tied to the dogma of the majority, and does not even mean selection from a more narrow circle of variant readings.<sup>104</sup> The older technical meaning of the word refers to a reader who is mainly following an older authority, but departs from it in some isolated instances and follows his own way. We thus hear of the *ikhtiyār* of Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Abī Sāra AL-RUʿĀSĪ<sup>105</sup> and (Abū Muḥammad) al-Yazīdī (d. 202/817<sup>106</sup>) who generally follow Abū ʿAmr (b. al-ʿAlāʾ), or of the *ikhtiyār* of Khalaf (b. Hishām al-Bazzār, d. 229/843)<sup>107</sup> (based on Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb),<sup>108</sup> and of (Abū l-ʿAbbās) AL-FADL IBN IBRĀHĪM al-Naḥwī al-Kūfī (based on al-Kisāʾī).<sup>109</sup> The verb *ikhtāra* also applies to transmitters like Warsh ʿan Nāfi<sup>110</sup> or Ḥafṣ (b. Sulaymān) ʿan ʿĀṢIM (b. al-ʿAjjāj AL-JAḤDARĪ)<sup>111</sup> who more seriously modify the *qirāʾa* of their teacher. In a wider sense *ikhtiyār* is used nearly synonymously with *qirāʾa*<sup>112</sup> = the closed and independent Koranic reading of a particular authority. The only difference seems to be the low opinion associated with the expression *ikhtiyār*.<sup>113</sup>

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*Ijmāʿ* and *ikhtiyār* are common terms of the science of variant readings as well as of *fiqh*, and originate most likely from the latter field. The technical terms of this provenance include the afore-mentioned *raʾy*<sup>114</sup> (its

<sup>103</sup> Or its equivalent, *takhayyur*, e.g., al-Dhahabī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Berlin Ms. Or. folio, 1340), 18<sup>r</sup> of al-Kisāʾī; Yāqūt, *al-Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 500, l 1, from Ibn Miqṣam.

<sup>104</sup> E.g., also Ibn Miqṣam (see above, p. 475 sq.) considers his procedure to be *ikhtiyār* as is evident from Yāqūt, *al-Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 500, l 13.

<sup>105</sup> Fl. 170/786–193/809; a well-known Kūfan grammarian; cf. Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Berlin Ms., cod. simul., 55) 193<sup>v</sup>. [*EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 125–126].

<sup>106</sup> E.g., Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Berlin Ms., cod. simul. 55), fol. 266<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>107</sup> E.g., his expression is used by Ibn Miqdām in Yāqūt, *al-Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 500, l 13.

<sup>108</sup> Because of the dependency on Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb it is also said of al-Kisāʾī *ikhtāra* and *takhayyara*, respectively (al-Dhahabī, *Ṭabaqāt* [Berlin Ms. or., folio 3140] 17<sup>v</sup>, and see below, p. 486 n. 103; and below, p. 490). The same way the reading of Ḥamza represents the background for the *ikhtiyār* of Muḥammad b. Saʿdān (see above, p. 484 n. 96 sq., and Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 135–136), and still the one of al-Ṭabarī.

<sup>109</sup> Yāqūt, *al-Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 134; cf. Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Berlin Ms, cod. simul. 55), fol. 165 r.

<sup>110</sup> E.g., al-Dānī, *al-Taysīr fī l-qirāʾāt al-sabʿ* on sūra 6, end.

<sup>111</sup> E.g., al-Dānī, *Taysīr* on sūra 30:53.—Other *mukhtārīn* see below, p. 510 sqq.

<sup>112</sup> E.g., Ibn al-Jazarī (*Ṭabaqāt* [Berlin Ms., cod. simul. 55] fol. 85<sup>r</sup>) considers (Abū Ḥaywa) Shurayḥ b. Yazīd al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 203/818) the *ṣāhib al-qirāʾa al-shādhḥa*, and then speaks about his *ikhtiyār*. Cf. also below, p. 494 sq.

<sup>113</sup> Later it was differentiated between the recognized readings, *qirāʾa* or *rivāya*, and the non-recognized readings called *ikhtiyār*; thus ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (b.) AL-ṢAFRĀWĪ (died 636/1238 [Brockelmann, *GAL*, suppl. 2, p. 727]), *Taqrīb* (Berlin Ms no. 613), fol. 4 v sqq.; Niẓām al-Dīn al-Ḥasan AL-NĪSĀBŪRĪ (d. ca. 706/1306; see above, p. 406 n. 129) in the section *dhikr al-aʿimma al-mukhtārīn* in the introduction to his commentaries on the Koran.

<sup>114</sup> See above, p. 474 sq.

verb is also to be found<sup>115</sup>), further, *istiḥbāb*,<sup>116</sup> synonymous with *ikhtiyār*, then *qiyās*,<sup>117</sup> and the verb *akhadha* (with *bi*-<sup>118</sup>) with the meaning “to accept a variant reading, etc., to decide on it,” thus, to exercise *ikhtiyār* to one’s advantage. The term *ijtihād*,<sup>119</sup> as might have been expected, is missing. This is based on the fundamental difference between *fiqh* and the Koranic readings. In *fiqh* there are given facts, and on the basis of *uṣūl* the *mujtahid* passes the appropriate *ḥukm*, but still on the basis of his individual judgement. If the decision consists of choosing between different possibilities, these themselves are thus construed by him and his equals at the time when the problem is considered. In the science of Koranic variant readings different possibilities exist *a priori*, which, according to the prevalent dogma, are all equally divine<sup>120</sup> so that the reader need do no more than choose from among them.<sup>121</sup>

Part of the dogma of majority is the division of variant readings into *mash-hūr*<sup>122</sup> and *shādhdh*,<sup>123</sup> canonical and uncanonical. *Shādhdh* might be considered a borrowing from grammar, where the expression plays an important role. However, there it is a relative concept that becomes meaningful only by its complement: In grammar *shādhdh* ‘*an al-qiyās* “contrary to analogy,” in the science of variant readings—as al-Ṭabarī puts it—<sup>124</sup> (*shādhdh*) ‘*an qirāʾat al-amṣār* “remaining outside the variant readings recognized by the leading Islamic centres.” Possibly even older is the expression, *al-qiraʾāt*

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<sup>115</sup> E.g., al-Dānī (d. 444/1052), *Taysīr*, chapter *al-idghām al-kabīr*, section *al-ḥarfayn al-mutaqāribayn* says: *kāna Ibn Mujāhidin jarā l-idghām fi ...*, “he considered it to be right.” I have not come across older references.

<sup>116</sup> al-Dānī, *Taysīr*, chapter *al-waqf ‘alā awākhir al-kalim*.

<sup>117</sup> See below, p. 487.

<sup>118</sup> E.g., al-Dānī, *al-Taysīr fi l-qirāʾat al-sabʿ* on sūras 41, 44, and 89 end.

<sup>119</sup> Isolated instance: Anyone could say, ‘*alā mā huwa l-aḥsan ‘indahu ijtihādan* (Nöldeke in the first edition of this book, *Seite* 279, from a source unknown to me [Bergsträsser]). As a rule, the application of *ijtihād* to the variant readings of the Koran is explicitly rejected (see above, p. 475 n. 27). In the above-mentioned passage (on sūra 6:138), p. 424, Ibn al-Munayyir blames al-Zamakhsharī for the conception, *anna l-qurrāʾ aʾimmat al-wujūh al-sabʿa ikhtāra kull minhum ḥarfayn qaraʾa bi-hi ijtihādan lā naqlan wa-samāʿan*.

<sup>120</sup> In so far as they are not forged (*mawḍūʿ*); cf. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, *nawʿ* 26.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 51, l 17 sqq.

<sup>122</sup> An approximate synonym for *maʿrūf*, see, e.g., above, p. 485 n. 101.

<sup>123</sup> Already Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 223/838); further, e.g., Yāqūt, *al-Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 302, l 11 (from older source).

<sup>124</sup> E.g., Ṭabarī, *juzʿ*/vol. 8, p. 61, l 4; cf. vol. 13, p. 147, l 25, and see above, p. 475 n. 26. Al-Ṭabarī also applies the word to the reader, not the variant reading ... *shudhūdh al-qārīʾi ʿammā ʿalayhi l-ḥujja mujmiʿatun fi dhālika*, vol. 1, p. 285, l 18; cf. vol. 1, p. 87, l 15; and p. 307, l 24, etc. (similarly Nāfiʿ, below, p. 489).

*al-shādhhdha al-khārija ‘an al-muṣḥaf*:<sup>125</sup> deviations from the ‘Uthmānic text that were first excluded by *ijmā’*.<sup>126</sup>

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When *shādhhdh* is substantially related to the notion of “deviation from the ‘Uthmānic *muṣḥaf*”—but more than this—one must expect that the approach (more precisely the *ḥukm*) of the *shawādhhdh*, in so far as they do not deviate from the *muṣḥaf*, will be related to the non-‘Uthmānic variants<sup>127</sup> but more lenient. Indeed, even later generations prohibit *al-qirā’a bi-l-shawādhhdh* only at the ritual prayer, but otherwise tolerate it;<sup>128</sup> like the non-‘Uthmānic versions of the text they might serve as explanations of the recognized readings.

### *Standardization of Variant Readings*

The elimination of the variants of the ‘Uthmānic *muṣḥaf*, as well as the reading variants freely construed without consideration for tradition, is only part of the great process of the standardization of the text of the Koran, its reading, and the establishment of a *textus receptus*. The driving force in this endeavour is the doctrine of the majority, or more generally, the catholic tendency, the convergence within the development of Islam. The process of standardization prevails in the history of the text of the Koran throughout the first centuries, and is nearly completed at the time of Ibn Mujāhid (died 324/936), when the rigid form of traditionalism was triumphant.

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Even apart from the non-‘Uthmānic variants, the most superficial comparison of the superabundance of uncanonical variant readings in a list,<sup>129</sup> and the inadequacy of the variants in one of the well-known works on

<sup>125</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 39, l 19, referring to Ibn Shannabūdh (d. 328/939; see above, p. 467 sqq.); in Yāqūt, *al-Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 302, l 10, Ibn Shannabūdh himself promises: *lā ukhālif muṣḥaf ‘Uthmān wa-lā aqra’u illā bi-mā fihi min al-qirā’at al-mashhūra*.

<sup>126</sup> See above, p. 464 sq.

<sup>127</sup> See above, p. 464 sq.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, *naw’*, 35, *ma’s’ala* 21 (ed. Sprenger, p. 256, l 22), and further Taqī l-Dīn AL-SUBKĪ (d. 756; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 86); in Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 44, l 6, cites al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, *naw’* 22–27, *tanbīh* 3 (ed. Sprenger, p. 191, l 22). The question whether or not it is permissible to read what deviates from the *muṣḥaf* is frequently not explicitly answered. (e.g., *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 1, l 14 sq.)

<sup>129</sup> The material contained in the *Muhtasab* of Ibn Jinnī (mainly from Ibn Mujāhid) and in the *Shawādhhdh* of al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad IBN KHĀLAWAYH (d. 370/980) [*EF*; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 169–171], I [Bergsträßer] intend to present shortly in the *Nichtkanonischen Koranlesearten*. As a complement must be considered first of all the second Seven since they are available in the *Ithāf* of al-Dimiyāṭi al-Bannā’ on the Fourteen (the Three after the Seven also in Ibn al-Jazarī’s *al-Nashr*, etc.).



the Seven Readings shows how enormously the reading of the text was standardized. It is particularly significant that not only were variant readings suppressed that touched upon the linguistic or essential interpretation of the text—one might be tempted to assume that they belong to the freely forged (*mawḍūʿ*) variant readings that were abandoned as a matter of principle—but also purely dialectical differences were reduced to a minimum. The literature of variant readings alone makes this obvious, but the standardization is in reality still stronger than one would expect, because the lists of uncanonical variant readings undoubtedly also represents nothing but a poor selection from among the former multiplicity of readings. A striking example follows: The pronunciation *bi-hū, fī-hu (fī-hū)*, etc. instead *bi-hī, fī-hi (fī-hī)* etc., as far as I can make out, has completely disappeared<sup>130</sup> from the literature of variant readings.<sup>131</sup> Sibawayh, however, says (§ 503): *wa-ahl al-Ḥijāz yaqūlūna “marartu bi-hu qabl” wa-“laday-hu māl” wa-yaqraʿūna “fa-khasafnā bi-hu wa-bi-dārihi l-arḍ”* (sūra 28:81). This is in accordance with the extraordinarily frequent vocalization in the Kūfī fragments of the Koran, a fact that we shall deal with later.

The standardization can be observed also within the better known Koranic readings, namely in the reciprocal relation of older and newer readings of identical provenance. Among those cases, e.g., in which the Medinan Nāfiʿ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 169/785) deviates from his predecessor, Abū Jaʿfar Yazīd IBN AL-QAʿQĀʿ al-Makhzūmī from Medina (died 130/747 or 138/755), a great portion is made up of those in which Nāfiʿ abandons isolated readings. Extremely rare are those in which he conversely changes from a common reading to a less common one. The rest consists of cases in which Nāfiʿ mixes known variant readings.<sup>132</sup> This cannot be an accident. All sorts of statements

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<sup>130</sup> An exception are only cases in which the following word begins with *waṣl*; here (according to al-Dimyāṭī al-Bannāʾ, *Ithāf*, chapter *hāʾ al-kināya*) Ibn Muḥayṣin pronounces *bihunzur bihullāhu* etc. (the first one, sūra 6:46), also Warsh ʿan Nāfiʿ according to one transmission.

<sup>131</sup> Also K. Vollers, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*, does not mention them in the section on suffixes (p. 144 sqq.)

<sup>132</sup> E.g., in the second sūra Nāfiʿ abandons the following variant readings of Abū Jaʿfar Yazīd IBN AL-QAʿQĀʿ which none of the Seven advocates: 2:32 (and similar ones frequently) *li-malāʾikatu isjudū* (instead of *malāʾikati isjudū*); 2:73 (and similar ones frequently) *amāniya* (instead of *amāniyya*); 2:160 twice *inna* instead of *anna*; 2:168 (and similar ones frequently) *al-mayyitata* (instead of *al-maytata*); *ibid.*, *manuḍṭirra* (instead of *mani/udṭurra*); 2:181 (and similar ones frequently) *al-yusura, al-ʿusura* (instead of *al-yusra, al-ʿusra*); 2:206 *wa-l-malāʾikati* (instead of *wa-l-malāʾikatu*); 2:209 (and similar ones frequently) *li-yuḥkama* (instead of *li-yahkuma*); 2:233 (and similar ones frequently) *tudār* (not quite certain, instead of *tudārru* and *tudārra* respectively). Only in three passages, and only Nāfiʿ, conversely changes from Abū Jaʿfar IBN AL-QAʿQĀʿs common variant reading to a variant reading that makes him the

transmitted from him would indicate that Nāfi' indeed assimilated his reading to that of the majority. He is said to have stated: *qara'tu 'alā sab'īna min al-tābi'īna fa-mā ijta'mā'a 'alayh ithnāni akhadhtuhu wa-mā shadhdha fi-hi wāhidun taraktuhu hattā allaftu hādhihi l-qirā'a*;<sup>133</sup> and questioned about the pronunciation of *dhī'b bī'r* he is said to have renounced his own dialectal pronunciation *dhīb bīr* in favour of the more common pronunciation with *hamzah* by replying *kānat al-'Arab tahmizu-hā fa-ihmiz-hā*.<sup>134</sup> There is a similar report by Ibn Mujāhid through al-Kisā'ī (d. 189/804): *Ikhtāra min qirā'ati Ḥamzata wa-qirā'ati ghayrihi qirā'atan mutawassīṭatan ghayra khāri-jatin min āthāri man taqaddama min al-ʿimmati*.<sup>135</sup>

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Apart from the script itself, the first thing agreed upon were the diacritical marks of the consonantal letters.<sup>136</sup> The Koranic reading of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (died 110/728) contained quite a number of peculiar pointings,<sup>137</sup> although even there they were seemingly on the way out. Differences in pointing were quite rare in the Seven Readings.<sup>138</sup>

In passages in which the different vocalizations reflect the difference of both linguistic and substantial interpretations, the standardization of the reading did not in every case lead to a uniformity of opinion. A progressive technique of interpretation made it now possible to interpret the standard

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sole person among the Seven: In 2:113 Nāfi' reads *tas'al* (instead of *tus'alu*); 2:210, *yaqūla* (instead of *yaqūlu*); and 2:247 (and similar ones frequently) *'asīṭum* (instead of *'asaytum*).

<sup>133</sup> Makki b. Abī Ṭalīb, *Ibāna* (Berlin Ms. 578), p. 499sq. (cf. Nöldeke in the first edition of this book, *Seite* 285sq); similarly al-Dhahabī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Berlin Ms. cod. Or. folio, no. 3140) fol. 15<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>134</sup> al-Dhahabī, loc. cit.

<sup>135</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī *Ṭabaqāt* (Berlin Ms. cod. simul., 55) 141<sup>r</sup> = Taṣkōprülüzade, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda* (Hyderabad, 1328/1910), vol. 1, p. 380, l 9sq.; similarly already Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *ibid.*

<sup>136</sup> Particularly the punctuation of the preformatives of the imperfect was for a long time the source of disagreement (cf. above, p. 476); but also between *-tu-* and *-nā-* before a suffix (the *ā* was not written, see above, p. 412), between *-ā-* and *-at-* before the suffix of III. Form verbs *yā'* (the *ā* was written *ى*, see above, p. 415sq.; examples, sūras 3:33, *nādahu: nādathu*; 6:61, *tawaffāhu: tawaffathu*; 6:70, *istahwāhu: istahwathu*), the Seven still vary between feminine ending and suffix *ا* (examples, sūras 17:40, *sayyī'atan: sayyī'uhu*; 31:19, *nī'matan: nī'amahu*); between *bi-hādī* and *tahdī*, sūra 27:83; or *yatanājawna* and *yantajūna*, sūra 58:9.

<sup>137</sup> Bergsträsser, "Die Koranlesung des Ḥasan von Baṣra," p. 51.

<sup>138</sup> Sūra 2:216, Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb and al-Kisā'ī read *kathīrun*, the others *kabīrun*; sūra 2:261, the Kūfans, *nunshizuhā*, the others, *nunshiruhā*; sūra 4:96 (twice). Sūra 49:6, Ḥamza and al-Kisā'ī, *tathabbatū* the others *tabayyanū*, the others, *tabayyanū*; sūras 7:55, 25:50, 27:64, 'Aṣim al-Yahdarī, *bushrān*, the others forms of *NSHR*; sūra 10:31, Ḥamza and al-Kisā'ī *tatlū* and the others *tablū*; sūra 29:58, the same two, *nuthwiyannahum*, the others *nubawwīannahum*; sūra 43:18, Nāfi', Ibn Kathīr al-Kinānī, and Ibn 'Amir, *'inda*, the others, *'ibādu*. On sūra 6:57 see above, p. 494.

text differently or, by way of acrobatic interpretations, achieve the same end for which one had abandoned the most obvious vocalization or, in early times, even changed consonants. One way or the other, *sharī'a*, the Islamic canon law, as well as faith, often established their own self-interests against contradictory verses of the Koran. For both cases we will give one example each.

First: In sūra 5:8,<sup>139</sup> it reads: *fa-ghsilū wujūhakum wa-aydiyakum ilā l-marāfiqi wa-msaḥū bi-ru'ūsikum wa-arjulikum ilā l-ka'bayni*; though it is required, it suffices when the feet are wiped off.<sup>140</sup> From an early time the stricter practice was favoured, namely that the feet be washed. This could be read into the verse by adopting the strained reading, *wa-arjulakum* and by considering *wa-imsaḥū bi-ru'ūsikum* a parenthesis. This controversy can be dated by the fact that already Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) offered a compromise. He read *wa-arjulukum* so that this would begin a new sentence according to taste, with the predicate of either *ghsilūhā* or *imsaḥū bi-hā*. The canonical schools of *fiqh* unanimously adopted the dogma that washing is *fard*. Still, half of the Seven retain the variant reading *wa-arjulikum*.<sup>141</sup> The apparent contradiction is harmonized by explanation; al-Bayḍāwī says: *wa-jarrahū l-bāqūna 'alā l-jiwāri*. The genitive is to be explained by the attraction of the case to the neighbouring *ru'ūsikum*. [iii/141]

Second: In sūra 11:44, the sinner whom tradition names Kan'ān becomes the son of Noah by the words *wa-nādā Nūḥun ibnahu*; this was considered incompatible with his dignity of a prophet. It was first corrected *إبناها* [*ibnaha*]: he was merely his foster son. Later, without change of the consonantal text, it was merely vocalized differently, *ibnaha 'alā ḥadhf al-alif*. The Seven unanimously read *ibnahu*; one was content to interpret *ibn* as *rabīb*.<sup>142</sup>

The crystallization of the *textus receptus* probably developed in two stages which, however, overlapped in time: At first, coming to an agreement within each *miṣr*,<sup>143</sup> and then among the *amṣār*. The first step had already [iii/142]

<sup>139</sup> Cf. to the following, Bergsträßer, "Die Koranlesung des Ḥasan von Baṣra," p. 24sq. in addition also al-Jaṣṣās [*EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 444–445], *Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, vol. 2, p. 345sqq.

<sup>140</sup> The passage has actually nothing to do with the *mash' alā l-khuffayn*, the wiping over the feet. I. Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic theology*, p. 207, and his *Schools of Koranic commentators*, pp. 4–5.

<sup>141</sup> Nāfi', Ibn 'Amir, and Ḥafs b. Sulaymān 'an 'Āṣim al-Jahḍarī and al-Kisā'ī read "a"; whereas Ibn Kathīr al-Kinānī, Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā, and Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn IBN MIHRĀN 'an 'Āṣim and Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb read "i".

<sup>142</sup> E.g., al-Bayḍāwī, s.v.

<sup>143</sup> A contrasting example is Ibn Muḥayṣin (d. 122/739 or 123/740) of whom Ibn Muḥāhid says (in Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* [Berlin Ms., cod. simul. 55], 207<sup>r</sup>): *kāna li-Ibn Muḥayṣin ikhtiyār*

been completed at the time of Sibawayh (d. 177/793 or 180/796),<sup>144</sup> as he seems to presume a Baṣran standard reading;<sup>145</sup> he also knows of local readings in other centres,<sup>146</sup> with the exception of Damascus, which does not seem to have been considered.<sup>147</sup> The *ikhtiyār* of Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Salām and Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī (see above, p. 482 sqq.) completes the second step. If this development had continued unabated, it would have to lead to the acceptance of a text in the entire Orient and Europe, which would have been far less accidental than the eventually canonized text of Abū ‘Umar ḤAṢṢ IBN SULAYMĀN ‘an ‘ĀṢIM b. al-‘Ajāj al-JAḤDARĪ. The development came to a halt because with Ibn Mujāhid a narrow traditionalism arose which had been bred within the school of Koran and which did not permit combining variant readings of different provenance;<sup>148</sup> rather, it demanded that every Koranic reading be passed on unchanged in its entirety. Although

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*fi l-qir’at ... fa-kharaja bihi ‘an ijmā’ ahl baladihi fa-raghiba l-nās ‘an qir’atihi wa-ajma’ū ‘alā qir’at Ibn Kathīr.* This establishes the development of a local *textus receptus* of Mecca at a very early time.

<sup>144</sup> Similarly also al-Farrā’ (d. 207/822) in *Ma‘ānī l-Qur‘ān* [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, p. 124], e.g., *ahl al-Madīna* on sūra 11:43, and often; but also al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) who, however, with his pedantic conscientiousness mostly emphasizes that it is only a majority of the readers of the respective city that reads this way: *mu‘azzam ahl al-Kūfa* ([Ṭabarī,] *juz’*/vol. 1, p. 95, l 2) and ... *al-Madīna wa-l-Ḥijāz wa-l-Baṣra*, l 3, ‘*āmmat qurrā’ al-Kūfa* (vol. 1, p. 295, l 23) and ... *al-Madīna*, l 24, ‘*āmmat qurrā’ al-Madīna wa-l-Sha’m* (vol. 13, p. 105, l 18) and ... *ahl al-Ṭrāq wa-l-Kūfa wa-l-Baṣra*, l 19, etc.; but also simply *ahl al-Sha’m* (vol. 8, p. 31, l 3) and *al-qurrā’ min al-Ḥijāz wa-l-Ṭrāq wa-l-Sha’m*, l 26, and similarly often.

<sup>145</sup> This can be seen from the fact that he does not know the Baṣrans as a unit, rather he occasionally mentions individual Baṣran readers, most frequently Abū ‘Amr (§§ 151, 304, and often), less frequently ‘Abd Allāh IBN ABĪ IṢḤĀQ AL-ḤAḌRAMĪ, d. 117/735 or 127/745 [*EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, pp. 36–37]; (see below, p. 513) and ‘Isā b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafī (see above, p. 474 sq., [§ 269]). The conjecture ought to be verified by an investigation of the numerous Koranic citations and discussions of anonymous variant readings in Sibawayh.

<sup>146</sup> *Ahl al-Madīna* §§ 136, 243, and often; *ahl al-Makka* §§ 503, 506 (twice) and *ahl al-Ḥijāz* §§ 240, 503; *ahl al-Kūfa* §§ 244, 568; and *al-Kūfyūyīn* § 222. In the last passage Sibawayh cites as authority for the Kūfans Abū ‘Abd Allāh HĀRŪN IBN MŪSĀ al-A‘war (see above, p. 446 [and Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 43–44]) who provides him with information on variant readings elsewhere (§§ 241, 503, 568.)

<sup>147</sup> It ought to be investigated whether Sibawayh without providing names or locations considered Damascene variant readings.—When later in the works on variant readings Kūfans are mentioned, this has no longer anything to do with the directly identified local variant readings, rather it is an abridgement for the congruity of ‘Āṣim al-Jahdarī, Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb and al-Kisā‘ī, respectively, as well as other nisbas.

<sup>148</sup> The question of *tarkīb* continues to be debated in the later science of variant readings (cf. e.g., Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 18, l 12 sqq., and from this, al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, *naw’* 35, *mas’ala* 23 [Sprenger ed., p. 258, l 10 sqq.]). But here it is no longer the question whether it is permissible to choose one’s own *ikhtiyār* from among the variant readings of different provenance, but only in which case it is permitted or prohibited to change from the recognized readings to yet another one.

efforts of the science of variant readings to evaluate of the individual readings critically—even if not critical in our sense of the word—continued for some time, they remained without any outside effect.

*Koranic Teaching and the Variant Readings*

The teaching of the variant readings probably saw its most schematized formation in the fifth and sixth centuries. Al-Qāsim b. Firruh AL-SHĀṬIBĪ (d. 590/1193), for example, demanded from a pupil who likewise wanted to become a teacher of the Koran, that for the study of each individual *qirā'a* of the Seven he had to recite the entire Koran (*khatma*) three times, once each according to one of the two canonical transmissions (*riwāya*), and then once again according to both together (*jam*).<sup>149</sup> But with this accomplished, the pupil had acquired the knowledge of the readings of only the *Shāṭibīyya*; in the study of each additional school manual the Koran had again to be recited according to this *qirā'a* (*bi-muḍammanihi*) more or less often. Later the requirements somewhat lessened. At any rate, a man like Ibn al-Jazarī, who dedicated his life to the science of variant readings and studied all the available relevant works—according to the list of *isnāds*<sup>150</sup> in his main work—must have studied the Koran extraordinarily often according to all possible variants. Before the time of al-Shāṭibī the requirements were, if anything, higher: 'Alī b. Aḥmad AL-WĀḤIDĪ<sup>151</sup> (d. 468/1075) after innumerable *khatmas* still did not master the whole transmission (*tariqa*) of Abū Bakr Aḥmad IBN MIHRĀN (295/908–381/991),<sup>152</sup> Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī AL-ḤUṢRĪ (d. 488/1095),<sup>153</sup> needed seventy *khatmas* to study the Seven with a teacher.<sup>154</sup> Already Ibn Mujāhid (d. 324/936) did not permit a pupil to get beyond the reading of 'ĀṢIM b. al-'Ajjāj AL-JAḤDARĪ for years in numerous *khatmas*.<sup>155</sup> But particularly in earlier days there was no lack of deviations. AL-DĀNĪ (d. 444/1052) did not consider it superfluous to boast<sup>156</sup> that

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<sup>149</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 2, p. 188, 7sqq., in a very interesting chapter devoted entirely to teaching, entitled *Bayān ifrād al-qirā'āt wa-jam'ihā* (study of every individual reading for itself or several together), vol. 2, pp. 187–198 (very brief also in al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, *naw'* 34, *faṣl* 4 [Sprenger ed., p. 239sqq.]).

<sup>150</sup> *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, pp. 57–98.

<sup>151</sup> *EQ*; *EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 112 and 113.

<sup>152</sup> Yāqūt, *al-Irshād*, vol. 5, p. 101, 3; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9 (1984), pp. 191–192.

<sup>153</sup> *EP*.

<sup>154</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 2, p. 187, l 11.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, l 16.

<sup>156</sup> *Jāmi'* *al-bayān* (Istanbul Ms, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, 62), 2<sup>r</sup>: *wa-afradtu qirā'at*

he accepted the transmission of only such men who had acquired the respective recital through practical experience, but not through theoretical instruction or the study of manuals.

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The teaching methods as described—particularly if the recital of the Koran as demanded by Ibn al-Jazarī<sup>157</sup> was prepared by learning by heart a particular work on variant readings—could indeed guarantee the unbroken transmission of every individual variant reading and peculiarity of pronunciation; and this independent of written fixation, but how much more so with such aid. But these methods did not exist from the very beginning. They are unlikely to go back to before the time of Ibn Mujāhid, and are probably created only by him, who is generally remembered for his rigorous Koranic instruction.<sup>158</sup> That a similarly rigid tradition does not even go back to the authors of the Koranic readings that carry their name, emerges from their radical differences—not only in the subtleties of pronunciation—between both Ibn ‘Amir’s canonical *riwāya* of the reading and particularly that of ‘Āṣim al-Jahdarī.<sup>159</sup> Whatever we know of the teaching methods of the second and third centuries AH confirms and explains these phenomena. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān IBN ABĪ LAYLĀ al-Anṣārī<sup>160</sup> does not dare to correct the mistake of a pupil, fearing that he might be right.<sup>161</sup> Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’<sup>162</sup> (d. 145/762), Nāfi‘ b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān<sup>163</sup> (d. 169/785), and more so ‘Alī b. Ḥamza AL-KISĀ’Ī<sup>164</sup> (died 189/804) offer several variant readings to choose from (*takhyīr*). Nāfi‘ b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Laythī accepts any reading that he himself has once heard, and teaches his own reading (*ikhtiyār*)<sup>165</sup> only on

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*kull wāḥidin min al-a‘imma bi-riwāyat man akhadha l-qirā’a ‘anhu tilāwatan wa-addā l-ḥurūf ‘anhu ḥikāyatan dūna man naqalahā samā’an fi l-kutub wa-riwāyatan fi l-ṣuḥuf.* Synonyms of *tilāwatan* and *ḥikāyatan* is *arḍan*: The pupil recites, the teacher corrects (*yaruddu ‘alayhi* with accusative of the mistakes and *bi-* for the correction to be inserted). This type of teaching is called *talqīn* (already al-Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām al-Qur’ān* [Constantinople, 1335] p. 445, l 4 of Ibn Mas‘ūd); one may therefore say *akhadha ‘anhu l-qirā’ata arḍan wa-talqīnan* (Yāqūt, *al-Irshād*, vol. 4, p. 118, l 6).

<sup>157</sup> *al-Nashr*, vol. 2, p. 191, l 21.

<sup>158</sup> Yāqūt, *al-Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 118, l 13 sqq.

<sup>159</sup> More on the subject later.

<sup>160</sup> 74/693–148/765; *EP*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 538, col. 2; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 518.

<sup>161</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Berlin Ms., Or. fol. 3140), 16<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>162</sup> al-Dānī, *Taysīr fi l-qirā’āt al-sab’* on sūra 89, the end; Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, *al-Kashf ‘an wujūh al-qirā’ā wa-‘ilalihā wa-ḥujajihā*, on sūra 28:60.

<sup>163</sup> Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, *al-Kashf ‘an wujūh al-qirā’āt*, on sūra 1:3.

<sup>164</sup> Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, *al-Kashf*, on sūras 55:56, 67:11, and often.

<sup>165</sup> Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, *Ibāna* (Berlin Ms, 578), 508, in a separate chapter on the causes of the deviations between different transmissions of the same *qirā’a*; al-Dhahabī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Berlin Ms, Or. fol. 3140) 15<sup>v</sup>.

demand. Al-Kisāī can only cope with the throng of pupils by reciting himself instead of the pupils, while they are sitting and point (e.g. vocalize) their *maṣāḥif*.<sup>166</sup> As in this case, also everywhere else the written copy must have presented considerable competition to the theory of the solely sanctioned oral teaching. This is evident from the mass of old Koranic manuscript fragments, and their conscientious provision with reading signs, and even references to variants. This is also documented by separate statements of scholars: No matter how esteemed a calligrapher might be in belletristic circles, there is the equally strong warning against resorting to the *muṣḥafī* as the source of Koranic wisdom.<sup>167</sup>

What the great *imāms* of Koranic variants, the eponyms of the Seven, Fourteen, and other Readings performed was thus instruction in the Koran, but not instruction in variant readings. More or less tolerant towards deviations, they taught Koranic recitation according to one way, namely everyone his own. It occurred only to the very latest of them to teach other than their own *ikhtiyār* and also pass on the reading of their teachers. Particularly the earliest among them, Khalaf b. Hishām al-Bazzār (died 229/843), was at the same time one of the two main traditionists of Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb al-Taymī. The century that separates him from Ibn Mujāhid (d. 324/936) developed these approaches to the later “scientific” teaching of the variant readings, which centres on the transmission of a host of compact readings side by side.

After what has been said, the purpose of the *isnāds* leading from the great *imāms* down to the Prophet cannot represent the transmission of the individual reading of the predecessors in its unchanged totality. All this says no more than that the later authority in the chain of authorities took lessons on the Koran from the preceding authority—and this according to the opinion of posterity, which in some cases might indeed go back to his own statement. At best, these *isnāds* can thus indicate the circle from which a certain reading evolved.

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<sup>166</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 18<sup>r</sup>. Ibn Mujāhid says: *kāna l-nās ya'khudhūna 'anhu alfāzahu bi-qirā'atihi 'alayhim* (ibid.). Something similar is reported from Abū Yahyā AṬṬĪYAH IBN QAYS al-Kilābī al-Ḥimṣī (d. 121/738): *kāna l-nās yuṣliḥūna maṣāḥifahum 'alā qirā'atihi* (Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* [Berlin Ms, cod. simul., 55] 135<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>167</sup> Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī (d. 248/862 or 55/869) says: *lā ta'khudh al-Qur'ān 'ani l-muṣḥafī/i yīna*; similar statements are ascribed to the jurisconsults al-Shāfi'ī and [Sufyān] AL-THAWRĪ [EP; EQ; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 628–643] (al-Ja'barī, commentary on the *Shātibīyya*, towards the end of the introduction). Elsewhere (Ibn Jinnī, *Muhtasab* on sūra 37:52 and 53) ABŪ ḤĀTIM Sahl b. Muḥammad AL-SIJISTĀNĪ speaks of *ba'd al-juhāl* of the scribes of the Koran.

This much is certain: there had been instruction in the Koran already in the first century. The oldest totally unsuspecting evidence is Ibn Mujāhid's statement that Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān AL-SULAMĪ (d. 73/692 or 74/693) was the first man to have taught *al-qirā'a al-mujma'* 'alayhā at Kūfa, i.e., not the one of Ibn Mas'ūd.<sup>168</sup> It was also al-Sulamī who transmitted the tradition sanctioning the teaching of the Koran: *khayrukum man ta'allama l-Qur'āna wa-'allamahu*.<sup>169</sup> There are reports going back still further, according to which both Ibn Mas'ūd (d. 32/652 or 33/653), and Abū l-Dardā' ('Uwaymir al-Khazrajī, died 32/652),<sup>170</sup> *qādi* of Damascus, provided instruction in the Koran. As regards Ibn Mas'ūd, we only have the frequently cited legend of the pupil who could not pronounce "th".<sup>171</sup> It seems to be a copy of the identical narrative about Abū l-Dardā'.<sup>172</sup> It is quite likely that Ibn Mas'ūd was indeed concerned with spreading the Koran in his own recension, and that it won him a certain number of followers at Kūfa.<sup>173</sup> However, we must not imagine the governor of Kūfa to have been a professional instructor in the Koran. The acquaintance with the Koran of the Kūfan *qurrā'* that we encounter in the Battle of Šiffin is likely to have resulted in the first place from the study of *maṣāḥif* of the recension of Ibn Mas'ūd,<sup>174</sup> and then also of 'Uthmān.

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As far as Abū l-Dardā's activity as a teacher of the Koran is concerned, we have a detailed report<sup>175</sup> apart from the legend cited above. No matter how much this reminds us of narratives of the instruction of teachers of the Koran in historically better documented periods,<sup>176</sup> it probably cannot

<sup>168</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Berlin Ms, cod. simul., no. 55) 108f.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 108f; also in al-Bukhārī (*K. al-Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, *bāb* 21) he is the only one to transmit the tradition—from 'Uthmān. Already in Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 6): *Biographien der Kufier*, p. 119, 119 sqq. is he the authority for the teaching of the Koran. [Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 535, col. 1, "The most meritorious among you is he who studies the Qur'ān and instructs others."]

<sup>170</sup> See above, p. 463 n. 606; *EP*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.v.

<sup>171</sup> See p. 41 n. 131, and above, p. 463 n. 608.

<sup>172</sup> See above, p. 463 n. 608.

<sup>173</sup> See above, p. 455 n. 575.

<sup>174</sup> See above, p. 456 n. 578.

<sup>175</sup> Ibn 'Asākīr, *al-Ta'rīkh al-kabīr* (Damascus, 1329/1911), vol. 1, p. 69; al-Dhahabī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Berlin Ms. cod. Or. folio, 3140) 3' sq.; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Berlin Ms., cod. simul. 55), 159f = Tašköprüzade, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda* (Hyderabad, 1328/1910) vol. 1, p. 354, l 11 sqq. = *Mevzu'at ul-ulum*, vol. 1, p. 452, l 17 sqq.; the number of his pupils is here given as being over 1,600! Cf. further the report cited below, p. 517 n. 51, where, apart from Abū l-Dardā', also Mu'ādh b. Jabal (Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.v.) and 'Ubāda b. al-Šāmit (ibid.) are mentioned. According to Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, part 2): *Letzte Krankheit, Tod und Bestattung*, p. 108, l 2, Mu'ādh b. Jabal was a teacher of the Koran; also Abū Mūsā AL-ASH'ARĪ, ibid., p. 109, l 10.

<sup>176</sup> The habit to assign a pupil first to a *'arif* or subordinate *muqr'* is also practised by Ibn



be rejected outright because Damascus held a special place in the history of the transmission of the Koran later as well.<sup>177</sup> Unlike at Kūfa, where a pre-ʿUthmānic recension of the Koran might have been officially introduced at an early time, at Damascus the demand for instruction in the Koran was likely greater than at Kūfa.

Teaching the Koran does not mean the teaching of one reading (*qirāʾa*) but rather refers to teaching the Koran from the point of view of one particular reading; to be taught is as much part of life and the purpose of *qirāʾa* as is the private and ritual recital. In early times there must certainly have been discussions about the variant readings side by side with instruction in the Koran. The interest must have centred on the individual passage of the Koran with its numerous possibilities of pointing and vocalization. Whoever advocated the different ways of pronunciation had to take a second seat. This was in stark contrast to later when one begins with one reader and tries to find out how he read a passage. The textual expression of this ancient science of the variant readings we may best look for indirectly in the late dogmas of the Seven, the Ten, the Fourteen, etc.; it is expressed immediately in the individual readings. For various purposes it was of course possible to select at will representations of complete readings. Moreover, a vast number of individual readings are cited, predominantly in commentaries on the Koran as well as in works on *shawādhdh*<sup>178</sup> and *taʿlīl*,<sup>179</sup> but also in the grammatical-lexicographic literature and in books on *qirāʾāt* etc. which, although partly attributed to one of the well-known readers,<sup>180</sup> are either missing from the official presentation of his reading or cannot have been derived from any type of transmission, and which partly belong to readers outside the circle of the Fourteen Readers.<sup>181</sup> They show us an older scholarly tradition of Koranic variant readings, at home among philologists and theologians who pursued scientific investigations in the Koran, whereas the later science of *qirāʾāt* after Ibn Mujāhid developed basically from synopses of different forms of practical-cultic instruction in the Koran.

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Mujāhid, who employed eighty-four [deputy officials] *khalīfa* (Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 121, l 25).

<sup>177</sup> See pp. 435 and p. 460.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. p. 431 sq., and p. 445.

<sup>179</sup> = Justification of the acceptance of a variant reading. More later.

<sup>180</sup> Among the Seven Readers it is most frequently Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ.

<sup>181</sup> Cf. the index of my (Bergsträsser's) *Nichtkanonische Koranlesearten*.

*Criticism of the Transmission*

[iii/149] The above survey of the history of instruction in the Koran and variant readings offers at the same time a starting point for an evaluation of the reliability of the transmission of the variant readings. As far as the complete readings of the Koran from approximately 300AH onwards are concerned, much knowledge has certainly been lost, but serious changes have hardly taken place. For the period from 100AH to 300AH Muslim transmission deserves penetrating criticism; it tends to make more recent texts look much older. After all, the investigation of the Koranic reading of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728)—the oldest surviving and, at the same time, one of the weakest transmissions—resulted in the great likelihood that it reflects an approximate textual form which was used by him or at least by his immediate followers.<sup>182</sup> No single direct transmission of any of the complete readings of Koranic variants dates from the first century.

If the complete readings could be misrepresented by the incursion of foreign readings, in the case of individual variant readings there was the danger that they were ascribed to the wrong authorities.<sup>183</sup> In addition, a tradition which was merely taught—particularly when this was done in writing—was more readily subject to misunderstanding and occasional corruption.<sup>184</sup> Thus, in cases when there is a complete variant reading next to diverse single readings from one and the same reader, in principle the latter ones must be considered more likely to be the original. In the individual

<sup>182</sup> Bergsträßer, "Die Koranlesung des Ḥasan von Baṣra," p. 55, cf. p. 48 sqq.

<sup>183</sup> The classic example of a duplicate in which one of the two references must be wrong is the following: It is reported from both Ḥafṣa bt. 'Umar and 'Ā'isha that she particularly asked the scribe copying for her a *muṣḥaf* to insert *ṣalāti* (or *wa-ṣalāti*) *al-aṣr* in sūra 2:239 after *al-wustā*; both already in Mālik b. Anas, *Muwatta'*, section *al-ṣalāt al-wustā*, and Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *Fada'il* (Berlin Ms. 451), 37"; cf. Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic theology and law*, p. 15, no. 8, sq. [Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 393, col. 1]. This is unlikely to be a simple error, it is rather that the two versions are competing tendentious traditions, one of which is the favourite 'Ā'isha, who is generally considered the highest authority, and the other is Ḥafṣa, who in this special case was generally better qualified because of the role she played in the first semi-official collection of the Koran. Cf. further, the frequent fluctuation between Ibn Maṣ'ūd and Ubayy b. Ka'b, see above, p. 433 n. 302 and n. 314, 435 notes 331 and 334, p. 439 n. 377, p. 440 n. 402, p. 441 n. 418, p. 443 n. 439, p. 447 n. 474, p. 449 n. 491, p. 450 n. 501, and p. 453.—Extraordinary frequently contradicting variant readings are transmitted from one and the same reader; Ibn Mujāhid (in the *Muḥtasab* of Ibn Jinnī) usually points this out by adding *bi-khilāf* or a similar remark.

<sup>184</sup> Cf., e.g., above, p. 438 n. 367 and n. 374, p. 441 n. 413, p. 442 n. 425, p. 443 n. 439, p. 448 n. 483, p. 449 n. 495, p. 450 n. 505, and p. 451 n. 518; also Bergsträßer, "Die Koranlesung des Ḥasan von Baṣra," p. 48.

case, however, one can never be certain that the variant reading really originated from this particular person, and what it looked like.<sup>185</sup> The uncertainty becomes particularly great in the case of variant readings that are ascribed to authorities of the first century AH; here, the danger of tendentious fabrications is an additional aspect, and this the more so the closer we come to the Prophet.<sup>186</sup> In any case, the critical investigation of the reports about at least Ibn Mas‘ūd’s<sup>187</sup> Koran produced a more favourable result than might have been expected under the circumstances.<sup>188</sup>

Apart from Ibn Mas‘ūd (and Ubayy b. Ka‘b) a special place among the authorities of the first century AH belongs to ‘Abd Allāh IBN ‘ABBĀS (died in 68/687).<sup>189</sup> This is based on his importance for the case of *tafsīr*. The statements about his variant readings are part of the statements about his explanations and can only be appreciated together. As we cannot assume that the earliest authorities in particular were familiar with all of the Koran, one would expect each of them—except in indicated passages—to occur only in particular parts of the Koran. An investigation as to whether, and to what extent, this applies, might allow further conclusions regarding the degree of the reliability of a transmission.

Now and then Muslims as well criticized the reliability of the transmission of the variant readings. Criticism of the transmission is always likely to be of secondary importance because it was primarily the variant reading itself that was the target. Already Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) qualifies, and at the same time explains, his rejection of Ibn Mas‘ūd’s text by speaking of *al-qirā’a allatī tunsab ilā Ibn Mas‘ūd*.<sup>190</sup> Al-Zamakhsharī acquits himself

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<sup>185</sup> Cf. Bergsträsser, “Die Koranlesung des Ḥasan von Baṣra,” p. 48 sq.

<sup>186</sup> See above, note 183.

<sup>187</sup> They belong here to the transmission of individual variant readings since we no longer have a scholastically perpetuated and complete transmission of Ibn Mas‘ūd’s reading.

<sup>188</sup> See above, p. 445 sq.

<sup>189</sup> This is evident, for example, from *al-Kashf ‘an wujūh al-qirā’āt* of Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, where from among the early representatives of the canonical variant readings listed, Ibn ‘Abbās is the eldest. He is followed by Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān AL-SULAMĪ (see above p. 439) and Abū Sulaymān YAḤYĀ IBN YAMAR al-Adwānī (died before 90/708) [*EP*; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 33–34], who seems to have been of similar importance to Baṣra as did al-Sulamī to Kūfa. (See below, the chapter “The historical development.” p. 458). [*EP*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 1; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, pp. 21–22.]

<sup>190</sup> In Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, *Ibāna* (Berlin Ms. 578), 511. Similar, Sibawayh § 119, 269, 454; *al-qāḍī* Ismā‘īl b. Ishāq al-Mālikī, d. 282/895 (*Ibāna* 501);—cf. on Ubayy b. Ka‘b above, p. 455 n. 574; Sibawayh § 276. Also in other readings that were later considered *shādh* the reliability of their *isnād* has been challenged, e.g., in the case of the one of [Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān] IBN AL-SAMAYFA’ [al-Yamanī, d. before 169/785] (Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr fi l-qirā’āt al-‘ashr*, vol. 1, p. 16, l 5; *Ṭabaqāt* [Berlin Ms., cod. simul, 55] 205<sup>v</sup>), the one of

of the linguistically inconvenient variant reading of Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’ *baghattatan*<sup>191</sup> in sūra 47:20 (instead of *baghtatan* or *baghatatan*) by assuming a mistake of the *rāwī*, although Ibn Mujāhid supplies the complete *isnād* in Ibn Jinnī, *Muḥtasab*, s.v.

### Orthodox Teaching

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Ibn Mujāhid’s (d. 324/936) crucial innovation, the great break with the past, consists not so much of setting in motion the canonization of the Seven Readings. Rather, it was evidently he<sup>192</sup> who finally replaced the study of individual variant readings in the science of the variant readings with the study of complete readings as taught in the schools of the Koran. What persuaded him was not only the traditionalism that received a fresh impetus from everywhere during this time.<sup>193</sup> The decisive factor was that there was a need for a tradition-based guarantee for the *qirā’āt* as well as for the Koran itself,<sup>194</sup> which, after all, existed only in the readings: The *muṣḥaf* did not suffice when it came to oral transmission. A collection of single readings, even with perfect *isnāds*, was an insufficient guarantee; required were impeccable *isnāds* for readings that applied to the whole of the Koran.

The preference for complete readings caused a rethinking in the entire field of the science of variant readings. In the same way that this preference gained ground only gradually, this rethinking, too, spread only step by step. Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 437/1045) still formulated his canon of the three criteria for the approach to the individual readings,<sup>195</sup> and avails him-

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Abū l-Sammāl [*EF*] (*Nashr*, *ibid.*, *Tabaqāt*, 170<sup>r</sup>) and the one of ‘Āṣim al-Jahdārī (*Tabaqāt*, 91<sup>v</sup>). The *qirā’a* of Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) is recognized as a simple forgery, collected by Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ja’far AL-KHUZĀ’Ī (d. 408/1017) [Brockelmann, *GAL*, suppl. vol. 1, p. 723; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 16–17] (Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr fī l-qirā’āt al-‘ashr*, vol. 1, p. 16, l 6sqq.).

<sup>191</sup> Not included in the canonical reading of Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’.

<sup>192</sup> On the one hand, it is certain that the change must have taken place during his time, on the other hand, his activity was epoch-making (see below), and he was the most severe enemy of ancient licences (see above, p. 468 and 476). Thus, the innovation is to be accorded to him. But explicit reports supporting this are hardly available; still, cf. perhaps al-Dhahabī’s statement, *Tabaqāt* (Berlin Ms. 9943, p. 127; missing in Ms. Or. folio, 3140, 23<sup>v</sup>). Ibn Mujāhid preferred Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī from among the transmitters of Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’ because he transmitted exclusively from him.

<sup>193</sup> The end of the third century AH is the time when the door of *ijtihād* was closed.

<sup>194</sup> al-Naysābūrī, commentary on the Koran, *muqaddima* 3, *mas’ala* 1; cf. Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 13, l 2, citing al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, *naw’* 22 (Sprenger ed., p. 179, l 8).

<sup>195</sup> See above, p. 480sq.

self of *ikhtiyār*.<sup>196</sup> This, however, must not be misinterpreted, because he teaches the Seven Variant readings essentially as units. In reality, his three criteria had already lost their meaning when he was teaching them. In the Seven Readings not only were linguistic mistakes tolerated,<sup>197</sup> but indeed also deviations from the ‘Uthmānic text.<sup>198</sup> Later scholars, thus, proceeded accordingly and abandoned the three criteria.<sup>199</sup>

The *ikhtiyār* outlasted Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib but in a shabby and narrow form: The same way that the majority carried weight only within a particular variant reading,<sup>200</sup> a reading was now not chosen for oneself, but rather this was done for the originator of the variant reading or the *riwāya* of a reading by settling the differences of the transmission,<sup>201</sup> and filling in the lacunae.<sup>202</sup> In constantly weakening form the *ikhtiyār* survives until the threshold of modernity: Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad YŪSUF EFENDI-ZADE<sup>203</sup> (d. 1167/1753) composed an entire book, *al-Itilāf fī wujūh al-ikhtilāf*<sup>204</sup> to establish and justify his *ikhtiyār* from pending differences within the Ten Readings. Only a man like al-Zamakhsharī (died 538/1143), dogmatically heterodox and not a genuine representative of the science of variant readings, can rescue the word from losing its complete old sense.<sup>205</sup>

Lacunae in the transmission were not filled at discretion but, if possible, by one’s own method, *qiyās*, which has little in common with the *qiyās* that is one of the four roots of *fiqh*. It nevertheless has its roots in *fiqh* and corresponds exactly to what was called there *qiyās qawl fulān*,<sup>206</sup> a

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<sup>196</sup> See above, p. 485.

<sup>197</sup> See above, p. 479 sq.

<sup>198</sup> See above, p. 468 sq.

<sup>199</sup> See above, p. 481 sq.

<sup>200</sup> Cf. *ijmā’* in al-Dānī, *Taysīr*, *passim*; *jumhūr*, in Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 392, l 15, and frequently.

<sup>201</sup> Ibn Mujāhid (in Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, *al-Kashf ‘an wujūh al-qirā’āt*, s.v.) thus “chooses” sūra 18:95—where from Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq ‘an ‘Āṣim al-Jahdarī both *itūnī* and *ātūnī* are transmitted—for him the second one; similarly in the *Kashf* on sūra 27, at the end, in the *Taysīr* of al-Dānī, chapter *madhhab Abī Amr fī tark al-hamza*, and frequently.

<sup>202</sup> E.g., nothing has been transmitted about the position of Ibn Kathīr al-Kinānī and Ibn ‘Amīr al-Yaḥṣubī regarding *waqf ‘alā marsūm al-khaṭṭ* (see above, p. 408 n. 138), and al-Dānī’s teachers filled up the gap with *ikhtiyār* (*Taysīr*, in the respective chapter).

<sup>203</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 125 and 139.

<sup>204</sup> Lithograph, Constantinople, 1312/1894, in the margin of Ḥāmid b. ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Pālāwī (BĀLAWĪ), *Zubdat al-irfān*.

<sup>205</sup> E.g., “*malikī*” *huwa l-ikhtiyār* on sūra 1:3, “*arayta*” ... *laysa bi-l-ikhtiyār* on sūra 107:1.

<sup>206</sup> From *fiqh*, e.g., al-Ṭabarī, *Ikhtilāf*, ed. by Kern, vol. 1, p. 45, l 12 and p. 48, l 3, and often; from the variant readings, al-Dānī, *Taysīr* on sūra 39:12 and 41:44, synonymous with *qiyāsan ‘alā madhhab* ... *ibid.*, *qiyāsu madhhabi* ... *ibid.*, chapter *al-waqf ‘alā marsūm al-khaṭṭ*; cf. *al-qiyāsu* ... *ibid.*, chapter, *al-hamzatayn fī kalima*.

a ruling based on the opinion of a particular authority or school; here as there, the opposite is *naṣṣ*,<sup>207</sup> an explicit ruling. Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib<sup>208</sup> (d. 437/1045) supplies a theory of *qiyās* in this sense: The content of his book is made up of three parts (1) *qism qara'tu bi-hi wa-naqaltuhu wa-huwa manṣūṣ fī l-kutub mawjūda* (2) *wa-qism qara'tu bi-hi wa-akhadhtuhu lafẓan aw samā'an wa-huwa ghayru mawjūd fī l-kutub*, and (3) *wa-qism lam aqra' bi-hi wa-lā wajadtuhu fī l-kutub wa-lākin qistuhu 'alā mā qara'tu bi-hi ... wa-huwa l-aqall*. Ibn al-Jazarī<sup>209</sup> also includes within the scope of this *qiyās* phonetically difficult matters (*ghumūḍ wajh al-adā'*), apart from the case in which *naṣṣ* is wanting. We are indebted to this method for the apparent completeness of the variant readings that have come down to us. In order to get an idea of the real stock one would have to eliminate first of all the entire set of variants *qiyās*, and then also the other *ikhtiyārāt*.

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*Shādhdh* is now what lies outside the recognized canonical readings.<sup>210</sup> The only controversy remaining is whether the canonical readings are the Seven or the Ten or still more variants: *shādhdh 'ani l-sab'a wa-l-'ashara wa-ghayrihim*.<sup>211</sup> Linguistic usage which contrasts *shādhdh* with the Seven can be traced back to Ibn Mujāhid (d. 324/936). He supplemented his *Kitāb al-Sab'a* with a *Kitāb al-Shawādhdh*.<sup>212</sup>

As its crowning event and in order to achieve a firmer framework than that of earlier perceptions,<sup>213</sup> the new system adopts the concept of *tawātur*,

<sup>207</sup> Occasionally especially *athar*: al-Dānī, *Taysīr*, chapter *al-hamzatayn min kalimatayn*; or *samā'*; Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, *al-Kashf* on sūra 70:1. Different from *naṣṣ*, but in contrast to *qiyās*, is *adā'* (e.g., *Taysīr*, chapter *hamzatayn min kalimatayn*; Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 17, l 19), pronunciation which is transmitted by means of enunciation and repetition (*mushāfa*, for example, *al-Taysīr* on sūra 26:56), but not by a pronunciation that is explicitly established; cf. further, in the text.—*Qiyās*, incidentally, also as one of the roots of *fiqh* is the antithesis to *naṣṣ*, namely Koran and tradition.

<sup>208</sup> *Tabṣīra* (Istanbul Ms, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, 55), 162', cited in Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 17, l 1 sqq.

<sup>209</sup> *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 17, l 18. According to Ibn al-Jazarī (ibid., l 20 sqq.) all these matters are not *qiyās* in the strict sense (*'alā l-wajh al-iṣṭilāhī*) rather *nisbat juz'iyin 'alā kulliyin*.

<sup>210</sup> The old meaning, somewhat reduced, is held by Abū Shāma (d. 665/1266; cf. p. 446); for him *shādhdh* is the opposite of *mujma' 'alayh* (cf. Ibn al-Jazarī, *Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 10, l 3, citing al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān, naw'*, 22 [Sprenger edition, p. 177, l 5]). Also in Ibn al-Jazarī (died 833/1429) himself we occasionally find this meaning; e.g., he says: *shādhdh 'ani l-'amma* in *Ṭabaqāt* (Berlin Ms., cod. simul. 55), p. 170'.

<sup>211</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 35, l 17.

<sup>212</sup> Ibn Jinnī (d. 382 *sic*) accepts this division without hesitation and speaks of *darban ... sammāhu ahl zamānīhā shādhhdhan ay khārījan 'an qirā'at al-qurrā' al-sab'a* (*al-Muḥtasab*, [Istanbul Ms., Ragıp Paşa Kütüphanesi, 13] 1.) Also Ibn al-Nadīm (writing in 377/987) bases the disposition of the section on the readers of the Koran on this (*al-Fihrist*, p. 28 sqq.).

<sup>213</sup> See above, p. 485 sq., [the dogma of *tawātur*].

i.e. a transmission going back to several independent sources, taken from the terminologies of the criticism of tradition (*muṣṭalah*) and *uṣūl al-fiqh* and applied to the science of the various readings.<sup>214</sup> The canonical readings are *mutawātir*, and their transmission rests with each generation, not with the attestation of individuals (*khabar al-wāḥid*, *al-āḥād*), but on general agreement.<sup>215</sup> *Mashhūr*, too, some men now no longer use in the general sense of “recognized” but in its terminological meaning in *muṣṭalah*, where it indicates the second stage of *tawātur*, practically an equivalent, but as far as attestation is concerned not quite conforming to its rules.<sup>216</sup>

The last two true scholars among the representatives of the science of the variant readings, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ismā‘īl ABŪ SHĀMAH (died 665/1266) and Ibn al-Jazarī (died 833/1429) did not submit to the orthodoxy of the dogma of *tawātur*. Abū Shāma considers them applicable only to those parts of the Seven Readings in which these do not deviate from one another;<sup>217</sup> with this, it loses its *raison d’être*. At first, Ibn al-Jazarī tolerated

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<sup>214</sup> This happened rather late; Abū Shāma (d. 665/1266) in (Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 13, l 9 sqq., citing al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, *naw’* 22 [Sprengrer ed., p. 179, l 14], and Ibn al-Jazarī (died in 833/1429), himself (*al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 13, l 1, cited *ibid.*, [Sprengrer ed., p. 179, l 7]) attribute the dogma of *tawātur* to some *muta’akkkhīrīn* (modern authors). When Ibn al-Jazarī (*al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 30, l 8 sqq., citing *al-Itqān*, *naw’*, 22–27, *tanbīh* 2 [Sprengrer ed. 189, p. 4]) says that the well-known dogmatist *al-qāḍī* Abū Bakr b. al-Ṭayyib AL-BĀQILLĀNĪ (d. 403/1012) has (in his *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*) *naṣṣa ‘alā tawātur dhālika kullih* (namely of the *adā’*) this can hardly be a direct citation. It is even less likely that the content, *fi l-qirā’at al-sab’ al-mutawātira*, which Haji Qalfa adds to the title, *Kitāb al-Sab’*, can originate from the author himself, Ibn Mujāhid (died in 324/936).

<sup>215</sup> Ibn al-Ḥājjib (d. 646/1248; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 303; *EF*<sup>2</sup>) in Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 30, l 4 sqq., abbreviated in al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, *naw’*, 22–27, *tanbīh*, 2 (Sprengrer ed., p. 188, l 21 sqq.); al-Naysābūrī (d. ca. 706/1306; see above, p. 407 n. 130) in the passage cited on p. 443 n. 193; *al-qāḍī* Jalāl al-Dīn (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm) b. al-Ḥājj AL-BALLAFĪQĪ (d. 770/1368), so Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* [Berlin Ms., cod. simul., 55] 225<sup>v</sup>) in *al-Itqān*, *naw’* 22–27, *tanbīh* 2 (188, 16);—from the representatives of *uṣūl*, for example, Ṣadr al-Sharī‘a al-Thānī (‘Ubayd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd, d. 747/1346, Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 214, [*EF*<sup>2</sup>]), *Tawdūh*, *qism* 1, *rukn* 1, beginning; Tāj al-Dīn AL-SUBKĪ (died 711/1370; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 89), *Jam’ al-jawāmi’*, beginning of *kitāb* 1, and in Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 44, l 12 sqq. (Citations from this passage and from *Man’ al-mawānī’*, with a discussion—concluded with al-Subkī’s signed expertise—between him and Ibn al-Jazarī about the question whether also the Three after the Seven are *mutawātir*.)

<sup>216</sup> Cf. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, *naw’* 23 (Sprengrer ed., p. 181, l 6 sqq.), and *naw’*, 22–27, *tanbīh*, 2 (Sprengrer ed., p. 188, l 16 sq.). The complete scale—*al-Itqān*, *naw’*, 22–25—consists of the four stages, *mutawātir*, *mashhūr*, *āḥād*, and *shādhdh*. It is a deterioration when al-Ballaḥīqī, loc. cit., puts *mutawātir* = *al-qirā’at al-sab’a* (*sic!*) *al-mashhūra*, *āḥād* = the Three after the Seven as well as the Companions of the Prophet, *shādhdh* = all the rest of them.

<sup>217</sup> See above, p. 503 n. 215. The wording is not quite clear. It could also be interpreted to mean that Abū Shāma intended to exclude only those variant readings from *tawātur* on

this, but he later rejected it with the pertinent argument that *tawātur* dispenses with the criteria of both correct grammar and agreement with the *muṣḥaf* or does not allow their application.<sup>218</sup> Both are late and impractical attempts at adhering to the individual appreciation of the variant readings.<sup>219</sup>

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Some scholars enjoy somewhat more licence since they remain outside the guild of the *muqriʿīn*; this applies particularly to the commentators Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn b. Masʿūd al-Farrāʾ AL-BAGHAWĪ (d. 510/1117) and al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1143).<sup>220</sup>

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which the transmitters of the same *qirāʾa* were at variance. This way the restriction would lose all importance. Already Tāj al-Dīn AL-SUBKĪ (*Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, beginning of *kitāb* 1) interpreted Abū Shāma the way it was done in the afore-mentioned text. A different restriction is the one of both Ibn al-Ḥājjib (d. 646/1249) and al-Naysābūrī (d. ca. 706/1306), loc. cit., who exclude the peculiarities of the pronunciation, *adāʾ*, from *tawātur*. This reflects the proper recognition that these matters were settled later than the actually variant readings.—Tāj al-Dīn AL-SUBKĪ mentions both restrictions, loc. cit.—Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh AL-ZARKASHĪ (d. 794/1391; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 91) recognizes *tawātur* only back to the Seven Readers, but not back from them down to the Prophet (al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān, nawʿ*, 22–27, *tanbih*, 2 [A. Sprenger ed., p. 179, l 17]).

<sup>218</sup> *Munjid (al-muqriʿīn wa-murshid al-ṭālibīn)*, chapter 6, and in contrast *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 12, l 23 sqq. (citing al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān, nawʿ*, 22 [A. Sprenger ed., p. 179, l 4 sqq.]), where this particular interpretation is considered the later one.

<sup>219</sup> Abū Shāma goes so far as to find *shādhdh* variant readings also within the Seven Readings (*inna l-qirāʾāt al-mansūba ilā kull qāriʿ min al-sabʿa wa-ghayrihim munqasima ilā l-mujmaʿ alayhi wa-l-shādhdh*, in Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 10, l 2 sq.); similarly somewhat earlier al-Ḥusayn b. Masʿūd AL-BAGHAWĪ (d. 510/1117); [*EL*<sup>2</sup>; *EQ*; R.A. Nicholson, *Literary history of the Arabs*, p. 337; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 155 (1)]; in Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 44, l 10.

<sup>220</sup> See the preceding foot-note, and p. 423 sq. More details below.



## THE READERS AND THE VARIANT READINGS

### Sources

The biographies of readers and representatives of the science of variant readings can be found in many different types of biographical collections, primarily of grammarians, *littérateurs*, *huffāz*, and traditionists. Isolated bits of important information are contained in the historical literature. In a class of its own is Ibn al-Nadīm's (fl. 377/987) *Fihrist*. Its relevant sections,<sup>1</sup> even if just for their antiquity, are important as an independent presentation outside the science of the variant readings. [iii/157]

The introductions to the works on the variant readings, with their inevitable *isnāds*, afford ample opportunity to supply *ex professo* information about the readers. Probably the most valuable of these biographical introductions are contained in the *Kitāb al-Iqnā' fi ihdā' ashra qirā'a* of Abū 'Alī (al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī) AL-AHWĀZĪ<sup>2</sup> (d. 446/1055), and the *K. al-Kāmil fi l-qirā'āt* of (ABŪ AL-QĀSIM Yūsuf b. 'Alī) AL-HUDHALĪ<sup>3</sup> (died 465/1072).<sup>4</sup> The corresponding sections of Ibn al-Jazarī's *al-Nashr*<sup>5</sup> constitute for us the most important example of this genre; in addition, Ibn al-Jazarī supplied a concise but important history of the science of the variant readings<sup>6</sup> in that part of his introduction dealing with basic principles. [iii/158]

The oldest collection of biographies of readers seems to have been composed by (Abū l-Ḥasan [or al-Ḥusayn] Aḥmad b. Ja'far) IBN AL-MUNĀDĪ (d. 334 or 336/945 or 7);<sup>7</sup> not much later is the *K. al-Mu'jam fi asmā' al-*

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 27–31, on readers; pp. 31–33, and 38–39, on scholars of the variant readings.

<sup>2</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 407, *ibid.*, suppl. vol. 1, p. 720; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 603, l 5; and also Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 3, p. 152. Yāqūt made use of *al-Iqnā'*, cf. G. Bergsträsser, "Die Quellen von Jāqūt's *Iršād*," in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, vol. 2 (1923–1924), p. 198, no. 98 (preceded by some other related sources of Yāqūt).

<sup>3</sup> Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 7, p. 308.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī used both books in his *Ghāyat al-nihāya fi ṭabaqāt al-qurrā'*.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. 1, pp. 53–192.

<sup>6</sup> *al-Nashr fi l-qirā'āt al-ashr*, vol. 1, p. 33, l 14 to p. 35, l 10.

<sup>7</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 44. Cf. G. Bergsträsser, "Die Quellen von Jāqūt's *Iršād*," *loc. cit.*, no. 95. The most reliable trace is Yāqūt's statement in *Irshād*, vol. 5, p. 248, l 11sq.: *qāl ... Ibn al-Munādī fi man māt fi sanat 287 ...* The title of the presumable book that was arranged by date of death cannot be identified. More about the author in *Fihrist*, p. 38sq. (Abū l-Ḥasan, d. 334/945); Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Berlin Ms. cod. simul., no. 55), 12<sup>o</sup>sq. (Abū

*qurrāʾ wa-qirāʾatihim* of Abū Bakr (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan) AL-NAQQĀSH (died 351/962).<sup>8</sup> The first of these made little impression, and the second, hardly any at all. Of prime importance for later scholars are only *Ṭabaqāt al-qurrāʾ* of al-Dānī (d. 444/1052), which apparently did not survive, along with the *K. Maʿrifat al-qurrāʾ al-kibār ʿalā l-ṭabaqāt wa-l-aṣṣār* (mostly called *Ṭabaqāt*) of (Muḥammad b. Aḥmad) AL-DHAHABĪ<sup>9</sup> (d. 748/1348), who unfortunately does not list his sources. These works constitute the main source<sup>10</sup> of what is still the most comprehensive collection in the field, Ibn al-Jazarī's (d. 833/1429) *Nihāyat al-dirāyāt fī asmāʾ rijāl al-qirāʾāt*,<sup>11</sup> which seems to have survived in excerpts by the author, entitled *Ghāyāt al-nihāya*.<sup>12</sup> al-Dhahabī restricts himself to the better known readers but treats them rather thoroughly. Ibn al-Jazarī is likely to have gone into greater detail in his main work, but in his excerpt the meagre lists of names of pupils and instructors predominate by far. According to Ibn al-Jazarī's own statement, the material—probably meaning the number of persons listed—was approximately double in comparison with the works of both al-Dānī and al-Dhahabī; yet compared with al-Dhahabī's arrangement by *ṭabaqāt*, the alphabetical arrangement greatly facilitates the location of individual persons. The growth of the material can be explained by Ibn al-Jazarī's plan, first of all, to bring the collection down to his own time, and then to present

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l-Ḥasan, d. 336/947 sic). al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, s.n. (Abū l-Ḥusayn, d. before 320!/932).—The *K. Afwāj al-qurrāʾ* of al-qaḍī Abū Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Salām al-Qazwīnī, referred to by Bergsträsser, in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, loc. cit., no. 94, I cannot date; it seems to have been written not much after the time of Ibn Shannabūdh (d. 328/939), and was used by Yāqūt.

<sup>8</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 44–45; cf. also *Fihrist*, p. 33; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 496 sqq. (the title, p. 497, 1 2 sqq., three editions, *al-akbar*, *al-awsaṭ*, *al-aṣghar*); Taşköprüzade, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda* (Hyderabad, 1328/1910), p. 416 sq. = *Mevzuʿat ul-ulum*, vol. 1, p. 531 sq.

<sup>9</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 46. Apart from the select biographies, Berlin Ms. 9943, used earlier, there is now available for the *Ṭabaqāt al-qurrāʾ* the complete and much superior Berlin Ms., cod. Or. folio, 3140 (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*).

<sup>10</sup> A *qurrāʾ* work composed between the time of al-Dānī and al-Dhahabī, the *K. al-Intiṣār fī maʿrifat qurrāʾ al-mudun wa-l-amṣār* of Abū l-ʿAlāʾ (al-Ḥasan in Aḥmad AL-ʿATṬĀR) AL-HAMADHĀNĪ (died 569/1173); [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 12, l 1; cf. Pretzl's "Verzeichnis," no. 52, p. 241] Ibn al-Jazarī did not see—according to his own statement—(*Ṭabaqāt*, [Berlin Ms., cod. simul., 55]), 54<sup>v</sup> sq. Cf. about him, Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 3, p. 26 sqq.; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, loc. cit.

<sup>11</sup> This is how he cites the title in the introduction to the *Ṭabaqāt*. Also called—actually inappropriately—*Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-qurrāʾ al-kabīr*.

<sup>12</sup> Also (*Mukhtaṣar*) *Ṭabaqāt al-qurrāʾ*. A photocopy of the Istanbul manuscript, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, no. 85, can be found as cod. simulata orientalia, no. 55, in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin. An excerpt—hardly usable—of *Tarājim rijāl kitāb al-Nashr min naqaʿat al-qirāʾāt al-ʿashr* of al-Sayyid MUḤAMMAD ʿARIF AL-ḤIFẒĪ b. al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm can be found as an autograph, completed in 1202/1787, also at the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, cod. or. oct., no. 2192.

quite a number of important works on variant readings with references to these authorities. An excerpt of biographies of Ibn al-Jazarī's shorter version of his *Ṭabaqāt*, supplemented by statements of other provenance—partly in a much abbreviated version—is contained in the section on readers by Taşköprüzade<sup>13</sup> (d. 968/1560), which is still valuable as the only printed collection of such biographies.

### *Survey of the Older Readers*

The earliest list of outstanding readers that we know of is the one by Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām<sup>14</sup> (d. 223 or 4/838). It includes a number of Companions of the Prophet, followed by some forty Followers, and finally fifteen actual readers, three each from the five *amṣār*, Medina, Mecca, Kūfa, Baṣra, and Damascus.<sup>15</sup> Thus, in the last group, as far as the reading is concerned, the five early Muslim centres are accorded equal treatment. This is

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<sup>13</sup> See above, p. 389 n. 2; the section on readers (*Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda* [Hyderabad, 1328/1910], vol. 1, pp. 347–397 = *Mevzu'at ul-ulum*, vol. 1, pp. 444–507) discusses Abū Bakr and 'Umar, then the younger *ṣaḥāba* and *tābi'in* of the list of Abū 'Ubayd (see below), further the Seven Readers, with their two transmitters each, the Three after the Seven, and, finally, from among the authors of works on readings only al-Dānī and al-Shāṭibī in addition to several commentators of the *Shāṭibiyya* as well as Ibn al-Jazarī and his sons. Masrūq (Ibn al-Ajda') is missing from among the list of *tābi'ī* [Juynboll; *Encyclopedia*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vols. 1 and 2].

<sup>14</sup> Most complete, with authors' name, in Abū Shāma's commentary on the *Shāṭibiyya* at the beginning of the introduction, and in al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, *naw'* 20, who merely divides the list into two parts, tracing back the second part to al-Dhahabī (Sprenger ed., p. 169, 15 sqq. and p. 171, 17 sqq. Without the name of Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām: Ibn al-Jazarī, *Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 8, 15 sqq.) (when citing individual statements from the list he occasionally mentions Abū 'Ubayd, for example, *Ṭabaqāt* [Berlin Ms., cod. simul. 55] 85"); and see above, note 13. Only the Fifteen Readers, for example, also Taşköprüzade, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda* (Hyderabad, 1328/1910), vol. 1, p. 366, 10 sqq. = *Mevzu'at ul-ulum*, vol. 1, p. 467, 11 sqq.—Half a century more recent is the compilation of nineteen brief biographies of readers in Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, p. 161] *K. al-Ma'ārif* (ed. Wüstenfeld), pp. 262–264; it does not seem to have made any impression on posterity.

<sup>15</sup> Medina: Abū Ja'far IBN AL-QA'QĀ' al-Makhzūmī, Shayba b. Niṣāḥ [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, p. 203], Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Laythī; Mecca: IBN KATHĪR AL-DĀRĪ [*EP*; *EQ*], Ḥumayd b. Qays AL-A'RAJ, Ibn Muḥayṣin; Kūfa: Yaḥyā b. Waththāb al-Asadī [G. Junybol, *Encyclopedia*, 256, col. 2], 'Aṣim al-Jahdarī, Sulaymān b. AL-A'MASH; Baṣra: Ibn Abi Ishāq al-Ḥaḍramī, 'Isā b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī, Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā'; Damascus: Ibn 'Amir al-Yaḥṣubī, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥārith al-Dhimārī (this, the second name in Abū Shāma, the other lists have a different order). The last name, the one of the third Damascene reader, is omitted in the original version of the list because the transmitter allegedly forgot; the lacuna is filled differently. In the ordinary version the list for Kūfa as well as Baṣra has been enlarged by two readers each who do not belong there, namely Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb al-Taymī and al-Kisā'ī for Kūfa, and 'Aṣim al-Jahdarī and YA'QŪB b. Ishāq b. Zayd AL-HAḌRAMĪ for Baṣra.

misleading. More to the point is the picture provided by the distribution of the *tābi'ūn*, or even the selection of the Seven Readers. From among the remaining cities this comprises one each, but three from Kūfa. In the earliest time, Kūfa was the centre of the reading of the Koran as well as the supply centre of "Kūfic" manuscripts. The remaining cities, furthermore, enjoy by no means an equal status: Medina and Baṣra come to the fore, whereas Damascus recedes totally. The tabular survey of the better-known early readers,<sup>16</sup> arranged by locality and date of death,<sup>17</sup> will illustrate this. Damascus does not even require a separate column, as the number of local readers is so insignificant that an appendix is all they need. The table has been continued only to the middle of the second century AH, by which time Medina—as Mecca did previously—recedes totally from the picture, whereas Baghdad begins to appear at the side of Kūfa and Baṣra.

### *The Historical Development*

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These readers are connected with one another and with the Companions of the Prophet by chains of authority stating that so-and-so received the *qirā'a* from so-and-so, and this mostly *arḍan*, namely, the pupil recited and the instructor corrected. Although these chains of transmitters (*isnāds*) can never be ascertained individually, the overall picture of the history of the

<sup>16</sup> Listed are: (1) The *tābi'ūn* (Followers) and readers on Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām's list (the older Companions have been omitted). (2) All readers that I know of from no matter what source to whom an individual *qirā'a* (or *ikhtiyār*) is ascribed. (3) Some other readers whose importance ensues from the *isnāds*. Among the sources to no. 2 there is first of all the list in *Fihrist*, p. 30sq.; it is extraordinary typical of our insufficient information that from among the authors of individual readings mentioned there some who cannot even be identified with the help of Ibn al-Jazarī's *Ṭabaqāt*, thus, not considered by him to have been a reader. Not identified are مسلم بن حبيب (Medina), if not merely a mistake for مسلم بن أبي عمارة (Mecca), possibly identical with the traditionist missing in Ibn al-Jazarī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abi 'Ammār [Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 223; col. 1] (3rd group, what would fit according to *al-Fihrist*, that he is the teacher of Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā'), and يزيد البريدي (Damascus), if not even = Yazīd b. Qutayb (see below, p. 517). Missing in Ibn al-Jazarī are Abān b. 'Uthmān (Medina) and Khālid b. Ma'dān al-Kalā'i [*EP*<sup>2</sup>; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 141, 180] (Damascus) who is at least mentioned in the biography of Abū l-Dardā', *Ṭabaqāt* (edited by Bergsträßer and Pretzl, 1933–1935) nos. 1850 and 2480.—The main source of information is apart from the literature of *rijāl* the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn al-Jazarī.

<sup>17</sup> The dates of death frequently differ considerably, particularly when it concerns older or less known authorities. Whenever Ibn al-Jazarī or another of the later scholars settled for one of the respective dates, to simplify matters, I used only these. In cases of vague dates, and others, which are not contradictory, I referred to the last one only. Here, as elsewhere in the book, I juxtaposed the earliest and the latest of the more or less ascertained dates.

text of the Koran in the first and second half of the second century, supplemented by other references from the following period to the beginning of the science of variant readings, nevertheless fills the outlines of the preceding considerations with individual traits and is in agreement with both internal probability and historical conditions.

The *isnāds* most clearly<sup>18</sup> show the basic, familiar fact that (1) the tradition of Koranic readings of each of the *amṣār* constitutes a complete unit;<sup>19</sup> (2) that the individual readers, however much they personally help establish local custom, are not merely individuals but also exponents of this local custom; and (3) that the differences, for example, between Abū Ja'far Yazīd IBN AL-QA'QĀ' al-Makhzūmī and Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Laythī disappear, considering that both of them represent the Medinan reading.

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This local limitation of the Koranic reading is partly due to the influence of the local model copies,<sup>20</sup> yet their difference was too minimal and their ambiguities too great to be the decisive factor. In this we come face to face with one aspect of an important phenomenon: immediately after the conquest, the individual Islamic centres, both old and new, constitute such self-sufficient entities that there was virtually no exchange of ideas among them.

The domination of local custom over the individual reader is most obvious at Damascus. The generations before and after 'Abd Allāh IBN 'ĀMIR AL-YAḤṢUBĪ each have only one reader known by name; and this meagre *isnād*, Ibn Abī Shihāb—'Abd Allāh IBN 'ĀMIR AL-YAḤṢUBĪ—Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥārith al-Dhimārī, lacks connection to the top.<sup>21</sup> Only as the champion of the Damascene reading, which could not be totally ignored, was Ibn 'Āmir al-Yaḥṣubī accepted into the Seven by Ibn Mujāhid, who himself was one of their transmitters, albeit against the reservations of other members.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> For the *isnāds* traced back from the familiar readers (the Seven, etc.) to the Prophet, we mainly used the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn al-Jazarī, and for the *isnāds* in the opposite direction it is the large list in *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, pp. 98–192, with supplementary details regarding secondary transmissions, *ibid.* pp. 41–42; further, al-Naysābūrī, commentary on the Koran, *al-muqaddima al-ūlā*, and al-Ja'barī, commentary (*Kanz al-ma'ānī*) on the *Shāṭibīyya*, introduction (the transmissions used by Ibn Mujāhid).

<sup>19</sup> See above, p. 492.

<sup>20</sup> See above, p. 392sqq.

<sup>21</sup> Already Muslim critics, primarily al-Ṭabarī, realized the futility of trying to have Ibn Abī Shihāb—or even Ibn 'Āmir himself—learn the Koran from 'Uthmān or Ibn 'Āmir from Abū l-Dardā'. The long lasting polemics are still reflected in a long appendix to the biography of Ibn 'Āmir in the *Mevzu'at ul-ulum*, vol. 1, pp. 477–478.

<sup>22</sup> Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī [d. 255/869] and other writers do not consider him (Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, *Ibāna*, [W. Ahlwardt], Ms Berlin, no. 578, p. 496). ABŪ ṬĀHIR 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Abī Ḥāshim AL-BAZZĀR (280/893–349/960; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 167–168), states that if it had not been for Ibn Mujāhid who had opted for Ibn 'Āmir, he himself would have preferred al-A'mash. (al-Dhahabī, *Ṭabaqāt*, [Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, Ms., Berlin, Or. fol. 3140,] 2b, l 11).

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 Medina:

 Mecca:
 

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57/8 Abū Hurayra (al-Dawsī)

63 Mu‘adh (Ibn al-Ḥārith al-Anṣārī  
al-Najjārī) *al-qārī*<sup>23</sup>68 (Abū l-‘Abbās ‘Abd Allāh) b. ‘Abbās  
(al-Ḥāshimī)
 after 70/78 (Abū l-Ḥārith ‘Abd Allāh) b. ‘Ayyāsh b. Abī Rabī‘a (al-Makhzūmī),  
*aqra’ ahl al-Madīna fī zamānih*  
 private reading; (*Fihrist*)<sup>23</sup>

 ca. 70 ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Sā‘ib  
 (al-Makhzūmī), *qārī’ ahl Makka*<sup>24</sup>
74 (Abū ‘Āṣim)‘UBAYD IBN ‘UMAYR  
(al-Laythī), *al-qāṣṣ* [EQ]91/3 (Abū Ḥamza) ANAS IBN MĀLIK  
(al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī) [EP; EQ;  
G. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, 131–134.]93/5 (Abū ‘Abd Allāh) ‘URWAH IBN  
AL-ZUBAYR (Ibn al-‘Awwām) [EP; EQ]94 (Abū Muḥammad) SA‘ĪD IBN  
AL-MUSAYYAB (al-Qurashī  
al-Makhzūmī) [EP; GAS, I, 276;  
G. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*]

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<sup>23</sup> Where wrong: عباس instead of عياش.
<sup>24</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 218, 626, 661.

<i>Kūfa:</i>	<i>Baṣra:</i>
53/64 (Abū Maysara) ‘AMR IBN SHURAḤBĪL (al-Hamdānī)	
61/2 (Abū Shibl) ‘ALMAQAH (IBN QAYS AL-NAKHA’I)[ <i>GAS</i> , I, 398]	
61/4 (Abū Yazīd) AL-RABI’ Ī IBN KHUTAYM (al-Thawrī)[ <i>GAS</i> , I]	
63 (Abū ‘Ā’isha) MASRŪQ (IBN AL-AJDA’ AL-HAMDĀNĪ)[ <i>GAS</i> , I]	
65 al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Hamdānī <i>al-a’war</i>	69 Abū l-Aswad (Zālim b. ‘Amr) al-Du’alī, <i>qāḍī</i> of Baṣra, allegedly the founder of grammar [ <i>EP</i> ]
72/3 ‘Abīda b. ‘Amr (or b. Qays) (al-Salmānī)[ <i>GAS</i> , I]	after 70 Ḥittān ‘Abd Allāh (al-Raqāshī or al-Sadūsī) [G. Juynboll, <i>Encycl.</i> , 442]
73/4 <sup>25</sup> Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥabīb) AL-SULAMĪ <i>al-ḍarīr</i> , <i>muqri’ al-Kūfa</i> <sup>26</sup> [ <i>EP</i> ; <i>GAS</i> , I, 671]	
74 (Abū Mu‘āwiya) ‘UBAYD IBN NUḌAYLAH (al-Khuzā’ī), <i>muqri’ ahl al-Kūfa</i>	
74/5 ‘AMR IBN MAYMŪN (al-Awdī) [G. Juynboll, <i>Encyclopedia</i> ]	
74/5 al-Aswad b. Yazīd (Ibn Qays al-Nakha’ī), nephew of ‘Alqama [ <i>GAS</i> , I]	
82 (Abū Maryam) ZIRR IBN HUBAYSH (al-Asadī) <sup>27</sup>	before 90 (Abū Sulaymān) YAḤYĀ IBN YA’MA/uR (al-Qaysī al-Jadalī al-‘Udwānī), <sup>28</sup> <i>qāḍī</i> of Merv, where he died [ <i>EI</i> ; <i>EQ</i> ; <i>GAS</i> ]
94/5 Sa’īd b. Jubayr al-Asadī al-Wālibī), <i>mawlā</i> , executed by al-Ḥajjāj [ <i>EP</i> ; <i>EQ</i> ; <i>GAS</i> ]	89/90 NAṢR IBN ‘ĀṢIM (AL-LAYTHĪ or al-Du’alī), grammarian [ <i>EP</i> ; <i>EQ</i> ; <i>GAS</i> , IX]

<sup>25</sup> According to others only 85/704.

<sup>26</sup> See above, p. 496.

<sup>27</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, 5 s.v.

<sup>28</sup> See above, p. 499 n. 189.

<i>Medina:</i>	<i>Mecca:</i>
101 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, caliph, 99/717–101/720 [ <i>EP</i> ]	102/4 (Abū l-Ḥajjāj) MUJĀHID (Ibn Jabr) <i>al-muqri'</i> , private <i>ikhtiyār</i>
102/3 <sup>29</sup> 'Aṭā' b. Yasār (al-Hilālī) <i>al-qāṣṣ</i> , <i>mawlā</i> of Maymūna	—Dirbās, <i>mawlā</i> of Ibn 'Abbās; private reading ( <i>Fihrist</i> )
105 (Abū Sa'īd) ABĀN IBN'UTHMĀN (Ibn 'Affān al-Umawī); private reading ( <i>Fihrist</i> ) [ <i>EP</i> ; <i>GAS</i> , I, 277]	105/7 (Abū 'Abd Allāh) 'IKRIMAH (al-Barbarī) <i>al-mufassir</i> , <i>mawlā</i> of Ibn 'Abbās
107 (Abū Ayyūb) SULAYMĀN IBN YASĀR (al-Hilālī), <i>mawlā</i> of Maymūna, brother of preceding [G. Juynboll, <i>Encyclopedia</i> , s.v.]	106 (Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān) TĀWŪS IBN KAYSĀN (al-Yamānī al-Janādī) [ <i>EP</i> ; <i>EQ</i> ]
106/30 (Abū 'Abd Allāh) MUSLIM IBN JUNDA/UB (al-Hudhalī) <i>al-qāṣṣ</i> , <i>mawlā</i>	
114/5 (Abū Ja'far) (Muḥammad b. 'Alī) AL-BĀQIR, the 5th Imām	114/5 (Abū Muḥammad) 'AṬĀ' IBN ABĪ RABĀḤ al-Qurashī al-Yamānī al-Janādī, <i>mawlā</i> [ <i>EP</i> ; <i>EQ</i> ]
117 (Abū Dāwūd) 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hurmuz AL-'ARAJ (al-Hāshimī) <i>al-qārī'</i> , <i>mawlā</i> , d. in Alexandria [ <i>GAS</i> , IX, 34–35]	117 ('Abd Allāh b. 'Ubayd Allāh) IBN ABĪ MULAYKAH (al-Taymī) [Juynboll, <i>Encyclopedia</i> ]
122 (Abū l-Ḥusayn) ZAYD IBN 'ALĪ (Zayn al-'Abidīn b. al-Ḥusayn)	120 <sup>30</sup> (Abū Ma'bad 'Abd Allāh) IBN KATHĪR (AL-KINĀNĪ) <i>al-Dārī</i> , dealer in spice, <sup>31</sup> <i>mawlā</i> from Yemen, of Persian background, one of the Seven
123/5 (Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muslim b. 'Ubayd Allāh) b. Shihāb (al-Qurashī) AL-ZUHRĪ; private reading [ <i>EI</i> ; <i>EQ</i> ; <i>GAS</i> ]	123 (Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān) IBN MUḤAYṢIN (al-Sahmī), <i>mawlā</i> ; one of the Four after the Ten [ <i>EP</i> ]

<sup>29</sup> According to others already 94/712 or 97/715. [*EP*, died 104/722.]

<sup>30</sup> According to Ibn Khallikān, no. 326, this is a mistake of Ibn Mujaḥid who must have confused the reader with a 'Abd Allāh b. Kathīr al-Qurashī, who died in 120/737; the reader really died later.

<sup>31</sup> According to others, a *nisba* that others then derive from the Banū 'Abd al-Dār. The *nisba*, Qurashī, occasionally applied to Ibn Kathīr, although a *mawlā* of a Kinānī, follows partly from this interpretation, and partly from the confusion mentioned in the preceding footnote.



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*Kūfa:**Baṣra:*

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- 95/6 (Abū 'Imrān) Ibrāhīm (Ibn Yazīd)  
AL-NAKHA'Ī, nephew of 'Alqama [*EI*;  
*EQ*; *GAS*, I, 403–404]
- 95/6 Abū 'Amr (Sa'd b. Iyās) al-Shaybānī  
[G. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 109, 247]
- 103 Yaḥyā b. Waththāb (al-Asadī) *muqri'*,  
*mawlā* [Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 526]
- 103/721 (Abū 'Amr 'Āmir b. Sharāḥīl  
al-Ḥimyārī) AL-SHA'BĪ [*GAS*, I, 277;  
Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*]
- 105 Abū Rajā' ('Imrān al-'Uṭāridī)  
[G. Juynboll, *Encyc.*]
- 110 (Abū Sa'īd) al-Ḥasan (Ibn Abī  
l-Ḥasan Yāsār) (Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,  
*mawlā*, one of the Four after Ten)
- 112 Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif (al-Hamdānī  
al-Iyāmī or al-Yāmī); private reading;  
*ikhtiyār* [ibid.]
- 110 (Abū Bakr Muḥammad IBN SĪRĪN  
(al-Anṣārī)[*GAS*] *mawlā* of Anas b.  
Mālik)
- (3rd level) Abū Zur'a b. 'Amr b. Jarīr (al-  
Bajalī) [Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.q.]
- 117 (Abū l-Khaṭṭāb) QATĀDAH (Ibn  
Dī'āma al-Sadūsī) *al-a'mā*; private  
*ikhtiyār* [*EF*; *GAS*, I, 31]
- 127/9 (Abū Bakr) 'ĀSIM (IBN ABĪ  
AL-NAJŪD Bahdalah al-Asadī)  
*al-ḥannāt*, *mawlā*, one of the Seven  
[*EF*]
- 117/29 ('Abd Allāh) IBN ABĪ ISḤĀQ  
(al-Ḥaḍramī), grammarian; private  
reading [*Fihrist*] [*EQ*; *GAS*, VIII, 36]
- before/ca. 130 (Abū Ḥamza) ḤUM-RĀN  
IBN AYAN (al-Shaybānī), *mawlā*
- 128 (Abū l-Mujashshir) 'ĀSIM (Ibn  
al-'Ajjāj or Maymūn) AL-JAḤDARĪ;  
private reading

<i>Medina:</i>	<i>Mecca:</i>
130 Abū Jaʿfar (Yazīd IBN AL-QAʿQĀʿ al-Makhzūmī) <i>al-qārīʿ</i> , ʿAyyāsh; one of the Seven. [GAS]	130 (Abū Ṣafwān) Ḥumayd b. Qays (al-Asadī) <i>mawlā</i> of Ibn AL-ʿARAJ, <i>mawlā</i> , private Three after reading [GAS; Juynboll, <i>Encyclopedia</i> ]
130 Shayba b. Niṣāh, <i>mawlā</i> of Umm Salama, <i>qāḍī</i> of Medina; private reading [GAS, IX, 203]	
136 (Abū Usāma) ZAYD IBN ASLAM (al-ʿAdawī), <i>mawlā</i> of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [EQ; GAS]	
148 (Abū ʿAbd Allāh) JAʿFAR (Ibn Muḥammad) AL-ṢĀDIQ, 6th <i>imām</i>	
169 Nāfiʿ (Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān) b. Abī Nuʿaym (al-Laythī), from Isfahān, <i>mawlā</i> , one of the Seven [E <sup>2</sup> ; GAS, I]	

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Damascus:<sup>32</sup>

—Khālīd b. Saʿd, *ṣāhib Abī l-Dardā*<sup>33</sup>

- 91 (Abū Hashim) AL-MUGHĪRAH IBN ABĪ SHIHĀB (ʿAbd Allāh al-Makhzūmī)
- 118 (ʿAbd Allāh) IBN ʿĀMIR (AL-YAḤSUBĪ), *qāḍī* of Damascus, *imām* and administrator at the Umayyad Mosque; one of the Seven
- 121 (Abū Yaḥyā) ʿAṬĪYAH IBN QAYS (al-Kilābī al-Ḥimṣī), later at Damascus
- 145 YAḤYĀ IBN AL-ḤĀRITH (al-Ghassānī) al-Dhimārī, *imām* at the Umayyad Mosque, private *ikhtiyār*. [GAS, IX]

In addition Ḥimṣ, from where originates also the above-mentioned ʿAṭīyya b. Qays:<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> I cannot identify the Damascene Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muhājir. Cf. Ibn Abī l-Muhājir, *Fihrist*, p. 29, l 18 (Schwally); [also Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 300?]

<sup>33</sup> He is the last *tabīʿī* on Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām's list, and he is also mentioned in the biographies of Abū l-Dardā' as one of his pupils. He early fell into oblivion. The name is uncertain: instead of *خلید* also *خليفة* is to be found; instead *سعد* also *سعيد*.

<sup>34</sup> Also Ibn ʿĀmir's *nisba* points to Homs or its vicinity (cf. Samʿānī, s.n.).

<i>Kūfa:</i>	<i>Baṣra:</i>
132 (Abū Ishāq ‘Amr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Hamdānī) AL-SABĪ‘Ī	
141/53 (Abū Sa‘d) ABĀN IBN TAGHLIB AL-RABA‘Ī <sup>35</sup>	
148 (Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān) IBN ABĪ LAYLĀ (al-Anṣārī), <i>qāḍī</i> of Kūfa, renown jurisconsult; private reading ( <i>Fihrist</i> ) [EP]	149 (Abū ‘Umar) ‘ĪSĀ IBN ‘UMAR al-Thaqafī, <sup>36</sup> grammarian; private reading
148 (Abū Muḥammad Sulaymān b. Mihrān) AL-‘AMASH (al-Asadī al-Kāhili), <i>mawlā</i> ; one of the Four after the Ten	148/55 Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’ (al-Tamīmī al-Māzinī), born at Mecca, lived mostly at Baṣra, died at Kūfa, grammarian; one of the Ten
156 (Abū ‘Umāra) ḤAMZAH IBN ḤABĪB (al-Taymī) <i>al-zayyāt</i> ; <i>mawlā</i> ; one of the Seven	
156 (Abū ‘Umar) ‘ĪSĀ IBN ‘UMAR (al-Asadī) AL-HAMADHĀNĪ, <i>al-a‘mā</i> ; private reading ( <i>Fihrist</i> ). <sup>37</sup>	
77/after 86 Abū Baḥriyya ‘ABD ALLĀH IBN QAYS (al-Kindī al-Sakūnī <sup>38</sup> البراعمي al-Ḥimṣī), <i>ṣāhib Mu‘adh b. Jabal</i> , military leader under Mu‘āwiya; private <i>ikhtiyār</i> .	
103/8 (Abū ‘Abd Allāh) KHĀLID IBN MA‘DĀN (al-Kalā‘ī al-Ḥimṣī); private reading ( <i>Fihrist</i> ). <sup>39</sup>	
Finally in the Yemen: <sup>40</sup>	
before 169 <sup>41</sup> (Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān) IBN AL-SUMAYFA’ (al-Yamānī), later at Baṣra; private reading ( <i>ikhtiyār</i> ).	

<sup>35</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 24, vol. 2, p. 131, etc.

<sup>36</sup> See above, p. 474sq.

<sup>37</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, p. 125.

<sup>38</sup> This *nisba* has no punctuation in the consonantal text, particularly in the first letter (ي) and is vowelled differently; al-Yazāghimī?

<sup>39</sup> Under Sha‘m.

<sup>40</sup> Also the Meccan readers, Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān, ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāh, and Ibn Kathīr have a Yemenite background (see above).

<sup>41</sup> As far as his span of life is concerned we only know that he was older than Nāfi’, under whom he still studied. (Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3106.)

‘Abd Allāh IBN ‘ĀMIR AL-YAḤṢUBĪ’s two canonical transmitters (Abū ‘Amr ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad ...) IBN DHAKWĀN (al-Qurashī al-Fihri<sup>42</sup> al-Dimashqī, died 245/856) and (Abū l-Walid) HISHĀM (IBN ‘AMMĀR al-Sulamī al-Dimashqī, d. 245/859) belong only to the second next generation after (Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥārith) al-Dhimārī. From among the later representatives of the Damascene reading the best known is the grammarian (Abū ‘Abd Allāh HĀRŪN b. Mūsā) AL-AKHFASH (al-Dimashqī, d. 291 or 2/904). Part of Mesopotamia<sup>43</sup> belongs to the territory of Damascus, politically as well as in matters of Koranic reading; for this reason the Koranic commentator, al-Naqqāsh (d. 351/962) represents the reading of IBN ‘ĀMIR al-Yaḥṣubī (parallel to that of Ibn Kathīr [al-Kinānī]). At his time, however, its decline had already set in. Al-Maqdisī, writing in 375/985, and as a Syrian adhering to it, encountered it only in Damascus proper, not in the rest of Syria.<sup>44</sup> In Iraq<sup>45</sup> and Egypt,<sup>46</sup> where all Seven Readings were represented, the Damascene reading was also being studied, although in Egypt less than the other readings, so that his wish to read according to IBN ‘ĀMIR roused considerable interest among the *muqri’in* because it was so unusual. Consequently, when he was asked why he followed an odd reading (*tajrīd*)<sup>47</sup> contrary to the majority (*‘amma*), ABŪ AL-ṬAYYIB [‘Abd al-Mun‘im] IBN GHALBŪN al-Ḥalabī (d. 389/998<sup>48</sup>) said to him: *da‘ hādhih al-qirā’a fa-innahā ‘atiqa*.<sup>49</sup> It was not long until this reading was replaced at Damascus by that of Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’.<sup>50</sup>

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Damascus did not become the incontestable centre of Muslim Syria until the Umayyads established their residence there. Previous rival towns had been Ḥimṣ (Homs) and al-Jābiya. Corresponding to the political importance in the early period, Ḥimṣ had its own tradition of Koranic variant read-

<sup>42</sup> Thus Ibn al-Jazarī (*Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 144, l 2; *Ṭabaqāt*, 1720); al-Dhahabī (*Ṭabaqāt*, [Ms., Berlin, Or. fol. 3140,] 19’) and the *rijāl* books, rather [ABŪ AL-YAMĀN] al-Bahrānī, [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 102] a *nisba* which again points to Homs (cf. Sam‘ānī, s.n.) [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 111–112].

<sup>43</sup> Ibn ‘Amir’s reading at the time of Ibn Mujāhid (d. 324/936) in al-Jazīra: al-Dhahabī (*Ṭabaqāt*, Ms. Berlin, Or. fol. 3140), 11; Ibn al-Jazarī (*Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, p. 424, l 22—and still at the time of al-Maqdisī: (writing in 375/985) *Descriptio imperii Moselmici*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, 1906, p. 142, l 13.

<sup>44</sup> al-Maqdisī, *Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, ed. M.J. de Goeje<sup>2</sup>, p. 180, l 9.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128, l 4.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 202, l 18 sqq.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 144, l 10 sqq.

<sup>48</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 15, no. 20: Brockelmann mistook the author for his son, Ṭāhir.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 202, l 18.

<sup>50</sup> See below, p. 521 n. 89. [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 15, no. 20.]

ing<sup>51</sup> that can be traced back to Mu'adh b. Jabal.<sup>52</sup> In accordance with the subsequent political development, this tradition joins the one of Damascus: A pupil of 'Abd Allāh b. Qays (al-Kindī) al-Sakūnī is Yazīd b. Quṭayb (al-Sakūnī al-Ḥimṣī al-Sha'mī), who had a private *ikhtiyār*, his pupil, the *qādī* of Damascus, (Abū Ibrāhīm) 'IMRĀN IBN 'UTHMĀN (al-Zubaydī), author of a *qirā'a shādhhdha*; he is the teacher of the *muqri'* al-Sha'm from Ḥimṣ, Abū Ḥaywa (Shurayḥ b. Yazīd al-Ḥaḍramī, d. 203/818), to whom a *qirā'a shādhhdha* is also ascribed, namely very likely the *qirā'at al-Ḥimṣīyyīn*, which he continued to teach. This line can be followed up to the third century through his son Ḥaywa b. Shurayḥ (al-Ḥimṣī, d. 224/838).

After Damascus, less important was Mecca, which politically and intellectually had receded early into the background. Al-Maqdisī finds Ibn Kathīr al-Kinānī together with the rest of the Seven in Iraq<sup>53</sup> and in Egypt,<sup>54</sup> and next to some other readings (very strange!) in Jibāl,<sup>55</sup> but at this time, other readings had begun to penetrate even Mecca.<sup>56</sup> Like Ibn 'Amir al-Yaḥṣubī's reading also the one of the equally old Ibn Kathīr al-Kinānī can be documented only much later. Even if the *isnād* of the latter is weaker than

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<sup>51</sup> Upon the request of Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān [*EP*<sup>2</sup>] 'Umar may send him to Syria, *man yu'allimuhum al-Qur'an wa-yufaqqihuhum*, 'Umar sent ABŪ AL-DARDĀ' al-Khazrajī, Mu'adh b. Jabal, and 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit [*EP*<sup>2</sup>; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.v.] with the instruction to go first to Ḥimṣ; one of them was supposed to remain there, the second one continue to Damascus, and the third one to Filastīn. 'Ubāda remained at Ḥimṣ, Abū l-Dardā' returned to Damascus and Mu'adh to Filastīn, where later also 'Ubāda went (al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, vol. 1, no. 4773). This narrative presupposes the old division of Syria and Palestine into *jund*. (Missing are al-Urdunn, and Qinnasrīn, which was not organized as *jund* until Yazīd I.) According to the role attributed to Ḥimṣ, the narrative must date back a very long time.

<sup>52</sup> The account mentioned above, p. 221, that the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ traced back their reading to AL-MIQDĀD (Ibn 'Amr ...) b. al-Aswad [*EP*<sup>2</sup>; cf. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.v.] does not belong—as one might think—to the corpus of the transmissions about 'Uthmān's recension of the Koran. None of the old sources mentions al-Miqdād. We first meet him, and this without patronymic, in Ibn al-Athīr. Since al-Miqdād is not known either for any kind of interest in the Koran or any relation with Ḥimṣ, it is likely to be a mere confusion with Mu'adh (Ibn Jabal). Mu'adh is one of those who allegedly collected the Koran already during the Prophet's lifetime (see above, p. 217); he also has been at Ḥimṣ, at least for some time Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 2, part 2): *Biographien der medinischen Kämpfer*, p. 125, l 12 sqq. = *ibid.*: *Biographien der Basrier von der dritten Klasse bis zum Ende*, p. 115, l 3 sqq.). Other than he, it could only have been 'Ubāda see preceding foot-note, and cf. above, p. 217); but apparently the literature of the variant readings does not seem to know anything about him (he is also missing from the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn al-Jazarī.)

<sup>53</sup> al-Maqdisī, *Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, ed. de Goeje<sup>2</sup>, p. 128, l 4.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 202, l 18.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 395, l 9.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97, l 3.

that of the Damascene, similarly also the two main canonical traditionists (Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Bazza) AL-BAZZĪ (d. 250/864), and (Abū ‘Amr Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad) QUNBUL (d. 280/893) are from much later than their *Imām*. In the form of this *rivāyāt* the variant reading is considerably more recent than the one of Ibn Muḥaysin (d. 123/740), who was not reckoned among the Seven because he deviated too far from the text of the Koran,<sup>57</sup> and probably also because he was considered, very likely erroneously, younger than Ibn Kathīr al-Kinānī.<sup>58</sup> There is hardly any evidence that the Meccan reading spread beyond its place of origin, except to Baghdad where (Muḥammad b. Mūsā Abū Bakr) AL-ZAYNABĪ<sup>59</sup> (d. 318/930), and (Abū Muḥammad ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad) IBN BUNĀN<sup>60</sup> (d. 374/984) represent Ibn Kathīr al-Kinānī. Mecca’s relation to South Arabia, on the other hand, originates from readers with South Arabian background, including Ibn Kathīr al-Kinānī himself,<sup>61</sup> and the reverse influence of Ibn al-Sumayfa’s (d. before 169/785) Yemenite reading tradition was attributed to Mecca, and was from there transmitted to other places.<sup>62</sup>

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Contrary to the Meccan reading, the Medinan counterpart asserted itself and has survived to this very day. The conquered Occident followed Medinan *fiqh* and *qirā’a*, which it has strictly and exclusively preserved until today. The Medinan reading reached Egypt by way of (‘Uthmān b. Sa‘īd al-Qibṭī) WARSH (d. 197/812), a pupil of Nāfi‘ b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Laythī, who had displaced the two older readings of Abū Ja‘far Yazīd IBN AL-QA‘QA‘<sup>63</sup> and Shayba b. Niṣāḥ.<sup>64</sup> The former reading is still preserved among the Ten, but not the latter one, although both of them were equally respected in the

<sup>57</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3118.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. above, p. 511 n. 25.

<sup>59</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3489.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 2430.

<sup>61</sup> P. 454 n. 35.

<sup>62</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3106.

<sup>63</sup> Regarding Nāfi’s connection with it, see above, p. 489. It might not be without importance that wherever Nāfi is positioned against Abū Ja‘far IBN AL-QA‘QA‘ he is frequently in agreement with Ibn ‘Amir: thus, for example, sūra 2:119, *wa-ttakhadhū* for *wa-takhidhū*; 2:160, *tarā* (thus also an occasional transmission from Abū Ja‘far) for *yarā*; 2:172, *wa-lākin al-birr* for *wa-lākinna birr*. Nāfi and Ibn ‘Amir in this instance have all the rest of the Seven or even the Ten against themselves. Not considered are the agreements which follow from the Medinan and Damascene consonantal text (cf. above, p. 399 sq.). A certain influence of Damascus upon Medina in the Umayyad period is quite logical, particularly as it is concurrent with Nāfi’s period of teaching.

<sup>64</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, p. 203.

earlier period.<sup>65</sup> Both scholars are contemporaries and their readings are so close to one another that one of them suffices as a model.<sup>66</sup>

Abū Ja'far IBN AL-QA'QĀ's reading does not seem to have ever been used outside of Medina,<sup>67</sup> whereas the trail of Nāfi's reading leads to Iraq. Already Abū Ishāq (ISMĀ'ĪL IBN JA'FAR b. Abī Kathīr) AL-ANṢĀRĪ<sup>68</sup> (died 180/796)—the next best known of Nāfi's two main canonical transmitters—went to Baghdad; also those two transmissions have been brought there, the one of Abū Mūsā 'Īsā b. Wirdān QĀLŪN<sup>69</sup> (d. 220/835) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Hārūn (known as Abū Nashīṭ,<sup>70</sup> d. 258/871) and the one of Warsh by ABŪ BAKR Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Shabīb AL-IṢBAHĀNĪ<sup>71</sup> (d. 296/908). The transmitted *qirā'a* could not gain a footing there. Al-Maḥdisī found it prevalent only in the Ḥijāz,<sup>72</sup> in Egypt<sup>73</sup> and in the Maghreb.<sup>74</sup>

Abū Muḥammad AL-GHĀZĪ IBN QAYS (d. 199/814<sup>75</sup>), an immediate pupil of Nāfi, brought the latter's *qirā'a* together with Mālik b. Anas' *Muwattā'*<sup>76</sup> to al-Andalus. That Nāfi's best known transmitter, Warsh, carried the *qirā'a* to his homeland Egypt, where his Medinan pupil, ABŪ YA'QŪB Yūsuf b.

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<sup>65</sup> Thus the commentator to Mālik's *Muwattā'*, Abū Bakr IBN AL-'ARABĪ (d. 543/1148) in Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 37, l 15 (more precisely al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, vol. 1, p. 82, l 23), and also Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328 [EF<sup>2</sup>]) in *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 39, l 11, which refers to Aḥmad IBN ḤANBAL; Makki b. Abī Ṭālib in *al-Ibāna* (Ms. Berlin, 578, p. 509) considers both readings *ghayr matrūka*.

<sup>66</sup> Ibn Jinnī in his *Muḥtasab*, whenever Shayba (Ibn Niṣāḥ) is mentioned, it is always together with Abū Ja'far IBN AL-QĀ'QĀ', with the sole exception of vol. 1, p. 28, l 28 (G. Bergsträsser, *Nichtkoranische Koranlesearten im Muḥtasab*, see its index).

<sup>67</sup> The transmitters of his variant reading in *al-Nashr* are either Medinans or professional scholars and collectors of *qirā'āt*, who transmit several readings side by side.

<sup>68</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, no. 758. However, he also studied under Shayba (Ibn Niṣāḥ), and the two main transmitters of Abū Ja'far IBN AL-QĀ'QĀ', possibly even under him personally. [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 94–95.]

<sup>69</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 12, no. 8.

<sup>70</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 102, l 6, and p. 112, l 22; *Ṭabaqāt*, 3504.

<sup>71</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 110, l 19, and p. 113, l 21, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3129. [Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. 'Amr b. Yasār, d. ca. 240/854; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 11, no. 5, l 12] (ABŪ YA'QŪB) AL-AZRAQ, the second especially Egyptian transmitter after Warsh. See also al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥādara fī akhbār Miṣr*, vol. 1, p. 207, l 24. However, this *ṭariq* is also found in Petzl's edition of *Taysīr*, p. 11, l 2, and still in *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 111, l 6 and 10; but is no longer a private *ṭariq*. Al-Azraq became known in Baghdad only after 700.

<sup>72</sup> *Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, ed. de Goeje<sup>2</sup>, p. 39, l 11.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 202, l 18.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238, l 15.

<sup>75</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, p. 661, l 3.

<sup>76</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2534. This would seem to contradict the statement in *Ṭabaqāt*, 3314: *huwa lladhī qadima bi-qirā'at Nāfi' 'alā tilka l-bilād* (i.e. Qayrawān) *fa-innahu kāna l-ghālib 'alā qirā'atihim ḥarf Ḥamza wa-lam yakun yaqra' li-Nāfi' illā khawṣṣ al-nās*.

‘Amr [Ibn Yasār] AL-AZRAQ (d. ca. 240/854) continued to teach it,<sup>77</sup> and from where it conquered the Occident, is one of the most decisive events in the history of Koranic readings and initiated a schism that still persists, the Occident following Nāfi‘ b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Laythī in its reading whereas the Orient does that of ‘ĀṢIM b. al-‘Ajjāj al-JAḤDARĪ. This division appears rather early. When Aḥmad IBN ḤANBAL (d. 241/855) was asked which *qirā‘a* he likes best he replies:<sup>78</sup> *qirā‘at ahl al-Madīna fa-in lam yakun fa-qirā‘at ‘Āṣim*, and Makkī b. Abi Ṭālib (d. 437/1045)<sup>79</sup> says: *qirā‘at hādhayn al-imāmayn* (Nāfi‘ and ‘Āṣim) *awthaq al-qirā‘at wa-aṣaḥḥuhā sanadan wa-aṣaḥḥuhā fi la-‘arabiyya wa-yatlūhumā fi l-faṣāḥa khāṣṣatan qirā‘at Abi ‘Amr*, which, like other similar statements, serves to justify a *fait accompli*.

[iii/176] ‘Āṣim al-Jaḥdarī’s variant reading is the one Iraqi reading that survived as a representative of this most important group of readings. Since Iraq is the scholarly-religious centre of early Islam also in other respects, this applies also to its Koranic reading and the rising science of the Koran as well as the production of manuscripts of the Koran.<sup>80</sup> The Iraqi domination is evident when it is remembered that four of the Seven Readings are located there (at Baṣra: Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’; at Kūfa: ‘Āṣim al-Jaḥdarī, Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb al-Taymī, and al-Kisā’ī), from the Three after the Seven, two more (at Baṣra: YA‘QŪB (Ibn Ishāq b. Zayd) AL-ḤAḌRAMĪ, at Kūfa: Khalaf b. Hishām al-Bazzār), and three from the last Four of the Fourteen (at Baṣra: Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, at Kūfa: Sulaymān b. Mihrān AL-‘AMASH); thus from the Fourteen readings no less than nine.

[iii/177] The Baṣran Koranic reading follows Mecca; this is evident from its character ever since al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,<sup>81</sup> and is reflected in Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’ as well as in his *isnāds*, where the Meccan authorities predominate. The oldest

<sup>77</sup> According to *Ṭabaqāt*, 3518, Muḥammad IBN WAḌḌĀḤ [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 474–475] introduced the *riwāya* of Warsh to al-Andalus according to the tradition of ‘Abd al-Ṣamad [b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān AL-UTAQĪ d. 231/845.] This ‘Abd al-Ṣamad, a pupil of Mālik b. Anas (*Ṭabaqāt*, 1660), seems to have been soon replaced by the *ṭariq* of ABŪ YA‘QŪB Yūsuf b. ‘Amr AL-AZRAQ d. ca. 240/854 [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 11, 115]. In any case, Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ja‘far AL-KHUZĀ‘Ī, d. 408/1017 (*Ṭabaqāt*, 2893) says that in Egypt and the Maghreb it was read exclusively according to ABŪ YA‘QŪB (= AL-AZRAQ) and Warsh. See also *Ḥusn al-muḥādara* (Cairo, 1327), vol. 1, p. 207, l 24. This *ṭariq*, however, is also found in *al-Taysir* (ed. O. Pretzl, p. 11, l 2) and also in *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 111, l 6 and 10; but it is no longer a private *ṭariq*.

<sup>78</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, p. 348, l 11, and vol. 2, p. 332, l 1; al-Dhahabī, *Ṭabaqāt al-qurrā’,* in the unfinished print of the Constantinople periodical, *al-Hidāya*, 4 (1331), p. 653, l 18, and p. 709, l 24.

<sup>79</sup> Ibāna (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, Berlin Ms. no. 578), p. 509.

<sup>80</sup> Cf on this already p. 449.

<sup>81</sup> G. Bergsträßer, “Die Koranlesung des Hasan von Baṣra,” p. 56.



representative of this group is at the same time the oldest of the Fourteen, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. But already at a very early period he no longer was of individual importance<sup>82</sup> and was replaced by Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’, who, on the other hand, was at times of great importance and apparently dominated the Orient. According to Makkī<sup>83</sup> b. Abī Ṭālib (died 437/1045), his reading was practically in use at Baṣra about 200/815. The *isnāds* are no indication of an early dispersion, except that the early start of the exchange Baṣra-Kūfa and an encroachment of both upon Baghdad is ascertained.

Al-Maḡdisī finds Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’<sup>84</sup>’s reading encroaching upon the Yemen,<sup>84</sup> Syria (except Damascus),<sup>85</sup> Jibāl,<sup>86</sup> and even Egypt.<sup>87</sup> About 500/1106 this reading had spread also to Damascus.<sup>88</sup> At the time of Ibn al-Jazarī (811/1408) it dominated the entire Koranic teaching of Syria, the Ḥijāz, the Yemen and Egypt, certainly the *farsh* (private variant readings), even though many mistakes were made in the rules of pronunciation (*uṣūl*).<sup>89</sup> Naturally, the great *iddighām* of Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’ posed great difficulties, although not present in all the forms of the reading. Probably not much later the reading was surpassed by Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān, the main transmitter of ‘Āṣim al-Jahḍarī. In any case, Burhān al-Dīn AL-ḤALABĪ, d. 956/1549,<sup>90</sup> whose exposition of the Ḥanafite rite in the Ottoman Empire became authoritative, still recommends in prayer Abū ‘Amr along with Ḥafṣ. b. Sulaymān.<sup>91</sup> In remote regions it has survived until the present, namely in the Sudan.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., pp. 46 and 50.

<sup>83</sup> In al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, vol. 1, p. 82, l 30 sqq.

<sup>84</sup> al-Maḡdisī, *Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, p. 97, l 3.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p. 180, l 9.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., p. 395, l 9.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., p. 202, l 18.

<sup>88</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, no. 1285 (vol. 1, p. 292, l 6) and no. 1790 (vol. 1, p. 424, l 24.) The first man to introduce the reading of Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’ to Damascus was Abū l-Barakāt Aḥmad b. Ṭawūs, d. 492/1098 (*Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, p. 425, l 1 and no. 327) or Subay‘ b. al-Muslim b. Qirāt, d. 508/1114 (*Ṭabaqāt*, 1319).

<sup>89</sup> *Ṭabaqāt*, no. 1285 (vol. 1, p. 292, l 3).—Somewhat earlier, [Muḥammad b. Yūsuf] Ibn [i.e. Abū] Ḥayyān al-Jayyānī [i.e. Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī al-Andalusī] (654/1256–745/1345, Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 109) mentions that the reading had spread to Syria and Egypt (Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 41, l 13). [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9., pp. 24, 26, 62, 63, 219.]

<sup>90</sup> Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad AL-ḤALABĪ; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 432; *EP*.

<sup>91</sup> *Ghunyat al-mutawallī*, commentary on *Munyat al-muṣallī* [Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 109], *bāb* 6, *faṣl* 2, at the end.

<sup>92</sup> From a letter by Prof. Arthur Jeffery, Cairo, to the author.

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Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’s reading was temporarily confronted within Baṣra’s sphere of influence with the rivalry of ‘Āṣim al-Jaḥdarī (d. 128/745), and particularly with that of Abū Muḥammad YA‘QŪB b. Ishāq AL-ḤAḌRAMĪ (died 205/821),<sup>93</sup> who had also studied the Kūfan variant readings.<sup>94</sup> Already in his lifetime his reading was equivalent to that of Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’.<sup>95</sup> The grammarian Abū ‘Uthmān Bakr b. Muḥammad AL-MĀZINĪ (d. 249/862) had a vision that the Prophet recommended him to follow the reading of Ya‘qūb (al-Ḥaḍramī).<sup>96</sup> In the second half of the fourth century, the *imām* of the Mosque of Baṣra recited exclusively according to Ya‘qūb al-Ḥaḍramī’s reading,<sup>97</sup> and this is how al-Maqdisī found it in his time.<sup>98</sup> Musāfir b. al-Ṭayyib al-Baṣrī (d. 443/1051) carries his reading to Baghdad: *kāna baṣīran bi-qirāʾat Ya‘qūb hāfiẓan la-hā*.<sup>99</sup> He narrowly missed being received into the Seven because Ibn Mujāhid turned against him in the end and opted for al-Kisāʾī.<sup>100</sup> Yet in spite of this he holds a special place among the Three after the Seven since because of him, *qirāʾāt* books on the Eight appear not infrequently, and he frequently receives a special treatment in the *mufradāt* as a supplement to the Seven.<sup>101</sup> Among the Four after the Ten there is yet another Baṣran (ABŪ MUḤAMMAD Yaḥyā b. Mubārak) AL-YAZĪDĪ (d. 202/817), who at the same time is the main transmitter of Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’—the two canonical transmitters of Abū ‘Amr (Ibn al-‘Alā’) being traced to him—who, however, departs from him only in details, and did not gain an independent status.

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Corresponding to the ‘Alid sympathies of Kūfa, the Kūfan reading follows, on the one hand, ‘Alī, but, on the other hand, Ibn Mas‘ūd, who had been an administrator at Kūfa, and whose codex of the Koran had been

<sup>93</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1498 and 3891. [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 11–12.]

<sup>94</sup> Traces of it in his Koranic reading; wherever he deviates from Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’, he partly follows the Kūfans. Thus in sūra 2:77, *ḥasanan*, with Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb and al-Kisāʾī instead *ḥusnan*; verse 153, *yaṭṭawwaʿ*, with the same, instead *taṭawwaʿa*; verse 178, *muwaṣṣin*, with the same, as well as the one transmission from ‘Āṣim al-Jaḥdarī, Abū Bakr SHU‘BAH IBN ‘AYYASH [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 10, no. 4] instead *mūṣin*. Some other cases exist only in a transmission of Ya‘qūb al-Ḥaḍramī.

<sup>95</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, vol. 1, p. 83, l 2.

<sup>96</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3891 (vol. 2, p. 388, l 18).

<sup>97</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 43, l 1, and *Ṭabaqāt*, 3891, often; cf. also Ibn Khallikān, no. 705.

<sup>98</sup> al-Maqdisī, *Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, p. 128, l 4.

<sup>99</sup> *Ṭabaqāt*, 3589.

<sup>100</sup> Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, *Ibāna* (Ms. Berlin, 578) p. 496, and from this al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, vol. 1, p. 83, l 15. Cf also Ibn al-Jazarī, *Munjid al-muqriʿin* (Cairo, 1350), p. 75, l 17.

<sup>101</sup> See below, p. 561.

in use for a long time.<sup>102</sup> Both appear next to others as the authorities of Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān AL-SULAMĪ,<sup>103</sup> who was the best known of the older Kūfan readers. An early indication of the importance of Kūfa as a Koranic centre is the report that Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif’s<sup>104</sup> (d. 112/730) reading was accepted at al-Rayy, where one of his pupils was teaching it.<sup>105</sup> A student of, and the successor to, the *imāma fī l-qirā’a*, the aforementioned Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān AL-SULAMĪ, is the earliest Kūfan of the Seven, ‘Āṣim al-Jaḥdarī.<sup>106</sup> Also ‘Āṣim’s second teacher, Zirr b. Ḥubaysh,<sup>107</sup> had been a student of Ibn Mas‘ūd and ‘Alī. The later theory is attempting to ascribe the two origins of ‘Āṣim al-Jaḥdarī’s reading to his two canonical transmitters, Abū Bakr SHŪ‘BAH IBN ‘AYYĀSH<sup>108</sup> (d. 193/808) and Abū ‘Umar ḤAḤṢ (Ibn Sulaymān,<sup>109</sup> d. 180/796), and this way at the same time explain their conspicuously great differences,<sup>110</sup> namely ‘Āṣim al-Jaḥdarī allegedly transmitted ‘Alī’s reading to Abū Bakr SHU‘BAH IBN ‘AYYĀSH, but Ibn Mas‘ūd’s reading to Ḥaḥṣ (Ibn Sulaymān). Incidentally, also Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb al-Taymī<sup>111</sup> is brought in connection with Ibn Mas‘ūd: His teacher (Abū Ḥamza) ḤUMRĀN IBN A‘YAN (al-Shaybānī) *kāna yaqra’u qirā’at Ibn Mas‘ūd wa-lā yukhālif muṣḥaf ‘Uthmān ya’tabir ḥurūf ma‘āni ‘Abd Allāh wa-lā yakhruj min muwāfaqat muṣḥaf ‘Uthmān*, and this was allegedly Ḥamza’s *ikhtiyār*.<sup>112</sup> By the same token, Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb is also considered the champion of the *qirā’at ‘Alī*: His teacher, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān IBN ABĪ LAYLĀ<sup>113</sup> (d. 148/765) *kāna ... yujawwid ḥarf ‘Alī*.<sup>114</sup>

In the struggle of the two transmitters Ḥaḥṣ (Ibn Sulaymān) prevailed against ‘Āṣim al-Jaḥdarī. That in the rivalry of the Kūfan readings among each another and, beyond this, in the struggle against other readings, the *riwāyat* Ḥaḥṣ *‘an* ‘Āṣim was successful, must be attributed to its neutrality and its nearly total congruence with the prevalent pronunciation of

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<sup>102</sup> See above, pp. 446sq., and 456.

<sup>103</sup> See above, pp. 496 and 499 n. 189.

<sup>104</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 623, col. 2–624, sqq.

<sup>105</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1488; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.q.

<sup>106</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 653, l 7.

<sup>107</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 58sq.

<sup>108</sup> *EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 10–11.

<sup>109</sup> *EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 10, no. 3.

<sup>110</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, no. 1496 (vol. 1, p. 348, l 7).

<sup>111</sup> *EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 9, no. 1.

<sup>112</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1190 (vol. 1, p. 262, l 5).

<sup>113</sup> *EP*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 538, col. 2; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 518.

<sup>114</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1190 (vol. 1, p. 262, l 4).

classical Arabic. The final conquest of the Orient, which was accompanied by the spread of the Ḥanafite *madhhab*, seems to have taken place only with the rise of the Ottomans. The somewhat later reading of (Sulaymān b. Mihrān) AL-ʿAMASH (d. 148/765), also a pupil of ʿAṣim al-Jahdarī, was the last one to be accepted among the Fourteen, but was of hardly any great importance, although placing ABŪ ṬĀHIR ʿAbd al-Wāhid (Ibn ʿUmar b. Muḥammad) b. Abī Hāshim AL-BAZZĀR<sup>115</sup> (d. 349/960) over IBN ʿAMIR al-Yaḥsubī.<sup>116</sup> On the other hand, the two even later ones, Ḥamza (Ibn Ḥabīb, d. 156/773) and (ʿAlī b. Ḥamza) AL-KISĀʿĪ (d. 189/804) attained greater reputation, even if far more controversial. Ibn Mujāhid added both to the Five in order to complete the Seven.<sup>117</sup> Al-Kisāʿī belongs here only on account of the origin of his reading. He actually lived and taught at Baghdad and is therefore occasionally separated from the Kūfans as being *min ahl al-ʿIrāq*.<sup>118</sup> The fact that the reading of Ḥamza (Ibn Ḥabīb) could establish itself and even be considered meritorious is perhaps also partly based on its peculiar feature, namely *taḥqīq*, i.e., the exaggerated explicit pronunciation with its far-fetched accuracy, and its slavish scriptural conformity. We thus find Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb about 200/815 represented next to ʿAṣim al-Jahdarī at Kūfa. At Baghdad, he is particularly mentioned for the earlier period;<sup>119</sup> al-Maqdisī finds him together with ʿAṣim, al-Kisāʿī, and Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ in Iraq;<sup>120</sup> in Syria al-Kisāʿī is represented among other readers;<sup>121</sup> the reading of Ḥamza is transferred to Niṣībīn by ABŪ AL-FADL Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad AL-NAṢĪBĪ (d. 307/919); according to a report mentioned above on p. 462 n. 76 he is alleged to have dominated the Occident as well for some time. On the other hand, until the end of the seventh century the reading of al-Kisāʿī was common in Transoxiana and Iṣfahān<sup>122</sup> for the teaching of the Koran (*talqīn*) as well as in prayer. But at an early period opposition against the reading of Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb also asserted itself. ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs<sup>123</sup> hears recitation like Ḥamza with *ifrāṭ min al-madd wa-l-hamz wa-ghayr dhālika min al-takalluf*,

<sup>115</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 167–168.

<sup>116</sup> See above, p. 509 n. 22.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. the quotation from ABŪ AL-FADL ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad AL-RĀZĪ (d. 454/1062) [Brockelmann, *GAL*, suppl. vol. 1, p. 721; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 674, no. 27] in Ibn al-Jazarī's *Munjid al-muqrʿīn*, p. 75, l 13.

<sup>118</sup> Makki b. Abī Ṭālib, *Ibāna* (Ms. Berlin, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 578), p. 509.

<sup>119</sup> al-Maqdisī, *Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, ed. M.J. de Goeje<sup>2</sup>, p. 128, l 4.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39, l 11.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180, l 9.

<sup>122</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2594.

<sup>123</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 7; fl. 115/733–192/808, Kūfa.

and therefore rejects this reading (*KRH* [ءس] <sup>124</sup>). Al-Kisā'ī, when on pilgrimage, recites in prayer sūra 4:10, saying *di'ēfan* with *imāla* like Ḥamza; he is beaten up and trampled, and the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd reproaches him. As a consequence, he abandons much of Ḥamza's reading.<sup>125</sup> In fact, al-Kisā'ī's reading compared with that of Ḥamza is not very independent, particularly in the case of *farsh al-ḥurūf* (the single passages); it is in many respects nothing but a watered down recension of that one,<sup>126</sup> even if in the *uṣūl* (*imāla*!) al-Kisā'ī is sometimes more extravagant. Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, when establishing his *ikhtiyār*,<sup>127</sup> disregards both readings,<sup>128</sup> which is to say that both are lacking the third criterion, namely that *ijtimā' al-umma 'alayh* is wanting. In general, however, he holds a low opinion of the Kūfans. Among them it is al-Kisā'ī who is the most competent in the Koran and *'Arabiyya*, although he, too, became known only through his connection with the court.<sup>129</sup> The opposite opinion, however, is also an old one. Probably the first person who explicitly sided with the future victorious reading of Ḥafṣ 'an 'Aṣim is the famous critic of tradition, Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn [Mu'īn] (died in 233/847).<sup>130</sup>

Yet another Kūfan is the last among the Three after the Seven (Abū Muḥammad) KHALAF<sup>131</sup> (IBN HISHĀM AL-BAZZĀR, d. 229/844); he is the Kūfan counterpart to the Baṣran (Abū Muḥammad) al-Yazīdī, and his reading is in reverse ratio to that of Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb, comparable to that of Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī to that of Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā'.<sup>132</sup> Anyhow, it was of some importance: Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Marwazī (d. after 280/893) reads only according to him.<sup>133</sup>

The younger representatives of local readings that we mentioned belong already to a time when that form of the science of variant readings appeared that is characterized by the existence of several parallel readings. As an intermediate stage between the local readings and the systematic Koranic reading we can identify two contrasting endeavours: first, the endeavour

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<sup>124</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1190 (vol. 1, p. 263, l 13); in justification it is claimed that Ḥamza himself rejected such exaggerations. A similar account with reference to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in the same source.

<sup>125</sup> Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 5, p. 186, l 19.

<sup>126</sup> See above, p. 486 n. 108, and p. 490.

<sup>127</sup> See above, p. 482 sq.

<sup>128</sup> Makki b. Abī Ṭālib, *Ibāna* (Ms., Berlin, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 578), p. 496.

<sup>129</sup> Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 5, p. 193, l 20.

<sup>130</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Ṭabaqāt* [*sic*] (Ms. Berlin 9943), p. 90 (missing in print 724, 221!) [*sic*]; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, s.v.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 106–107.

<sup>131</sup> *El'*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol 1, p. 12, no. 9.

<sup>132</sup> See above, p. 486 sq.

<sup>133</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2844.

to establish a compromise between the different readings in the *ikhtiyār*, mainly represented by Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām and Abū Ḥatim al-Sijistānī in the first half of the third century; and<sup>134</sup> second, a stronger influence of the principle of tradition<sup>135</sup> on the Koranic reading which, analogically to *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, led to the collection of many variant readings.

A clear expression of this type of Koranic work and teaching we witnessed also in the literature of *shawādh*; the earliest sources known to us<sup>136</sup> originate, of course, from the period after Ibn Mujāhid, but still did not participate in the revolution of the instruction that he initiated. Their characteristics are: First—Next to a great number of sporadically appearing authorities a greater number of frequently mentioned teachers of the Koran can be found; among them particularly such men who are later to be found among the Seven uncanonical readings of the Fourteen. Second—The bases of pronunciation are completely wanting; also the pure differences of pronunciation recede into the background compared to actual variant readings. Third—Very many individual cases are treated without consideration for parallel passages. Fourth—The variants are limited neither to the principles of the canonical reading, nor are they in accordance with the *ʿArabiyya*, or the consonantal text.

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Against this historical background the revolution of the science of the Koran that Ibn Mujāhid initiated can be illustrated. First of all, it affected the local readings and the authorities in power in the third century by limiting the arbitrarily established number of *imāms* to seven. It also meant a not insignificant impoverishment within the individual readings of these Seven. Secondly, Ibn Mujāhid eliminated in his book the greater part of the occasionally transmitted variants of the Seven, and then included only such of them which to him seemed to be particularly well documented, and which were in agreement with both the rules of Arabic grammar and the consonantal text. His decisive innovation was the creation of the principle of complete variant readings, which obliged him by way of *qiyās* in each individual case to ascribe to each of the Seven one particular reading—even when the transmission was wanting—and, by way of *uṣūl*, also systematize the pronunciation of each one of them. Under him, the individual reading *ikhtiyār* was still in full force. This was the rub of the inconsistency vis-à-vis the principle of tradition that had led to complete readings, and

<sup>134</sup> See above, pp. 484–486 and 491sq.

<sup>135</sup> P. 424.

<sup>136</sup> G. Bergsträßer, *Nichtkanonische Koranlesearten im Muḥtasab des Ibn Ğinnī* (1933), and Ibn Khālawayh, *Mukhtaṣar fi l-shawādh*, ed. by G. Bergsträßer.

which would have required complete consideration of all existing chains of transmission from the reader down. Already a century later, in the writings of Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 437/1045) and al-Dānī (d. 444/1052) this was more rigidly applied in the canonical form so that from every reader two transmitters—partly direct pupils, partly from later generations—lead with an uninterrupted *isnād* down to the reader. As a consequence, the number of the differences treated by Ibn Mujāhid and subsequent men differ somewhat; much was newly included, some things even eliminated. The roots of the system of dual transmitters had been established already in the time of Ibn Mujāhid in so far as the two transmitters of ‘Aṣim al-Jahdarī, Abū Bakr SHU’BAH [IBN ‘AYYĀSH<sup>137</sup>] and (Abū ‘Umar) ḤAḤṢ IBN SULAYMĀN,<sup>138</sup> frequently appear next to one another. This was probably the starting point of the later rule which al-Dāraquṭnī (d. 385/995) allegedly initiated.<sup>139</sup> A consistent development was achieved by applying the system of complete readings also to single transmissions, the final offshoot of which was the prohibition of *taḥfiq*,<sup>140</sup> i.e., mixing different strands of transmission.

There is unanimity that Ibn Mujāhid was the first to limit himself to the Seven.<sup>141</sup> The fact that particularly this number was chosen relates to the tradition of the Seven *aḥruf*<sup>142</sup> and the alleged sevenfold recension of the Koran produced for the Caliph ‘Uthmān.<sup>143</sup> The system of the Seven was preceded by a selection of five readers that contained one reading from each *miṣr*;<sup>144</sup> there was possibly also a system of six.<sup>145</sup> It cannot be ascertained whether or not these systems which antedate Ibn Mujāhid already constitute complete readings or are merely collections of single readings. Neither

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<sup>137</sup> *EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 10, no. 4.

<sup>138</sup> *EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 10, no. 3.

<sup>139</sup> See below, p. 551sq.; [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 206–209].

<sup>140</sup> Bergsträßer, “Koranlesung in Kairo,” p. 29.

<sup>141</sup> Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, *Ibāna* (Ms. Berlin, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 578), p. 509; Abū Shāma, *Ibrāz al-ma‘ānī* (commentary on the *Shāṭibīyya*, printed Cairo, 1349/1930), p. 4, l 7; Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 34, l 2.

<sup>142</sup> See above, p. 38sq. [sic].

<sup>143</sup> See above, p. 306.—Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, *Ibāna*, and Abū Shāmah, loc. cit.; Abū Shāmah says: *ikhtāra Ibn Mujāhid fa-man ba’dahu hādihā l-‘adada muwāfaqatan li-qawlihi ... inna hādihā l-Qur‘ān unzila ‘alā sab‘a taḥruf*.

<sup>144</sup> Is considered by Abū l-Faḍl al-Rāzī a *bid‘a* preceding the selection of Seven in Ibn al-Jazarī, *Munjid al-muqri‘in*, p. 74, 19. See below, p. 547.

<sup>145</sup> Such a system seems to be assumed by the statement of Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh AL-TANĀFISĪ (d. 2nd half of the third century) according to which the reading of Abū ‘Amr is *aḥsan al-qirā‘at*, Ibn Kathīr *aṣl*, ‘Aṣim *aḥṣaḥ al-qirā‘at*, Ibn ‘Amir *aḥrab al-qirā‘at*, Ḥamza *al-athar*, al-Kisā‘ī *azraf al-qirā‘at*, and Nāfi‘ *al-sunna* (Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tabaqāt*, 337).

the limitation to seven nor its sequence asserted itself immediately. Ibn al-Jazarī collects statements of scholars opposing the limitation to seven<sup>146</sup> as well as the names of Koranic scholars who went beyond this number.<sup>147</sup> As regards literature dealing with more than the Seven, see below, p. 561sqq.!

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The sequence of the *imāms*<sup>148</sup> as established by Ibn Mujāhid,<sup>149</sup> and retained by al-Dānī in his *Taysīr*, was changed in other *qirā'āt* works for a variety of reasons. The Meccan (Abū Ma'bad) IBN KATHĪR (al-Kinānī) is particularly favoured by the Iraqis over the Medinan Nāfi'.<sup>150</sup> In accordance with Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā's reputation in the early days he frequently is heading all the others;<sup>151</sup> it is rare to find him at the end.<sup>152</sup> In al-Ahwāzī it is Ibn 'Amir who stands at the top,<sup>153</sup> particularly with the Iraqis he precedes Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' al-Tamīmī al-Māzinī.<sup>154</sup> Conspicuous is the separation of the Baṣrans and Kūfans by the inserted Damascene in the regular order

<sup>146</sup> Most outspoken is the statement of Abū l-'Abbās AḤMAD IBN 'AMMĀR AL-MAHDAWĪ (d. 440/1048 [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 215–216]) and ABŪ AL-FADL 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad AL-RĀZĪ (d. 454/1062) which Ibn al-Jazarī lists in the final chapter of his *Munjid al-muqri'in*, p. 70sqq.; excerpts of the same statements, with general remarks about the question of the Seven as well as numbers going beyond, *al-Nashr*, p. 1, 136sqq.

<sup>147</sup> *Munjid al-muqri'in*, pp. 29–46.

<sup>148</sup> More details on the subject can be found in the anonymous biographical work on the Seven, *Aḥāsīn al-akhbār fi maḥāsīn al-sab'a al-akhyār* (handwritten, my personal property); from it the details, unless not particularly documented elsewhere.

<sup>149</sup> Ḥājji Khalifa under *Kitāb al-sab'a*.

<sup>150</sup> Thus already ABŪ AL-HASAN AL-RĀZĪ 'Alī b. Ja'far al-Sa'īdī al-Shirāzī (d. ca. 410/1019) according to Abū 'Abd Allāh Naṣr b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad IBN ABĪ MARYAM al-Fārisī [fl. 557/1162–565/1170; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 105 and 249] in his *Kitāb al-Mūdiḥ*, cf. Pretzl, "Verzeichnis ... der *Qirā'āt*-Werke," no. 19, pp. 32–34; also al-Naysābūrī (d. after 768 [i.e. 708]) in his commentary on the Koran, in the margin of al-Ṭabarī's commentary (Cairo, 1321/1903), vol. 1, p. 8sqq.; further, Ibn al-Faḥḥām [Brockelmann, *GAL*, suppl. vol. 1, p. 722; *EP*] in his *Tajrid*, Pretzl, "Verzeichnis ...," no. 15, p. 30; and in (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bundār) AL-QALĀNISĪ's (d. 521/1127) *Kifāya* (Brockelmann, *GAL*, suppl. vol. 1, p. 723); Pretzl's "Verzeichnis ...," no. 27, pp. 39–40.

<sup>151</sup> For example, *Ishāra* of Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad al-'Irāqī, Pretzl, "Verzeichnis ... der *Qirā'āt*-Werke," no. 21, p. 35; Brockelmann, *GAL*, suppl. vol. 1, p. 721; and also al-Naysābūrī, loc. cit., in both cases the sequence: Abū 'Amr, Ibn Kathīr, Nāfi'.

<sup>152</sup> In the *K. al-Wajīz* of al-Ahwāzī (d. 446/1054), apparently also in his larger work, *Iqnā'* (Ms. Damascus, Zāhirīyah, 54), also *al-Kifāya* of al-Qalānisī, see above.

<sup>153</sup> This is allegedly the case in the larger work of al-Ahwāzī, but it can no longer be ascertained from the fragment, Ms. Damascus, Zāhirīyya, 54.

<sup>154</sup> Thus Ibn Mujāhid's younger contemporary, Ibn Mihrān (d. 381/991; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 15) in his *Ghāya fi l-qirā'āt al-'ashr* (abridged in Ibn al-Jazarī, *Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 38, 11); further, Muḥammad b. Ja'far AL-KHUZĀ'Ī (d. 438/1017) in his *al-Muntahā fi l-qirā'āt al-'ashr* (Ms. Cairo, Taymūr Pasha, *Tafsīr*, 434); in the *Rawḍat al-ḥuffāz* of Abū Ismā'īl Mūsā AL-MU'ADDIL (Brockelmann, *GAL*, suppl. vol. 1, p. 727; Pretzl, *Verzeichnis*, no. 31, pp. 43–44) in the *Tajrid* of Ibn al-Faḥḥām (died 516/1122), Pretzl, *Verzeichnis*, no. 15, p. 30, also in al-Naysābūrī in the commentary on the Koran (see above), vol. 1, p. 8, etc.



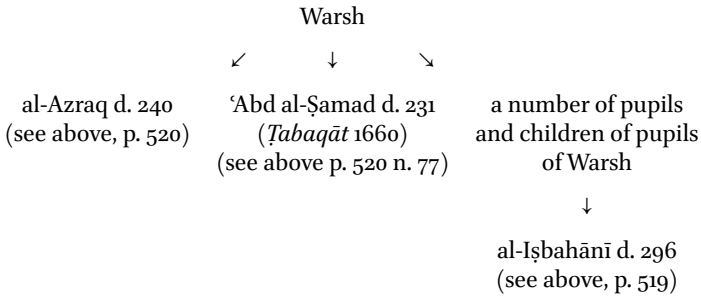
(of the *Taysīr*). Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb, and the more famous al-Kisā'ī, occasionally change places. Among the transmitters of the Seven the order is even more fluctuating. As the second and third choice one later added three more to the Seven, and then once more four, thus creating systems of Ten and Fourteen. Particularly frequent was also the system of Eight by including Ya'qūb al-Ḥaḍramī. Here, selection and order are still less established. Frequently others are inserted among the Seven, regardless of geographic affiliation.<sup>155</sup> More details are presented below when discussing the subject of literature, and in Otto Pretzl's "Verzeichnis (der handschriftlich erhaltenen älteren *Qirā'āt*-Werke) [i.e.: inventory of early writings on *qirā'āt* extant in manuscripts],"<sup>156</sup> numbers 17, 21, 23, 34, 27, 30, 31.

### *The Systems of the Seven, the Ten, and the Fourteen Readings*

The system in its classical form of more or less recognized (canonical) readings, each represented by two transmissions, is as follows: [iii/186]

#### I. The Seven.

1. Nāfi' d. 169, Medina (see above, p. 514) 144 *ṭarīq*.<sup>157</sup>
  - (a) Qālūn d. 220 (see above, p. 519) 83 *ṭarīq*.
  - (b) Warsh d. 197 (see above, p. 518 sqq.) 61 *ṭarīq*. The most important tangles of his transmission are:

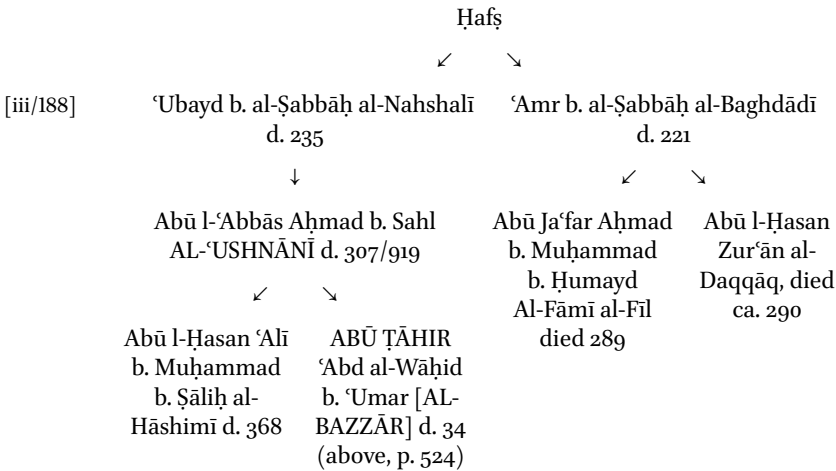


<sup>155</sup> Thus, [Yūsuf] Ibn Mīhrān, al-Qalānīsī, al-Mu‘addil.

<sup>156</sup> Part 1, pp. 14–47, of his article "Wissenschaft der Koranlesung (*‘ilm al-qirā’ā*), ihre literarischen Quellen und ihre Aussprachegrundlagen (*uṣūl*) [i.e. the science of the readings of the Koran, their sources in literature as well as their principles of pronunciation]" in *Islamica* 6 (1933–1934).

<sup>157</sup> According to Ibn al-Jazarī's own enumeration, *al-Naṣhr fī l-qirā’āt al-‘aṣhr*, vol. 1, p. 98 sqq., the number of "paths" are given, by which the respective reading or transmission reaches him.

2. Ibn Kathīr d. 120 (?) Mecca (see above p. 512) 73 *ṭarīq*.
  - (a) Qunbul d. 291 (see above, p. 518) 32 *ṭarīq*.
  - (b) al-Bazzī d. 250 (see above, p. 518) 41 *ṭarīq*.<sup>159</sup>
3. Abū ‘Amr d. 148/55, Başra (see above, p. 515) 154 *ṭarīq*.
  - (a) Abū ‘Umar AL-DŪRĪ d. 246 [EQ]; 126 *ṭarīq*.<sup>160</sup>
  - (b) Abū Shu‘ayb al-Sūsī d. 261; 28 *ṭarīq*.<sup>161</sup>
4. Ibn ‘Āmir d. 118, Damascus (see above, p. 514) 130 *ṭarīq*.
  - (a) Ibn Dhakwān<sup>162</sup> d. 242; 79 *ṭarīq*.
  - (b) Hishām [Ibn ‘Ammār] al-Sulamī d. 245; 51 *ṭarīq*.<sup>163</sup>
5. ‘Āšim [al-Jahdārī] d. 127/9, Kūfa (see above, p. 513) 128 *ṭarīq*.
  - (a) Abū Bakr SHU‘BAH IBN ‘AYYĀSH d. 193 (see above, p. 523) 76 *ṭarīq*.
  - (b) Ḥafṣ d. 180 (see above, p. 523) 52 *ṭarīq*. Important additional tangles of his transmission are:



<sup>158</sup> The order varies; Qunbul in first position, e.g., in *al-Taysīr* of al-Dānī, in second position, e.g., in *al-Nashr* of Ibn al-Jazarī.—Ibn Kathīr and his transmitters are generations apart, one of which is represented by only one transmitter, Abū Ishāq Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Quṣṭanṭīn al-Qusṭ d. 170/786 (or 190/805).

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> Between Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’ and these two there is Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī, d. 202/817 (see above, p. 524).

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> His name is ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad not ‘Abd al-Raḥmān as it appeared in *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 144, l 2. There (vol. 1, p. 145, l 5) also the date of death is erroneously given as 202/817.

<sup>163</sup> The order varies; Ibn Dhakwān in first position, e.g., in *al-Taysīr* of al-Dānī, in second position, e.g., in *al-Nashr*.—Ibn ‘Āmir al-Yaḥṣubī and his transmitters are two generations apart; cf. above, p. 516.

6. Ḥamza [Ibn Ḥabīb] d. 156, Kūfa (see above, p. 515) 121 *ṭarīq*
  - (a) Khalaf [Ibn Hishām al-Bazzār] d. 229 (see above, p. 525) 53 *ṭarīq*
  - (b) Khallād (Abū ʿĪsā al-Shaybānī) d. 220 [EQ];<sup>164</sup> 68 *ṭarīq*.
7. al-Kisāʿī d. 189, Kūfa (see above, p. 524) 64 *ṭarīq*.
  - (a) Abū l-Ḥārith (AL-LAYTH IBN KHĀLID AL-BAGHDĀDĪ) d. 240; 40 *ṭarīq*.
  - (b) al-Dūrī d. 245 = 3 a; 24 *ṭarīq*.

## II. The Three after the Seven.

8. Abū Jaʿfar IBN AL-QAʿQĀʿ d. 130, Medina (see above, p. 514) 52 *ṭarīq*.
  - (a) Abū l-Ḥārith ʿĪsā b. Wardān (*al-ḥadhdha*) died ca. 160; 40 *ṭarīq*.
  - (b) Abū l-Rabīʿ (Sulaymān b. Muslim) IBN JAMMĀZ (al-Zuhri), died after 170; 12 *ṭarīq*. [EQ]
9. Yaʿqūb al-Ḥaḍramī d. 205, Baṣra (see above, p. 522) 85 *ṭarīq*.
  - (a) Ruways (Muḥammad b. al-Mutawakkil) d. 238; 41 *ṭarīq* [EQ].
  - (b) Rawḥ (Ibn ʿAbd al-Muʿmin) [GAS, I] d. 234/6; 44 *ṭarīq*.
10. Khalaf b. Hishām al-Bazzār d. 229, Kūfa = 6a; 31 *ṭarīq*.
  - (a) Ishāq al-Warrāq d. 286; 22 *ṭarīq*.
  - (b) Idrīs al-Ḥaddād d. 292; 9 *ṭarīq*.

## III. The Four after the Ten.<sup>165</sup>

11. Ibn Muḥaysin d. 123 Mecca (see above, p. 512).
12. Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī d. 202,<sup>166</sup> Baṣra (see above, no. 3).
13. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī<sup>167</sup> d. 110, Baṣra (see above, p. 513).
14. al-ʿAmash d. 148, Kūfa (see above, p. 515).

<sup>164</sup> An intermediate member between Ḥamza and his transmitters is Abū ʿĪsā SULAYM IBN ʿĪSĀ al-Ḥanafī d. 188/9 or 200.

<sup>165</sup> I [Pretzl] no longer list the transmitters.

<sup>166</sup> In the work on Fifteen readers, *Rawḍat al-ḥuffāz*, of al-Muʿaddil (Pretzl's "Verzeichnis," no. 31, pp. 43–44), Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī are absent from among the others, but included instead are Ḥumayd b. Qays AL-ʿARAJ (d. 130/747) [Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 575, col. 2], Meccan and teacher of Abū ʿAmr (see above, p. 514), further, Ibn al-Sumayfaʿ (Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3106, without date of death, a pupil of Nāfiʿ and Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān), al-Yamānī and Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif (d. 112/730).—Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī are also missing in *K. al-Jāmiʿ* of Abū Maʿshar [ʿAbd al-Karīm] al-Ṭabarī [d. 478/1085; Brockelmann, *GAL*, suppl. vol. 1, p. 722]; (Pretzl, "Verzeichnis ... der *Qirāʾāt*-Werke," no. 32, p. 45) which, apart from the Seven, contains a large selection of *ikhtiyārāt*.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*

[iii/189] The hierarchy of the three groups corresponds to their sequence, each successive group enjoying lower reputation. There is also a hierarchy within each group, but this is not as apparent as is the arrangement by location. From among the Seven, Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Laythī and 'Āṣim al-Jaḥdarī are the most respected men; among the Three after the Seven, it is Ya'qūb al-Ḥaḍramī; and among the Four after the Ten, probably al-A'mash.

The *ṭariq* numbers added to the Ten and their transmitters permit all sorts of conclusions with respect to meaning and distribution of the various readings and transmission in the older period. Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' has the highest number; for a long time his reading was the most wide-spread of all. He is followed by Nāfi' al-Laythī. 'Āṣim al-Jaḥdarī is preceded by Ibn 'Āmir al-Yaḥṣubī. 'Āṣim al-Jaḥdarī's variant reading spread too late to have any effect on the *ṭariq* figures, whereas Ibn 'Āmir al-Yaḥṣubī is pushed back only later by objections to his reading<sup>168</sup> for matters related to the science of tradition. Ibn Kathīr al-Kinānī and al-Kisā'ī have the lowest figures among the Seven; Ya'qūb al-Ḥaḍramī surpasses both of them. At the end follows Khalaf b. Hishām, but with considerable distance from the preceding Abū Ja'far Yazid IBN AL-QA'QĀ' al-Makhzūmī. If you add up how many "paths" accrue to the individual *amṣār*, the outstanding importance of Kūfa will become evident, even though it is not reflected in the individual figures. Baṣra and Medina follow closely behind, followed at a good distance off by Damascus, and lastly by Mecca. As far as the transmissions are concerned, Abū 'Umar AL-DŪRĪ 'an Abī 'Amr (Ibn al-'Alā') alone has nearly as many paths as do the two transmitters of 'Āṣim al-Jaḥdarī taken together. Warsh, as well as Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān,<sup>169</sup> who later became the authoritative transmitters of Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Laythī and 'Āṣim al-Jaḥdarī, remain behind the two other transmissions of the variant reading. Their day was yet to come.

*The Characteristics of the Canonical  
Variant Readings and Their Distinctions*

[iii/190] The following discussion is limited to the canonical Seven. Their reciprocal relation as derived from among a larger sample among the individual variant readings is roughly as follows:<sup>170</sup> there are two distinct groups, Kūfa on the one hand, and the rest of the *amṣār* on the other. In this case, Medina,

<sup>168</sup> Cf. above, p. 509 n. 21.

<sup>169</sup> *EP*: Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 10, no. 3.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. G. Bergsträßer, "Koranlesung des Hasan von Baṣra," p. 55sqq.

Mecca, and Baṣra are closer to one another than Damascus is to the three of them. And among those three, Medina and Mecca constitute a close unit. It is most typical that Baṣra has by no means a close connection with Kūfa. Among the Kūfan variant readings the one of ‘Āṣim al-Jahḍarī is still the one with the closest connections with the non-Kūfan group. As we have been able to see, the readings of Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb and al-Kisā’ī are extremely Kūfan and closely related to one another. Among the differences within any single reading, the most important within the reading of ‘Āṣim al-Jahḍarī are by far those of Abū Bakr SHU‘BA (IBN ‘AYYĀSH) and Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān. These differences are equally considerable as those of Ibn Kathīr al-Kinānī and Nāfi‘ b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Laythī or al-Kisā’ī and Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb. Perhaps half as great is the difference among the Damascene variant readings. In each of the remaining readings, the differences between the two transmissions are negligible.

The most basic rules of pronunciation are recognized by all the Seven readings. They are subject to *tajwīd*, namely a propaedeutic to the Koranic variant readings proper. The great teachers of the Koran dealt with them in separate writings;<sup>171</sup> occasionally they precede the works on the variant readings as an introduction.<sup>172</sup> These works also contain instructions for the presentation of the material, apart from generalities of prerequisites for the teachers and students of the Koran and an introduction to the terminology of variant readings. Among the numerous ways of presentation referred to, *tartil*, the oldest also appears in the Koran (sūras 25:34, and 73:4). Originally this was likely no more than a term for recitation in general, but early became an expression for clear recitation, and particularly slow psalmody allowing time for meditation. In literature it is equated with the Koranic *mukth*<sup>173</sup> (sūra 17:107), which, as far as I know, was not adopted as a technical term. *Ḥadr*, the presentation in normal cadence of Koranic recitation, very early attained equality with *tartil*, evidently with the rise of the idea that Koranic recitation is meritorious, but also the logical endeavour to recite a

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<sup>171</sup> On this subject see O. Pretzl, “Die Wissenschaft der Koranlesung,” p. 10, and further under literature.

<sup>172</sup> Thus in *al-Mūḍīḥ fi wujūh al-qirā’a* of Naṣr b. ‘Alī (IBN ABĪ MARYAM) al-Fārisī [fl. 557/1162–565/1170] (Pretzl, “Verzeichnis der ... *Qirā’āt-Werke*,” no. 19, pp. 32–34) in the *Iqnā’* of (Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Gharnāfi) IBN AL-BĀDASH [d. 540/1145] (Pretzl’s “Verzeichnis,” no. 11, pp. 27–28), in *al-Nashr* of Ibn al-Jazarī, etc. Brockelmann, *GAL*, suppl. vol. 1, p. 723, no. 7a; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, p. 105, no. 19, and p. 249, l 2.

<sup>173</sup> Cf. the quotation from *al-Mūḍīḥ fi wujūh al-qirā’a* of Abū ‘Abd Allāh Naṣr b. ‘Alī al-Fārisī in O. Pretzl’s “Wissenschaft der Koranlesung,” p. 33, bottom!

great deal (*istikthār al-qirā'a*).<sup>174</sup> The traditions and statements that are used to explain *tartil* offer an insight into the struggle for the recognition of *ḥadr*. There is a reminder of this still in al-Khāqānī (died 325/937),<sup>175</sup> who explicitly states (in [*qaṣīda*], verse 13) that *ḥadr* is permitted (*murakkhaṣ*) besides *tartil*, justifying his decision with the intention inherent in Islam to lighten religious obligations. Already in al-Khāqānī a new expression appears with verse 27, namely *taḥqīq*, replacing *tartil* as the prevalent form in the science of the variant readings,<sup>176</sup> while in the system of *al-Nashr*, it recedes somewhat into the background. The expression, *taḥqīq*, as supported by the very meaning of the word, indicates recitation under most careful observation of every detail of pronunciation. It is Ibn al-Jazarī who defines the relationship of *taḥqīq* to *tartil* which is evidently already applicable in al-Khāqānī, and which at the same time explains the disappearance of *tartil* from the terminology of the science of the variant readings. In fact, Ibn al-Jazarī interprets *taḥqīq* in such a way that it serves as exercise and instruction, whereas *tartil* is meant for meditation, and that every *taḥqīq* serves at the same time as *tartil*, but not *vice versa*.<sup>177</sup>

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As time went on, the Koran became recited more rapidly. But rather than devising a new technical term for the greater speed, the designation *ḥadr*, once agreed upon, was retained; and an intermediate stage between *ḥadr* and *taḥqīq* was introduced. It was named *tadwīr* in *al-Nashr*, and in the respective passage of *al-Mūdiḥ*<sup>178</sup> it appeared as *tajwīd*. However, this attempt to integrate *tajwīd* into the system of recitation failed. The expression is first found in an explanation of *tartil* ascribed to 'Alī: *Tartil* is good pronunciation (*tajwīd*) of the letters and observation of the pauses. A statement ascribed to Ibn Mas'ūd reads: *jawwīd al-Qur'ān*, "pronounce the Koran well."<sup>179</sup> This referred no more to a different way of recitation than was originally the case with *tartil*. But whereas the definition of *tartil* became more restricted, in the case of *tajwīd* it was retained, becoming the synonym of linguistic purity (*faṣāḥa*)<sup>180</sup> when reciting the Koran, which had already been required by al-Khāqānī (verse 21). The inclusion of *tajwīd* in methods of recitation did not last. In *al-Nashr*, both *tajwīd* and *tartil* are attached only on the face of it to a three-level system, leading over to the

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> See below, p. 568; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 14–15.

<sup>176</sup> Cf. *al-Taysīr* (ed. Pretzl), p. 31, l 2; *Ithāf* of al-Dimyāṭī al-Bannā', p. 26, l 3.

<sup>177</sup> *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 209, l 7; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, vol. 1, p. 102, l 7.

<sup>178</sup> Anonymous! See below, p. 568.

<sup>179</sup> *al-Itqān*, vol. 1, p. 109, l 11.

<sup>180</sup> Cf. the comments on *faṣāḥa* in *al-Mūdiḥ*, fol. 7<sup>v</sup> which are intimately related.

institution of rules of pronunciation, thus serving in reality as name of the subject, not a way of recitation. Still, *al-Mūḍiḥ*, as well as *al-Iqnā'* of Ibn al-Bādhsh,<sup>181</sup> knows of yet another way of recitation, thus completing a five-level system, namely *tamṭiṭ*, which is characterized by a particular way of drawing out the prolongations by simultaneously exhaling (*JRY* [جري]) in a way that can only be acquired by training in person (this is the essence of the name).

In the works on variant readings several attempts were made to categorize the readers of the Koran, mainly the Seven, within this system. But in this case it mostly concerns a construction that begins with the variant readers' attitude to certain peculiarities of extreme prolongation of vowels before *hamza*. There are only two points at which the transmitted reports are so uniform and precise that it inspires confidence in attributing *ḥadr* to Ibn Kathīr, but, most of all, *taḥqīq* to Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb: Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' is mentioned in the case of *ḥadr* as well as (*ishtiḳāq al-*)*taḥqīq*. This conforms with the transmitted reports that claim that he had different ways of reading—with and without the far-reaching assimilations that are typical for him—and thus permitting one to comprehend in single instances<sup>182</sup> the historical relation between the rapidity of speech and phonetics as reflected in the descriptions of the postulated levels of the system.

From among five additional ways of recitation with only limited applicability, *tarqīq* ("thinning out") is an offshoot of *tajwīd* or *taḥqīq*. The remaining four methods indicate different types of musical-dramatic recitation: *tar'īd*, recitation with a trembling voice, *taḥzīn*, sorrowful emotion, *taṭrib*, enrapture, namely an offshoot of *tamṭiṭ*, reciting in a singsong voice (*tarannum*, *tanaghghum*), and finally *talhīn*, psalmody. The controversy regarding these methods of recitation follows basically the two traditions: "Embellish the Koran with your voices," and "Recite the Koran with melodies (*luḥūn*) and voices of the true Arabs," both of which purport to support musical recitation but are interpreted differently by their opponents, who could advance unequivocal contradictory statements of older authorities. Today, actual singing, which *al-Mūḍiḥ* still knew to be controversial outside Koranic instruction, has been recognized for a long time.<sup>183</sup>

<sup>181</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, p. 218, Ibn al-Bādhsh al-Gharnāṭī, d. 528/1133.

<sup>182</sup> In *al-Nashr*, and elsewhere, for *ḥadr* performing the permissible abridgements, reductions and vocalizations, possibly under assimilation of the affected consonants, alleviation of *hamz*, avoidance of pause; for *taḥqīq* the opposite, distinct division of nearby letters through lingering, and emphasizing nasalization and gemination.

<sup>183</sup> G. Bergsträßer, "Koranlesung in Kairo," p. 110sqq.

In the writings on *tajwīd* the old pronunciation of the consonants as basically found in Sībawayh<sup>184</sup> is presupposed: ق as velar q, ج as palatal j (not quite certain), ض, one-sided (mostly left) articulated lateral, emphatic spirant, ر, non-rolling r of the tongue, ط, voiced emphatic dental, ظ, voiced emphatic dental spirant. In practice the modern classic value prevails; only to a ظ still applies the pronunciation as spirant, not sibilant, and ض has become a voiced emphatic dental spirant so that both sounds amalgamate.<sup>185</sup> In the case of ل and ر there are two varieties, velar (*mufakhkham*) and palatal (*muraqqaq*). The border-line is controversial. In general, velar ل applies to *Allāh* when preceded by *u* or *a* (not in *-i Allāh*) and palatal ر when close to *i*. A peculiarity of the pronunciation of the vowels is the prolongation (*madd*) of a long vowel in a closed syllable (in particular before gemination) and before *hamz* (see below). When consonants meet, the basic rule is *izhār*, namely both consonants remain unchanged and completely separate, which in practice means that particularly voiced consonants and ق at the end of a syllable nearly constitute a separate syllable.<sup>186</sup> Exceptions are the assimilations *lr*,<sup>187</sup> *td*, *tt*, *dhth*, and *dhz*, but particularly the one with *t*, which is important because of the affirmative *t-*: *ḏt* and *tt*, the latter, however, *iddighāman ghayra mustakmalin bal tabqā ma'ahu ṣifat al-iṭbāq wa-l-isti'lā'*,<sup>188</sup> retaining the emphatic-velar-like characteristics, namely fusion without assimilation. Special conditions control *m* and *n*. In the case of *m*, *ikhfā'* becomes effective before *b*; *ikhfā'* further occurs in *n* (also *tanwīn*) before all consonants except larynx-related consonants as well as *gh* and *kh*. The term *ikhfā'* indicates the decrease of duration, disappearance of *n* or *m* with the formation of the closure at the place of articulation of the following sound with *ghunna* (nasalization). Completely assimilated is *n* to *l* and *r* (without *ghunna*), partially (so that *ghunna* is retained) *n* is assimilated to *m* or *n*, and also to *w* and *y* (only in Sandhi, thus, not in the case of *dunyā ṣinwān*).<sup>189</sup> Further, *n* is changed to *m* (*qalb*) before *b*.

<sup>184</sup> A. Schaade, *Sībawaihi's Lautlehre* (1911); cf. also Meir M. Bravmann, *Materialien und Untersuchungen zu den phonetischen Lehren der Araber* (1934).

<sup>185</sup> G. Bergsträßer, "Koranlesung in Kairo," part two, p. 133.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>187</sup> Occurs only in Sandhi; Sandhi or medially applies only in case of direct interference, like *qul rabbi/ī* (sūra 18:21 and 28:85). Otherwise separation by *sakt*.

<sup>188</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 220, l 10.

<sup>189</sup> This is the official rule which, however, does not apply incontestably to all transmissions.



Fundamental differences of pronunciation as far as they effect the whole of the Koran are the subject of *uṣūl* in the writings on the variant readings. They comprise several large sections, including the following seven:

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(1) The *iddighām kabīr*: According to the common view of teachers of the Koran this refers to Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’s idiosyncrasy in rapid reading (*ḥadr*) to completely assimilate and contract (*iddighām ṣaḥīḥ*) vocalized consonants in Sandhi as well as medially following identical or similar consonants. Since this idiosyncrasy contradicts the general rules of *tajwīd*, and occurs only in one particular manner of recitation, and, most importantly, it is not consistently documented in all the transmissions of this *imām*, it is totally ignored in a large number of writings on the variant readings. There are serious reservations against the usual view, raised quite early, that this is a case of *idghām ṣaḥīḥ*.<sup>190</sup>

(2) Differences in the pronunciation of *hamz* take up much space in the *uṣūl*. In the science of *qirā’āt* the question does not regard qualitative difference of *hamz* existing in the Arabic dialects, rather it is only whether or not it is pronounced at all (*taḥqīq*), or as an intermediate sound (*bayna bayna*), i.e., facilitating a direct transition from one vowel to another, or being replaced (*ibdāl*) by a *ḥarf al-madd*, a letter of prolongation. As far as the alleviation of *hamz* is concerned, in cases when two *hamzs* meet, medially or in Sandhi, the two Ḥijāzīs, Ibn Kathīr, and Nāfi‘, venture furthest; among the transmitters of the latter it is particularly Warsh as well as Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’ and HISHĀM IBN ‘AMMĀR al-Sulamī.

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The initial *hamz* after a vowelless consonant is totally omitted and its vowel is pronounced together with the preceding vowelless consonant, i.e., in the reading of Warsh, who also in other cases largely eases vocalized and unvocalized *hamz* alike, a method that is followed only by Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’ with the greater cadence of his reading (vowelless *hamz* is in this case compensated by prolongation of the vowel). One peculiarity of Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb—also in other cases a champion of *taḥqīq al-hamz*—is that in pause after a word with *hamz* he pronounced neither medial, initial nor final *hamz*, wherein he is followed only by Hishām (Ibn ‘Ammār al-Sulamī) by alleviating the final *hamz*. The effect of an initial *hamz* upon preceding vowelless consonants produces a *sakt* in the reading of Ḥamza (Ibn Ḥabīb),

<sup>190</sup> See Pretzl, “Die Wissenschaft der Koranlesung,” p. 293 sqq.—Ibid., also details to the following.

namely a prolongation of the consonant and a brief pause after the same respectively. According to the less likely transmission, this *sakt* occurs in all consonants, but according to another transmission (in the only extant copy of) *al-Hujja (fi l-qirā'āt al-sab')* of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī (288/901–377/987)<sup>191</sup> only in the case of the *l* of the article. In the middle of a word the same peculiarity is transmitted about the pronunciation of *shay'un*. This phenomenon the author of *al-Hujja* appropriately places parallel to the following one, which leads us to the field of the pronunciation of the vowels among the readers of the Koran.

[iii/197] (3) *Hamz* produces prolongation of the preceding long vowel in the middle of a word in all readings. Initial *hamz* in pronunciation in context has the identical effect on preceding long vowels for Warsh, Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb, al-Kisā'ī and Ibn 'Āmir al-Yaḥṣubī, however not—or at least disputed—for Ibn Kathīr, Qunbul ('*an Nāfi'*), Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' and 'AṢIM b. al-'Ajjāj AL-JAḤḌARĪ. The measure of prolongation is in both cases different in the individual readers. For the practical reading of the Koran the measure is fixed by a most complicated system that establishes the unit of the normal prolongation as one *alif*.<sup>192</sup>

(4) The field of the pronunciation of vowels is dominated by the discussion of the “deflection” of the pronunciation (*imāla*) of the letter *ā* shaded towards *ē*. As in the case of *hamz*, also in this instance only the fact of the deflection in its variations is established, without determining its strength. The following distinctions are made: First—The pure pronunciation *ā* (*fath*, *ikhlaš al-fath*, *al-fath al-mutawassit*). Second—Deflection of *ā* towards *ā* [with a horizontal stroke above the *ā* (or *è*, Wright, *A Grammar*)] (*imāla maḥḍa* or *shadīda*, *baṭḥ*, *idjā*).<sup>193</sup> Third—An intermediate stage between the

<sup>191</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 101–110. Includes a complete list of manuscripts; Twentieth century editions, Cairo, 1965, and Damascus, 1984.

<sup>192</sup> As a general principle in *qirā'āt* literature *madd* means prolongation, while normal lengthening as in *qāla*, and *mālik* is called *qaṣr*. Except in the above-mentioned case where prolongation is occasioned by *hamz*, there is unanimity that it also occurs when a long vowel is followed by a vowelless simple consonant, e.g., *maḥyāy*, or a double consonant. The same applies to *hurūf al-hijā'* at the beginning of sūras. These cases, however, are not included in most of the books on variant readings because they are not controversial.

<sup>193</sup> Also named *kasr*, but it must not be concluded that the deflection becomes a pure *i*. The most extreme contrast (outside the Seven) is encountered in the expression *qara'a bi-l-ḍamm*, indicating the pronunciation from *ā* to *ū*, a sound that al-Dāni calls *fath shadīd* in his *Tajwid*. Cf. to this Abū Ḥayyān's commentary, *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ*, vol. 6, p. 172, l 11.

first sounds mentioned (*bayna bayna*, *imāla qalīla* or *mutawassīṭa*, also *taqlīl* or *taltīf*). According to the two Kūfans, Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb and al-Kisā'ī, *imāla* occurs in the case of final long *ā* written with *yā'* [ي]; conversely, the pronunciation of *imāla* of this final *ā* in Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' is conditioned by the immediately preceding *ج* or by the rhyme. The reading of Nāfi' is very controversial. It is certain that Warsh, his transmitter, pronounced the rhyming ends with small *imāla* (*bayna bayna*); on the other hand, many authors make the pronunciation *bayna bayna* of other words (as in Abū 'Amr) dependent on a preceding *ج*. In the case of medial *ā* *imāla* occurs on two occasions: First—In the ten verbs, *jā'a*, *shā'a*, *zāda*, *rāna*, *khāfa*, *ṭāba*, *khāba*, *hāqa*, *ḍāqa*, and *zāgha*. These are hollow verbs of the basic form *fa'īla*. Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb pronounces them with full *imāla*; Nāfi', *bayna bayna*; whereas al-Kisā'ī and Shu'ba b. 'Ayyāsh 'an 'Āṣim al-Jahdārī, only say *bal rāna*; Ibn Dhakwān only says *jā'a* and *shā'a* with *imāla*. Second—*ā* in the penultimate syllable followed by *-ri* is read with *imāla* by Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' in the transmission of al-Dūrī (in the transmission of Abū l-Ḥārith AL-LAYTH IBN KHĀLID al-Baghdādī (d. 240/854) only when yet another *ج* precedes *ā*), by Warsh, however, *bayna bayna*, likewise Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb, but only when preceded by *ج* (the only case where the pronunciation *bayna bayna* occurs).

Apart from these basic rules in the *uṣūl* and *farsh al-ḥurūf* still a number of individual cases are treated. The *imāla* of the short *a* is discussed only when related to the *tarqīq* of *ج* in Warsh (see above), and in the pausal feminine ending *-ah* which, according to older sources, is pronounced unconditionally with *imāla* by al-Kisā'ī, according to other sources only if not preceded by *ḥurūf musta'liya* (ح, ط, غ, خ) or laryngeal consonants.

A deflection from *ī* toward *ū* is to be found in al-Kisā'ī in words like *qīla*, *gḥīḍa*, *sī'a*, *sī'at*, *ḥīla*, *sīqa*, i.e., hollow verbs of the form *fu'īla*.

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(5) Finally, differences of the pronunciation of vowels are usually still found in the suffixes of the 2. and 3. plural masc. as well as in the 3. sing. masc. suffix. The assimilation of *-hum* and *-hu* after preceding *i* or *y* is consistently applied. But al-Kisā'ī always reads '*alayhum*, *ilayhum*, *ladayhum*'; further, Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb and al-Kisā'ī do not assimilate when *-hum* is followed by *hamzat al-waṣl*, but pronounce in this case *-humu*, whereas Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' says *-himi* and all the others, *-himu*. Ibn Kathīr al-Kinānī pronounces the *-m* of the plural suffixes unconditionally with a long *ū*, Warsh does it only when followed by *hamzat al-qaṭ'*. In the same way, Ibn Kathīr al-Kinānī lengthens the suffix of the 3. sing. *-hū*, if preceded by either *ā*, *ū* or *sukūn*, and *-hī*, when preceded by *ī*.

In *farsh al-ḥurūf* a partial (*ikhtilās*, so mostly Qālūn) or complete reduction of the vowel of these suffixes is frequently documented; this is the case in *yuʿaddih*, *nuʿtih*, *nuwallih*, *nuṣlih*; further, sūra 6:90, *fa-bi-hudāhumu iqtadih* (or *iqṭadi*) instead of *iqṭadihi*; sūra 20:77, *yaʿtīhi*, *yaʿtih*; sūra 27:28, *fa-alqīhi*, *fa-alqih ilayhim*; sūra 39:9, *yarḍahu*, *yarḍah*; sūra 99:7 and 8, *jarah*; sūras 7:108 and 26:35 next to each other are to be found *arjīʿhū*, *arjīʿhū*, *arjīʿhī*, *arjīhi*, *arjih*, and *arjihī*.

[iii/199] (6) Very early differences of contextual and pausal pronunciation found entry into the *uṣūl* of the Koranic variant readings: (a) The most general rule, namely that short final vowels are not pronounced in pause, finds an exception in the peculiarity of the Baṣran and Kūfan readers who hint at the final vowel either by its barely audible remainder (only in the case of *ū* and *ī*) or by merely exhibiting the position of the lips. In the Kūfan terminology the former is called *rawm*, and the latter, *ishmām*; in the Baṣran terminology it is *vice versa*. (b) Abū l-Ḥasan AL-BAZZĪ (ʿan Ibn Kathīr) pronounces the *mā* of question, when connected with prepositions *mah* (with *hāʿ al-sakt*; other cases of *hāʿ al-sakt* are graphically established).<sup>194</sup> (c) Most of the details discussed are occasioned by the peculiarities of the older Koranic orthography, and partly of only theoretical importance for the reading of the Koran. Here belong primarily those passages already discussed above, on p. 358sqq., where words are written in contextual form instead of pausal form, or where the combination and division of individual particles is irregular, particularly the omission of the final *ī* (rarer *ū*). A more or less slavish imitation of the peculiarities of the Koranic orthography also led to different pronunciations of these words in pausal form.

[iii/200] The deviations of the Seven readings as far as they are dealt with in *farsh al-ḥurūf* of the writings on the variant readings go beyond phonetics in the narrow sense, i.e., variants of functionally uniform sounds; apart from a few exceptions they remain within the scope of differences limited to vocalization (including *tashdīd*). This concerns primarily the not infrequent different use of cases and moods; the difference of identically written endings of the perfect tense, *-tu*, *-ta*, *-at*. A larger group consists of the differences in the use of verbal radicals, with and without difference of meaning and construction: active voice and passive voice change in 1st Form of *ṢDD*, *ṢRF*, *QDY*; 1st

<sup>194</sup> Sūra 69, verses 19, 20, 25, 26, 28, 29 *kitābiyah*, *hisābiyah*, *māliyah*, *sultāniyah*, sūra 101:10, *mā hiyah*. Additionally sūra 2:261, *yatasannah*, and 6:90, *iqṭadih*, besides *-hī*. See also above, I 18.

Form and IInd Form of the verbs *BShR*, *HRF*, *FTH*, *QTL*, *QDR*, *KDhB*, *MYZ*; Ist active with IInd passive of *NZL*; Ist Form with IVth Form (in so far as the consonants are not different) of *'TY*, *R'Y*, *ḌLL*, *FQH*, *LḤD*, *NZR*; Ist Form active with IVth Form passive of *BLGh*, *RJ*; *GhShY*, *MDD*, *MSK*, *NJW*, *NZL*; Ist Form with Vth Form (dialectic forms with assimilation of *t*) of *DhKR*, *ṬHR*, *LQF*; IVth Form with Vth Form (identical) of *ṢLḤ*; Ist Form with VIIIth Form in *TB'*, but also (dialectically, in sūras 10:36, and 36:49) *KHṢ HDY*.

Yet another group represents the differences of the characteristic vowel in Ist Form perfect and imperfect, e.g., *a:u* of *MKTh*; imperfect *i:u*, *ṬMTh*, *RSh*, *KF*, *'ZB*; *i:a* *ḤSB*, *QNT*; further, *yaḍir:yaḍurru*; *ṣir:ṣur*; *'asaytum:asitum*. More remote *ukhfī* (imperf.): *ukhfīya* (perf. pass.). Also in the nominal roots considerable differences appear. Particularly frequent is the change from monosyllabic to disyllabic roots: *jubl:jubul* and *jibill*, further, *ma'(a)z*, *kis(a)f*, *nashr:nushur*; *may(yi)t*, *ḍay(yi)q*, etc. (Numerous additional examples listed among the Kūfan peculiarities.) Vowel change in *ḥaraj:ḥarij*, *naṣūh:nuṣūḥ*, *shīwāz:shuwāz*, *maskan:maskin*, *mansak:mansik*. Some IVth Form infinitives interchange with *af'āl* plurals, for example, *idbār:adbār*, *isrār:asrār*, *īmān:aymān*. The *fu'ūl* plural of nouns with *y* as the second root consonant becomes in many readers *fi'ūl*: *buyūt:biyūt*, *ghuyūb:ghiyūb*, *khuyūb:khiyūb*, *shuyūkh:shiyūkh*, *'iyūn:'iyūn*. Now and then verb and noun interchange: *khalāqahū:khalqihī*. Particularly frequently we find differences in the case of identically written particles: *la:li*, *la-ma:li-ma:lamma*, *anna:inna*, *an:in*, *anna:an*, *lākinna:lākin*, *aw:a-wa*.

There is much leeway for variant readings because of the inaccurate writing of *ā*. Where no *alif* appears, it might still be read, but also *vice versa*, where there is an *alif*, it might be considered secondary or a variant, and may still be read *ā*. This way an additional number of verbal roots might be confused: Ist Form and IIIrd Form of the verbs *KhD'*, *DRS*, *DF'*, *QTL*, *W'D*; IInd Form with IIIrd Form, *B'D*, *ḌF*, *'QD*, *FRQ*; Vth Form with VIth Form, *Ṣ'D*, *ZHR*; IVth Form perfect with Infinitive in *aṭ'ama:iṭ'amun*. The same way also *ja'anā:jā'anā*, further, *qul:qāla*,<sup>195</sup> *takhaf:takhāfu*.<sup>196</sup> Also in the case of the nominal roots does this defective writing show an effect: For example, *mahd:mihād*; *silm:salām*; *khalf:khilāf*; *khiṭ':khaṭa':khiṭā'*; *siḥr:sāḥir:sahḥār*; *ghashwa:ghishāwa*; *salam:sālīm*; *asin:āsin*; *'ālim:'allām*; likewise in several Plural forms: *sakrā:sakarā:sukarā*. Further, the frequent confusion of Singular and Plural must be attributed to this, in the Sound (Fem.) Plural, for

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<sup>195</sup> See above, p. 400sq.

<sup>196</sup> See above, p. 401sq.

example, *risālāti* : *risālātī* as well as in the Broken Plural, for example, *ʿabd*:*ibād*; *ʿazm*:*ʿizām*; *rīh*:*riyāh*; *ruhn*:*rihān*; *īsr*:*āsār*; *jidār*:*judur*; *sirāgh*:*surugh*; *kitāb*:*kutub*; *khāshī*:*khushshā*; *kāfir*:*kuffār*; *maskan*:*masākin*; and *masjid*:*masājīd*.

Also other orthographic inaccuracies<sup>197</sup> permit variant readings. Since the ending of Fem. Singular can be written with *-t*,<sup>198</sup> it might be confused with the Sound Plural: *ghayābat*:*ghayābāt*, *kalimat*:*kalimāt*, etc.; also in *ṣalāt*, which is written with *w*, and can therefore be read *ṣalawāt*. Similarly, the writing of *GhDWH* produces the variants *ghadāh* and *ghudwah*.<sup>199</sup> Since in the *dhawāt al-yāʿ* the *ā* is written with *y*, *بغشتیکم* can be interpreted as *yughshikum* as well as *yaghshākum*. Since the final *ī* was frequently not written, confusions like *tasʿalanna*:*tasʿalni* (= *-nī*), also *yarta*:*yartaʿi* (= *-ī*) are possible. The absence of word divisions produce, for example, *anṣāra Allāhi*:*anṣāran lil-Allāhi*, *idh adbara*:*idhā dabbara*. The imperfections of the orthography of *hamz* permit additional leeway, for example, in *naʿa*:*nāʿa*; *ṭayr*:*tāʿir*; *ṭayf*:*ṭāʿif*; *raʿuf*:*raʿūf*; *kabīr*:*kabāʿir*; *shirk*:*shurakāʿ*; *khaṭīʿa*:*khaṭīʿāt*:*khaṭāyā*; *durrīyun*:*durrīʿun* (*dirrīʿun*); *bīs*:*bīʿs*:*bayʿas*:*baʿīs* also *yasūʿa*:*yasūʿū* (because two *w*'s one after another are not expressed in writing); *layka*:*l-ayka*; particularly in personal names: *Jabrīl*, *Jibrīl*, *Jabrāʿīl*, *Jabrāʿīl*; *Mikāl*, *Mikāʿīl*, *Mikāʿīl*.<sup>200</sup> There is in addition still a very large number of instances where it is controversial whether or not the interrogative particle, *ʿa*, occurs before a word beginning with *hamz*.

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The great licence afforded by the ambiguity of the Kūfic script through the absence of diacritic points is rarely made use of by the Seven readings. This has already been discussed above on p. 434. Still rarer are deviations from the consonantal text, namely the manuscripts without diacritic points that have been discussed above, pp. 413–414.<sup>201</sup>

<sup>197</sup> See above, p. 408sqq.

<sup>198</sup> See above, p. 400.

<sup>199</sup> See above, p. 395 n. 46.

<sup>200</sup> See above, p. 401 n. 82.

<sup>201</sup> Cf. also above, p. 395 n. 46, and the cases of inherited consonantal variants, pp. 347–349. Apparent consonantal deviations: sūra 7:120, where Qunbul reads *firʿawnu wa-ʿāmantum* instead *firʿawnu aʿāmantum*, but in *waṣl* only; for this reason the form of the writing based on the *waqf* form remains unchanged. It is similar in some isolated instances of the great *iddighām* in sūra 27:36, where Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb reads *atumiddūnnī* instead *atumiddūnanī*; sūra 46:16, *ataʿidānnī*, Ibn Kathīr, Nāfiʿ, Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʿ, and Hishām b. ʿAmmār instead of *ataʿidāninī*; sūra 18:94, *makkannī*: thus all except Ibn Kathīr instead *makkananī*. In all such instances it is always written separately and still pronounced together.

The characterization of each individual reading is made difficult in so far as they are inconsistent in themselves. This can easily be accepted considering the fact that none of the readings is based on a uniform linguistic or dialectic interpretation of the consonantal text, nor has its origin in a uniform understanding. Rather it represents the result of a most complicated balancing act that has already been discussed above. Even the kind of instruction in the Koran, the original fixation of this instruction, and also the application of the critical principles, which have already been discussed, was bound to lead to the isolation of passages and then to treat similar instances in different ways. In such a case, particularly the adherence to the principle of tradition was an obstruction: Whoever received a Koranic passage transmitted from an old authority in a particular form (based on a sound *isnād*) could—and on special conditions had to—include this particular passage in this form in his own reading. This principle of tradition made it impossible to correct parallel passages. Naturally, the internal uniformity of the individual readings ran counter to the above-mentioned standardization, excluding any consideration for other readings.

In fact, we can identify inconsistencies among the readers themselves for independent purposes. Al-Kisā'ī (d. 189/804) inflects *thamūd* as accusative triptote noun because it appears on several occasions in Koranic orthography in the accusative with *alif* (sūras 11:71, 25:40, 29:37, 53:52), but otherwise as a diptote because it is a personal name; the only exception being sūra 11:71, where the genitive reads *thamūdin*. (Yaḥyā b. Ziyād) AL-FARRĀ' (d. 207/822) asks him for the reason, and receives the reply: *qarubat fī l-ḥadhf min al-mujrā wa-qabīḥun an yajtamī'a l-ḥarf marratayn fī mawḍi'in thumma yakhtalif fa-ajraytuh li-qurbih minhu*. Because at this place *a-lā inna Thamūdan kafarū rabbahum a-lā bu'dan li-Thamūd* is preceded by the triptote accusative required by orthography, al-Kisā'ī here, and only here, applies also the genitive triptote. Here, for once, we obtain a direct insight into the mechanics of the old readers of the Koran. The passage is from al-Farrā's extant commentary on the Koran.<sup>202</sup>

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The extent of these inconsistencies is unbelievable; still, it must not be exaggerated. In the fundamentals of pronunciation certain main lines are indeed established; there is nothing entirely contradictory; there are, however, smaller deviations in isolated instances. The straightforward rules of assimilation are completely observed, to some extent also the rules

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<sup>202</sup> *Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān*, Ms. Bagdathī Vehbī Efendi, Istanbul, no. 66, photocopy, Berlin, Cod. sim. or., no. 37, s.v.

governing *hamza*. Most numerous are conspicuous details of *imāla*, but also here there are numerous *uṣūl muṭṭarida*, and likewise in individual instances the expression *haythu waqa'a* is quite often to be found.

More difficult than in the Seven is a general typology of subsequent readings of the systems of the Ten and Fourteen, with the exception of the one of Ya'qūb al-Ḥaḍramī who, on account of his great importance, has a very good tradition. The Kūfan Khalaf b. Hishām (al-Bazzār) and the Baṣran Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī, easily fit into the framework of their *amṣār* as far as pronunciation is concerned, corresponding to their individual cases, where they display few idiosyncrasies. Conversely, in the case of the older scholars—al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/722), Ibn Muḥayṣin (d. 123/740), and Abū Ja'far (Yazīd IBN AL-QA'QĀ') as well as al-A'mash (d. 148/765)—the presentation of the basics of their pronunciation is made superfluous by the simple fact that in teaching they attached no great importance to the phonetic imitation of their own reading. Nevertheless, the individual readings contain a large number of purely phonetical details that presuppose considerably greater difference in the rules of pronunciation. Already Bergsträßer<sup>203</sup> drew attention to the fact that al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was reckoned among the group of readers who, as far as the rules of pronunciation are concerned, pronounced *hamz*, while in *farsh al-ḥurūf* a far-reaching lightening of *hamz* is explicitly documented. As we know from writings on *shawādh*,<sup>204</sup> for him the chapter *imāla* ought to be re-written, and the *imāla* of *a* to *u* included. The framework of the *uṣūl*, originally created for the Seven, was retained also later on, and the newly added readers of the Fourteen included only superficially, mostly by merely listing them under the rubric of “miscellaneous”, the *bāqūn*-system.

<sup>203</sup> “Die Koranlesung des Hasan von Baṣra,” p. 17.

<sup>204</sup> The most highly esteemed of them (see below, p. 566) were still unknown to Bergsträßer. For this reason his conjectures regarding the *imāla* of al-Ḥasan von Baṣra on p. 351 (*Seite* 18 [sic]) are not quite pertinent; certainly quite accurate are his fundamental deliberations (above, p. 421 sqq.).



## LITERATURE OF THE VARIANT READINGS<sup>1</sup>

### *The Earliest Period*

Whereas in the case of *ḥadīth*, as Goldziher has shown,<sup>2</sup> written records were used quite early without hesitation, and it was not until a later period that the habit—or at least the fiction—of oral transmission became established, in the narrow case of the readings of the Koran, oral transmission seems likely to have been the original mode of transmission, at least insofar as this already presupposes an authentic consonantal text. The task consisted of fixing the pronunciation of an extant consonantal text into a written form, not only by reading signs in the text itself but also by explicit description or stipulation (*naṣṣ*), which can hardly be anything but a later development.

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The first written records of this kind—which are neither public nor textual but entirely private and thus, strictly speaking, not a literature of variant readings but rather a precursor to it—go back to the middle of the second century, to the time of the younger of the recognized readers and the elder pupils of the eldest among them. The technical term of these records is *nuskha*; the standard expression, *la-hu* (pupil) ‘*an-hu* (teacher) *nuskha* is synonymous with the less frequent *kataba l-qirā’a ‘an ...*<sup>3</sup> This does not refer to a work authored by the respective pupil but to a kind of notebook. To the earliest among the myriad examples listed in the *Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaqāt al-qurrā’* of Ibn al-Jazarī belong the following: Sulaymān b. Mihrān AL-AMASH (d. 148/765), *Ṭabaqāt*, no. 874; Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb (d. 156/773),

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<sup>1</sup> Sources: Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, the sections from Ibn Mujāhid to al-Naqqāsh (odd references already previously) and *al-kutub al-mu’allafa fī l-qirā’āt*, in addition to the following: Ibn al-Jazarī, whose survey of the literature of the variant readings in *al-Nashr fī l-qirā’āt al-’ashr* has already (see above, p. 505) been mentioned; also his *Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaqāt al-qurrā’* (printed, Cairo, 1933 and 1935), including the entire biographical literature (see above, p. 505 sqq.); Pretzl’s “Die Wissenschaft der Koranauslegung” contains a list of the extant manuscripts of the early *qirā’āt* works down to the *Shāṭibīyya*.

<sup>2</sup> *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, p. 181sq.; his *The Zāhīris* (1971, repr. 2009), p. 90; F. Sezgin, “Goldziher and Hadith,” in: I. Goldziher, *Schools of Koranic commentators*, pp. xxii–xxiv.

<sup>3</sup> For example, Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 180, l 12; similarly Qālūn [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 12, no. 8] says: *qara’u ‘alā Nāfi’ qirā’ata-hu ... wa-katabtu-hā fī kitāb* (al-Dhahabī, *Ṭabaqāt* [Berlin Ms., Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 9943], 62, missing in the printed edition [p. 732, l 2]); Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, no. 2509 (vol. 1, p. 615, l 17).

no. 22; Nāfi' (d. 169/785), nos. 755, 1581,<sup>4</sup> 1965, 2509, 3322; Abū 'Amr YAḤYĀ IBN AL-ḤĀRITH al-Dhimārī (d. 148 [i.e., 145/762]),<sup>5</sup> no. 1965; ISMĀ'ĪL IBN JA'FAR b. Abī Kathīr<sup>6</sup> (d. 180/796), a pupil of Abū l-Rabī' Sulaymān IBN JAMMĀZ al-Zuhrī,<sup>7</sup> no. 1377; al-Kisā'ī (d. 189/804), nos. 3037, 3742, 3764; Abū 'Īsā SULAYM IBN 'ĪSĀ al-Ḥanafī (d. 188/803 or 200/815), no. 3122; 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd WARSH (d. 197/812), no. 1660; the above-mentioned (p. 472) 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān AL-'UTAQĪ;<sup>8</sup> and ABŪ MUḤAMMAD Yaḥyā b. al-Mubārak AL-YAZĪDĪ<sup>9</sup> (d. 202/817), nos. 1504 and 1929.

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These records do not give us much of a clue, but we may certainly assume that they contained only brief details about the controversial passages of the particular *imām*.

Since in earlier days the borders between private notes and the public book were fluid, a number of writings can be attributed to the type that is chronologically identical with the *nusakh*, and appear under the title *kitāb al-qirā'āt* (possibly more appropriately *al-qirā'a*) or a similar title.<sup>10</sup> We are probably dealing with another stage of this development when 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (AL-'UTAQĪ), who died in 231/845 (see above, p. 520 n. 77), treats both Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Laythī and Ḥamza (Ibn Ḥabīb) in a book entitled *Ikhtilāf Nāfi' wa-Ḥamza*.<sup>11</sup> This corresponds precisely to the fact that [Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Malik] AL-AṢMA'Ī, who died [in 213/828]<sup>12</sup> (*Ṭabaqāt*, no. 1965), possessed a *nuskhā* each of Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' and of Nāfi',<sup>13</sup> and another younger man, such a *nuskhā* of Ibn Dhakwān

<sup>4</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥmān IBN ABĪ AL-ZINĀD [*EP*'] according to the *rijāl* books; the year of death here indicated as 164 ought to be changed to 174/790; (*EP*).

<sup>5</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, p. 200.

<sup>6</sup> Sezgin, *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 94–95.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 530; *EQ*.

<sup>8</sup> The *Risālat Warsh*, which Brockelmann (*GAL*, vol. 1, p. 189, note) mentions with reservations, and which comes to mind in this connection, is in reality composed by the commentator al-Mutawallī himself (see Yusuf E. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de bibliographie arabe*, col. 1617, no. 3, and cf. G. Bergsträsser, "Die Koranlesung in Kairo," p. 28).

<sup>9</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, p. 610, vol. 9, pp. 63–64.

<sup>10</sup> Primarily Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, section *al-kutub al-mu'allafa fi l-qirā'āt*; among the authors are Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' and Khalaf b. Hishām al-Bazzār; in addition the work later called *kitāb al-qirā'āt (-a?)* of Abān b. Taghrīb al-Raba'ī, d. 141/752 (see above, p. 515); [Goldziher, *Schools*, p. 45, note 69] and the writings on readings of al-Kisā'ī, the authors of which, as far as can be documented, were all his pupils. Also al-Kisā'ī's own *Kitāb al-qirā'āt*; see al-Dhahabī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 718, l 13; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, no. 2212 (vol. 1, p. 539, l 18); Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 5, p. 200, l 4; G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 125, no. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, no. 97 and 3518.

<sup>12</sup> *EP*; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, p. 613, vol. 3, pp. 364–365, vol. 4, pp. 333–334, vol. 7, pp. 344–345, vol. 8, pp. 71–76, vol. 9, pp. 66–67.

<sup>13</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, no. 1965.

and Hishām b. ‘Ammār al-Sulamī.<sup>14</sup> More comprehensible collections of this kind, namely the combination of complete readings, existing for practical purposes either at the place of their origin or in their immediate zone of influence, presuppose travel: if even the collection of *ḥadīths*, which are much less locally confined, requires extensive travel,<sup>15</sup> so much more does the collection of variant readings of the Koran. Among the first men known to have done this are al-Ḥulwānī,<sup>16</sup> who died after 230/844, and Abū Ja‘far MUḤAMMAD IBN SA‘DĀN,<sup>17</sup> d. 231/845; among the canonical transmitters it is Ḥafṣ b. ‘Umar AL-DŪRĪ al-Baghdādī,<sup>18</sup> d. 246/860. The path of collections of comprehensive readings here leads to Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad IBN JUBAYR al-Anṭākī AL-MUQRI<sup>19</sup> (died 258/871), who collected five of the canonical readers,<sup>20</sup> and to al-Dājūnī (d. 324/935), who collected eight of them (the Seven plus Abū Ja‘far Yazīd IBN AL-QA‘QĀ‘ al-Makhzūmī<sup>21</sup>), both being predecessors of Ibn Mujāhid, who collected seven. In the case of other collections, from the previous period, which comprise a larger number of authorities, it is doubtful to what extent they claim comprehensive readings. Ibn al-Jazarī mentions Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsīm b. Sallām (d. 224/838)<sup>22</sup> as the first author of a considerable collection. His book comprises twenty-five readers apart from the Seven. At approximately the same time, Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī (d. 250/864) composed a large and a small work on *qirā‘āt*.<sup>23</sup> The book *al-Jāmi‘* by YA‘QŪB b. Ishāq b. Zayd AL-ḤAḌRAMĪ (d. 205/821) is clearly on

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 165.

<sup>15</sup> I. Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, vol. 2, pp. 42 and 164 sqq.

<sup>16</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, no. 697.

<sup>17</sup> See above, pp. 484 sq., and 486 n. 108.

<sup>18</sup> *Ṭabaqāt*, no. 1159 (vol. 1, p. 255, l 12: *raḥala ... fi ṭalab al-qirā‘āt*; at the same place it is also said of him: *awwal man jama‘a l-qirā‘āt*). [EQ; Sezgin, GAS, vol. 1, p. 13, died 240/854 or, according to others, 246/860].

<sup>19</sup> Sezgin, GAS, vol. 9, pp. 238–139.

<sup>20</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 33, l 19; *Ṭabaqāt*, no. 176; Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, *İbāna* (Berlin Ms., Ahlwardt, *Verzeichn.*, no. 578), p. 509. Apparently one each of every *miṣr‘* [Sezgin, GAS, vol. 9, pp. 138–139].

<sup>21</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 33, l 24 sqq., where it is said that Ibn Mujāhid transmitted from him, which likely means that he used his book.

<sup>22</sup> *Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 33, l 17. His book of types of reading also in *al-Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm as well as in al-Dhahabī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 615, l 24. Regarding his list of the types of reading see his *Fadā‘il*; cf. above, p. 430 sq.

<sup>23</sup> In the Ms., Damascus Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhiriyya, *qirā‘āt*, no. 54 (see below!) it is said of him: *wa-ṣannafa Kitābah al-kabīr fi l-qirā‘āt fi arba‘ina sanatan wa-yuqāl inna muṣannafāt al-Islām arba‘a huwa aḥaduhum thumma ṣannafa kitābah al-ṣaghīr fi ma‘rifat ḥurūf al-Qur‘ān al-mukhtalafī-hā*.

the subject of individual variant readings:<sup>24</sup> *dhakara fī-hi ikhtilāf wujūh al-qirā'āt wa-nasaba kull ḥarfīlā man qara'a bi-hi*. Similar statements, like those about Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām and Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, can also be found concerning some later men, for example, *al-qādi* Ismā'il b. Ishāq al-Mālikī al-Azdī (d. 282/895), who dealt with twenty *imāms*, including the Seven<sup>25</sup> and—based on Abū 'Ubayd 'Abd al-Qāsim b. Sallām<sup>26</sup>—the well-known al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923).<sup>27</sup> Al-Ṭabarī's work, also entitled *Jāmī'*,<sup>28</sup> consisted of eighteen volumes, albeit in large letters,<sup>29</sup> *Jāmī' al-qirā'āt min al-mashhūr wa-l-shawādh dhālika wa-sharḥuh*,<sup>30</sup> and his own *ikhtiyār*. Its importance rests on the fact that Ibn Mujāhid made use of it.<sup>31</sup> The edition of large collections of individual variant readings extends to the time of Ibn Mujāhid and beyond. Ibn Mujāhid's great adversary, Ibn Shannabūdh (d. 328/939),<sup>32</sup> is mentioned as the author of a *Kitāb ikhtilāf al-qurrā'*.<sup>33</sup> Abū Bakr Muḥammad AL-NAQQĀSH (d. 351/962) composed *al-Muḥjam al-kabīr fī asmā' al-qurrā' wa-qirā'atihim*.<sup>34</sup> The last works of this genre we might reckon to be the great collective works of the fourth and fifth centuries, including the *Iqnā'* by Abū 'Alī AL-AHWĀZĪ (d. 446/1055)<sup>35</sup>—which, despite being cited repeatedly (above, note 29), has survived

<sup>24</sup> See above, p. 530 sq.; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 7, p. 302, l 16; Ibn Khallikān, no. 835; [EQ; Sezgin, GAS, vol. 1, p. 11, no. 6].

<sup>25</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, no. 754, *Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 33, l 20; Makkī, *Ibāna* (Berlin Ms., no. 578), p. 496. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 258, l 3, mentions an approving remark of Ibn Mujāhid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Mujāhid in Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 443, l 1; in the list of writings Yāqūt even says: *kitābuh fī l-qirā'āt yashṭamil 'alā kitāb Abī 'Ubayd*. The number of the *imāms* seems to have been identical in both works.

<sup>27</sup> Sezgin, GAS, vol. 1, pp. 323–328. See above, p. 485 sqq.

<sup>28</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 33, l 23; otherwise mostly called *kitābuh fī l-qirā'āt*, or similarly; for example, Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, *Ibāna* (Berlin Ms., Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 578), pp. 496 and 500; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 427.

<sup>29</sup> Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan AL-AHWĀZĪ, in the *Iqnā'*, Ms., Damascus, Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhiriyya, no. 54: *ra'aytuhu fī thamāniya 'asharu majalladatin illā annahu kāna bi-khuṭūṭin kibārin*. Also Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 427, l 7 sqq. (abbreviated). Here, Yāqūt explicitly mentions *al-Iqnā'* of al-Ahwāzī as the source. Thus, the afore-mentioned Damascus manuscript can be identified beyond doubt.

<sup>30</sup> Its authorship is very doubtful; Sezgin, GAS, vol. 1, p. 328, no. 9.

<sup>31</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 34, l 2 (*rawā 'an* probably meant by this); cf. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 442, l 18, where Ibn Mujāhid attests to the excellence of the book, attributing some of its mistakes to Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām.

<sup>32</sup> See above, p. 467 sq.

<sup>33</sup> Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 302, l 2.

<sup>34</sup> *Fihrist*, p. 33, and from this Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 497, l 3 (*akbar* instead *kabīr*); see above, p. 505.

<sup>35</sup> al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, p. 222, l 3: *rawā 'an-hu al-ṭimma wa-rimma Abū Ma'shar*

only as a very small fragment—and another fragmentary *Kitāb al-Jāmi‘* or *Sūq al-‘arūs* of his pupil Abū Ma‘shar ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Ṭabarī (d. 478/1085).<sup>36</sup> Both works contain a great number of complete *ikhtiyārāt* apart from the Seven canonical readings. Further, the *K. al-Kāmil* by ABŪ AL-QĀSIM Yūsuf (Ibn) ‘Alī AL-HUDHALĪ (d. 465/1072),<sup>37</sup> contains no fewer than 1,500 *riwāyāt* and *ṭuruq*, apart from the fourteen other *ikhtiyārāt*. Likewise, the *K. al-Rawḍat al-ḥuffāz* of Abū Ismā‘īl Mūsā AL-MU‘ADDIL (roughly a contemporary)<sup>38</sup> contains fifteen readings, among whom we find Ḥumayd b. Qays AL-‘ARAJ,<sup>39</sup> Ibn al-Sumayfa‘, and Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif al-Hamdānī (d. 112/730).<sup>40</sup>

The collection and citation of variant readings in the time before Ibn Mujāhid is not limited to the *muqri*’s themselves but is rather the work of traditionists, Koranic commentators, and philologists alike, particularly the latter. They appear either in the framework of grammatical and lexicographical works or frequently independently; in most cases we only know them by title. In the *Muhtasab* of Ibn Jinnī (died 392/1002),<sup>41</sup> however, more details have survived through references to the famous Muḥammad b. al-Mustanīr QUTRUB (d. 206/821),<sup>42</sup> and also to the book of Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī (died 255/869).<sup>43</sup> The highlight of philological studies on the variant readings is precisely this work of Ibn Jinnī, as well as his commentary on the *K. al-Shawādh* of Ibn Mujāhid, and his parallel work and model, the commentary of his teacher, Abū ‘Alī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987)<sup>44</sup> on the *K. al-Sab‘a* of Ibn Mujāhid, entitled *K. al-Ḥujja* (see below, p. 552).

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*al-Ṭabarī fī kitāb sūq al-‘arūs*. [Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Ibrahīm AL-AHWĀZĪ; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 603].

<sup>36</sup> O. Pretzl, “Verzeichnis der älteren Qirā‘ätwerke,” no. 32, p. 45.

<sup>37</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, no. 3929.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., no. 3679; O. Pretzl, “Verzeichnis der älteren Qirā‘ätwerke,” no. 31, pp. 43–44.

<sup>39</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 575, col. 2; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, p. 50.

<sup>40</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. xxviii, col. 2, n. 4; p. 62, col. 1, p. 404, col. 2.

<sup>41</sup> G. Bergsträßer, *Nichtkanonische Lesarten im Muhtasab des Ibn Ğinnī*.

<sup>42</sup> Loc. cit., p. 18, l 93. Ibn Jinnī does not supply the title; it might have been *Ma‘ānī l-Qur‘ān* (Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 66, no. 1) or *l-rāb al-Qur‘ān* (p. 67 no. 18). [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 64–65].

<sup>43</sup> Loc. cit., p. 18, ll 90 and 94; Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī is one of the main authorities also for the author of the *K. al-Ḥujja* (see below, p. 552) and is frequently cited in the *Kashf* of Makki b. Abī Ṭalīb. [According to Sezgin, *GAS*, v. 3, pp. 367–368, Abū Ḥātim died more likely in 250/864.]

<sup>44</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 951; [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 101–110].

*The Rise of the Canonical Variant Readings*

Abū Bakr (Aḥmad b. Mūsā) IBN MUJĀHID (d. 324/936) ranked second in the science of the variant readings behind his adversary, Ibn Shannabūdh,<sup>45</sup> but in the opinion of his pupil, ABŪ ṬĀHIR ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Abī Hāshim AL-BAZZĀR<sup>46</sup> (d. 349/960) greatly superior to him as far as discernment is concerned.<sup>47</sup> But most of all, he was a successful teacher.<sup>48</sup> His work has become the standard reference book to the science of the Koran, although it was surpassed by later literature, particularly by al-Dānī’s *Taysīr* and by subsequent writings. Nevertheless, his book continued to be transmitted for quite some time.<sup>49</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī studied it and read the Koran according to its content. It has come down to us, at least the greater part of it, in the above-mentioned commentary of Abū ‘Alī al-Fārisī.<sup>50</sup> There, it is most certainly not complete, because after some introductory words al-Fārisī begins with the commentary on the first variant reading *mālik* : *malik*, verse 1:3; but we may assume that Ibn Muḥāhid first had mentioned details about the readers and transmitters. Apart from the introduction, which is no longer extant, the book was arranged according to Koranic passages relating to their differences. There is no trace of a first part on the rules of pronunciation arranged by subject (*uṣūl*), as appears in later such writings. But there are approximations to a synopsis when at the first occurrence of a subject, similar matters arising later are all dealt with together. In this instance he even goes fur-

<sup>45</sup> Ibn Shannabūdh prides himself with this superiority which to a large extent is due to his extensive travel (Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, no. 2707: vol. 2, p. 55, n. 9). His date of death is variously given as 325/936 and 328/939.

<sup>46</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 167–168; Abū Ṭāhir al-Bazzāz, 280/893–349/960.

<sup>47</sup> He says about Ibn Shannabūdh: “*‘ilmihu fawqa ‘aqlih*,” but about Ibn Muḥāhid, the opposite. (al-Ṭabarī, loc. cit.)

<sup>48</sup> His *ḥalqa* (lectures) were attended by three hundred professional (*muṣaddar* or *mutasaddir*) readers; he had eighty-four assistant teachers (*khalifa*, see above, p. 496 n. 176); *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 121, l 25. Ibn al-Jazarī does not know of any teacher with more students than he had (*Ṭabaqāt*, no. 663: vol. 1, p. 142, l 5).

<sup>49</sup> Usually entitled *Kitāb al-Sab’a*, fully, *Ma’rifat qirā’at ahl al-amṣār bi-l-Ḥijāz wa-l-‘Irāq wa-l-Sha’m* (thus al-Fārisī in the introduction to his commentary; see O. Pretzl, “Die Wissenschaft der Koranlesung,” p. 18, l 7). There is the solidary statement of al-Ja’barī (d. 732/1331) in his commentary on *al-Shāṭibīyya* (Ms. Istanbul, Fatih Camii Kütüphanesi, 52, 550<sup>v</sup>.) that he used the *Kitāb al-Sab’a al-ṣaḥīr* of Ibn Muḥāhid as the only of his writings that he was able to find. If this was correct, it might fit the passage in the *Fihrist*, where the bibliography lists a *Kitāb al-Qirā’at al-ṣaḥīr* next to a *kabīr*—although next to both of them also *Kitāb al-Sab’a*.

<sup>50</sup> A second commentary is from Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370/980; Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 232, no. 19); further in Ḥājjī Khalifa (under *Kitāb al-Sab’a*) who explicitly mentions that both the commentaries and the text are in his possession. [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 167–168.]

ther than al-Dānī. Furthermore, there are also traces of the *bāqūn*-system already mentioned on p. 428. Al-Fārisī lacks the solid system of two transmitters. We therefore often find fewer transmissions. Hishām (Ibn ‘Ammār) ‘an Ibn ‘Āmir, for example, is hardly considered. But in most instances there are still more, since apart from the canonical transmitters also other transmitters are dealt with. For this reason, the book frequently contains variants that are not at all mentioned by al-Dānī. Many peculiarities display a smaller measure of detail and comprehensiveness of phonetic observation. Entirely wanting are references to the difference between context (*waṣl*) and pausal (*waqf*) pronunciation of the later period.

We cannot determine who established the additional limitations and impoverishments of the system of dual transmitters since too little is known about the writings on the Seven in the period between Ibn Mujāhid and al-Dānī.<sup>51</sup> We are in a somewhat better position as far as the next two advances that occurred in the immediate period after Ibn Mujāhid, namely the presentation of a systematic part about *uṣūl* and a linguistic exegesis of the variant readings are concerned.

As far as the *uṣūl* are concerned, we learn that the first man to have initiated the discussion of the individual readings (called *farsh*) was Ibn Mujāhid’s pupil (Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Umar) AL-DĀRAQUṬNĪ (d. 385).<sup>52</sup> Al-Dānī’s *Jāmi‘* owes its excellence mainly to the fact that the work was modelled on al-Dāraquṭnī’s book.<sup>53</sup> Two books entitled *Iḥtijāj al-qurrā’ wa-i‘rāb al-Qur’ān*<sup>54</sup> have been transmitted, one by the renowned grammarian al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898), and the other by Abū Bakr IBN AL-SARRĀJ (d. 316/928).<sup>55</sup> Still older is the second advance. Already al-Akhfash (d. ca. 292/904, see above, p. 516) is said to have composed a book (*bi-l-‘ilal*)<sup>56</sup> on the reading of Ibn ‘Āmir al-Yaḥṣubī, and ABŪ AL-QĀSIM ‘Ubayd Allāh b.

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<sup>51</sup> The most important writings: *al-Irshād* of ABŪ ṬAYYIB (‘Abd al-Mun‘im b. ‘Ubayd Allāh) IBN GHALBŪN, died 389/999 [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 15] in Egypt (used in *al-Nashr* of Ibn al-Jazarī, see vol. 1, p. 78) the teacher of Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib (see below); the *K. al-Hādī* of ABŪ ‘ABD ALLĀH Muḥammad b. Sufyān AL-QAYRAWĀNĪ, d. 415/1024 in Medina, for whom Ibn al-Jazarī still has rich transmissions (*al-Nashr fī l-qirā’at al-‘ashr*, vol. 1, p. 65), and which we, too, still possess (Pretzl, *Verzeichnis*, Istanbul, Fatih Camii Kütüphanesi, no. 62); and *al-Hidāya* of Abū l-Abbās (AḤMAD IBN ‘AMMĀR) AL-MAHDĀWĪ, d. 440/1048 [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 215–216], also used by Ibn al-Jazarī (*al-Nashr*, vol. 1, 68), as well as the extant corresponding commentary by the same author (Pretzl, *Verzeichnis*, no. 6, pp. 24–25; Istanbul, Köprülü [not specified whether Köprülü Fazıl Ahmet Paşa or Köprülü Mehmet Paşa], no. 20).

<sup>52</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 206–209.

<sup>53</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2281: vol. 1, p. 559, l 4; the title of the book is unknown.

<sup>54</sup> Yāqūt, *al-Irshād*, vol. 7, p. 143, l 20; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, p. 98.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 11, l 11; see below, note 60; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 82–85.

<sup>56</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 966.

Ibrāhīm AL-‘AMRĪ (d. 307/919) a book entitled *Muṣannaf mu‘alla*<sup>57</sup> about the reading of Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) in his great work on *qirā’āt*<sup>58</sup> (see above, p. 548) refers in every reading to *‘ilal* and *sharḥ*. IBN MIQSAM al-‘Aṭṭār (d. 354/965), Ibn Mujāhid’s adversary (see above, p. 475 sq.), composed a book entitled *Ihtijāj lil-qurrā’*, where he is trying to advocate unusual readings *wujūhan min al-lugha wa-l-ma‘nā*.<sup>59</sup> We also find this latter expression in the title of the oldest extant work defending this procedure of substantiation and justification of the variant readings, entitled *K. al-Ḥujja* of ABŪ ‘ALĪ (al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Ghaffār) AL-FĀRISĪ (al-Fasawī) who died in 377/987, which constitutes a complete commentary on the Koran, including *ta‘lil* to *Kitāb al-Sa‘ba* of Ibn Mujāhid.<sup>60</sup> The influence of this work must not be underestimated; Makkī b. Abi Ṭalīb, who died in 437/1045,<sup>61</sup> and Abū Ṭāhir (Ismā‘il) IBN KHALAF (al-Ṣiqillī), who died in 455/1063,<sup>62</sup> left us excerpts from it. See also below, p. 582 sq. (*Seite* 247, *Nr.* 18!) [*sic*, where there is no such number].

### *The Rise of the Classic System of the Seven*

[iii/213] Of decisive importance for the subsequent development of the literature of the variant readings was the transfer of the new science of variant readings to Spain. Upon the initiative of the Spanish Umayyad Caliph, al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir Billāh, the Egyptian reader of the Koran ABŪ L-ḤASAN (‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘il) AL-ANṬĀKĪ (d. 377/987) moved in 352/963 to Cordoba.<sup>63</sup> But it was far more important that conversely Spaniards, namely the two contemporaries, Makkī b. Abi Ṭalīb al-Qaysi (died 437/1045) and,

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 2010.

<sup>58</sup> According to the above-mentioned work of (Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī) AL-AHWĀZĪ (Ms. Damascus, al-Zāhiriyya, 54); further, Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 427, l 8, and vol. 6, p. 442, l 2.

<sup>59</sup> Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arib ilā ma‘rifat al-adīb*, vol. 6, p. 499, l 1.

<sup>60</sup> Pretzl’s “*Verzeichnis*,” no. 1, pp. 17–21. About the author see Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen*, p. 110; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 18, no. 11. According to the author, the work on the book was begun in 315/927—thus, still before Ibn Mujāhid—by Abū ‘Alī al-Fārisī’s teacher, Ibn al-Sarrāj (Flügel, op. cit., p. 103; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 82–85) in whose list of writings it appears as *K. al-Ihtijāj fi l-qirā’a* (Flügel, ibid., no. 6; see also Ḥājjī Khalifa under *Ihtijāj al-qurrā’*). Abū ‘Alī al-Fārisī quotes in full his teacher’s explanations—as far as it went (only part of the second sūra!)—and then adds his own remarks. Ibn Jinnī reproaches him in the introduction to his *Muḥtasab* (G. Bergsträsser, *Nichtkoranische Lesearten*, p. 17, l 65) for verbosity and arduousness. The first reproach applies probably more so than to Ibn Jinnī’s own work; the latter reproach, hardly.

<sup>61</sup> Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arib ilā ma‘rifat al-adīb*, vol. 7, p. 174, l 14.

<sup>62</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 763; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, p. 244, no. III (c).

<sup>63</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2308 (vol. 1, p. 565, l 2). Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, p. 200, n. 1.



more successfully and influentially, Abū ‘Amr (‘Uthmān b. Sa‘īd) AL-DĀNĪ d. 444/1053 studied in the East.<sup>64</sup> Both of them composed two works each on the Seven, a brief one, containing nothing but the facts (including the most important *isnāds*) and another, comprehensive one, which offers apart from extensive *isnāds* also the *ta‘lil*. Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib’s *Tabṣira*—according to his own words in the epilogue—was intended as a guide for beginners to be memorized by heart and as replacement for a still shorter presentation, *al-Mūjiz*, from 385/995, intended for his private use only but published against his will. It was not until 424/1032 that he could realize his long-standing project of writing a commentary on it, containing *‘ilal* and *ḥujaj*, which he entitled *Kashf*.<sup>65</sup> The *Tabṣira* was a *kitāb naql wa-dirāya*, the *Kashf* is a *kitāb fahm wa-‘ilm wa-dirāya*.<sup>66</sup> The *Tabṣira* retained a certain importance; ABŪ L-ḤASAN (‘Alī b. ‘Umar) AL-QAYJĀṬĪ (d. 723/1323) referred to it in his supplement to the *Shāṭibiyya*,<sup>67</sup> entitled *al-Takmila al-mufīda li-ḥāfiẓ al-qaṣīda*, and Ibn al-Jazarī still studied it,<sup>68</sup> the *Kashf*, on the other hand, seems to have been of less influence upon later writers. The interest in a deeper understanding of the variant readings of the Koran that began in the third century is certainly on the way out from the sixth century onwards (still one representative, Ibn Abī Ibrāhīm, in *al-Mūḍiḥ*).<sup>69</sup> In Ibn al-Jazarī’s life-work, *K. al-Nashr*, which in other respects constitutes a certain highlight, hardly the least traces remain.<sup>70</sup>

Far more successful than Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib was al-Dānī. Still today he indirectly dominates the teaching of the science of *qirā‘āt* because of the literature which, in the final analysis, is based on his *Taysīr fī l-qirā‘āt al-sab‘*. The *Taysīr*,<sup>71</sup> as the more concise presentation, has as its counterpart the

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<sup>64</sup> As the precursor of the two men Ibn al-Jazarī mentions Abū ‘Uthmān [‘Uthmān] (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh) AL-ṬĀLAMANKĪ d. 429/1037; [EP<sup>2</sup>;] when he mentions him as the first man to bring the science of the variant readings to Spain (*Ṭabaqāt*, 554, similarly *Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 34, l 10) he means to say that he was the first Spaniard to have studied in the East. His work, *K. al-Rawḍa*, Ibn al-Jazarī lists among his own sources (*Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 70) but without having an *isnād*. The work was obviously of little importance.

<sup>65</sup> Apart from the very good Berlin Ms. (Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 578 = Petermann, no. 17). an excellent Ms. in [H. Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes de l’Escorial*, 1325. Photographs at the Korankommission der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, [München].

<sup>66</sup> These details from the preface to *al-Kashf*.

<sup>67</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 96, l 9.

<sup>68</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 69.

<sup>69</sup> Ca. 560/1164; Pretzl’s “Verzeichnis,” no. 19, pp. 32–34.

<sup>70</sup> See below, p. 563sq.

<sup>71</sup> Edited by O. Pretzl, with the sub-title, *Das Lehrbuch der sieben Koranlesungen* [manual of the seven readings of the Koran], von al-Dānī (1930).

*Jāmi' al-bayān*,<sup>72</sup> as the more comprehensive presentation of the two. The relation of the two works is different in Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib: The prime value of *Jāmi'* is that it is not limited to the Fourteen canonical transmissions; rather, it considers forty of them, supplying *isnāds* with very detailed and biographical data. It is because of such material that the *Jāmi'* constitutes the basis of the science of the Koranic readings. Ibn al-Jazarī resorts to logograms in his *ṭabaqāt* to indicate the readers who are included. Other than Ibn al-Jazarī,<sup>73</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣafrāwī,<sup>74</sup> author of several works on variant readings (d. 636/1238), also studied it (see below, p. 566 n. 161<sup>75</sup>).

The *Taysīr*—the classic guide to the Seven Koranic variant readings, like the *Tabṣira*, and intended for memorization by heart—begins after a brief introduction by supplying as the essential element some information about the method of recitation (*al-ḥaramiyyān* = Nāfi', Ibn Kathīr al-Kinānī, etc.), accompanied by short biographies of the Seven readers and their fourteen transmitters, supplemented with lists of the authorities (*rijāl*) of the Seven, and the *isnāds* that connect al-Dānī with the fourteen transmitters. These *isnāds* are always supplied twice, once for the theoretical instruction (*ḥad-dathanā bi-hā ...*, etc.), and then for the practical recitation of the Koran afterwards (*qara'tu bi-hā al-Qur'ān alā ...*).

The first main part of the book deals with *uṣūl* and the general rules of pronunciation, which is preceded by short sections on *isti'ādha* and *tasmiya* as well as the different variant readings of the first sūra. The *uṣūl* comprise: First.—The great assimilation (of consonants separated by a vowel, see above, p. 537). Second.—*hā'* *al-kināya*, suffix of 3. Pers. Sing. Masc. Third.—Prolongation (*madd*). Fourth.—Rules of *hamz* (including the special cases of *hamz* in words in pause in Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb and Hishām b. 'Ammār (al-Sulamī) 'an Ibn 'Āmir (al-Yaḥṣubī)). Fifth.—The so-called minor assimilation<sup>76</sup> (of adjacent consonants). Sixth.—*imāla* (including in particular al-Kisā'ī's pronunciation of the pausal feminine ending *-ah*). Seventh.—The pronunciation of *r* and *l*. Eighth.—Pause (here also *rawm* and

<sup>72</sup> Pretzl's "Verzeichnis," no. 4, pp. 22–23. Of the two known Mss, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, 62, and the Egyptian Library, Cairo, *qir'āt* m 3, a photographic copy is with the Koran-kommission der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, München (dated, 1146, 375 folios, beautiful, careful hand).

<sup>73</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 60.

<sup>74</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, suppl. vol. 1, p. 727, no. 13.

<sup>75</sup> One of the sources of his *Taqrib* (see below, p. 566) in his *I'ān* that Ibn al-Jazarī studied (*al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 78)—about which I have not been able to find anything specific—the content of *al-Jāmi' al-bayān* has been partially incorporated (*al-Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 60, l 8).

<sup>76</sup> al-Dānī does not use this expression; he rather speaks of *al-iḥḥār wa-l-idghām lil-ḥurūf al-sawākin*.

*ishmām*). Ninth.—Hamza b. Ḥabīb's short pause (*sukūt, sakt*) after a vowelless consonant before *hamz*. Tenth.—The pronunciation of the suffix of 1. pers. sing. as *-ī* or *iyah*. Eleventh.—The treatment of defective written final *ī*. Inserted after the great assimilation is the mere rubric *bāb sūrat al-baraqa*.

The second main part of the book deals with the individual variant readings, *farsh al-ḥurūf*; the end of every sūra consists of a compilation of the occurring instances of a suffix of the 1. pers. sing. in the sūra as well as the defective orthography of the final *ī*, intended as a complement to the general rules in the *uṣūl* applicable in both instances.—The conclusion is made up of a section on *takbīr*.

It is obvious that this outline is not based on a systematic structure, but it also clearly carries the positive aspects of its origin by interlacing the *uṣūl* part with the treatment of the individual variant readings of sūras one and two. The chapters on *uṣūl* result from the habit, evident from Ibn Mujāhid, to combine identical phenomena at the first occurring instance. Moreover, as indeed at the beginning of the second sūra—before the first individual variant of the Seven (*yukhādī'ūna : yakhdā'ūna*) in verse 8—examples of the *uṣūl* can be found,<sup>77</sup> it was logical to deal with the *uṣūl* first. Al-Dānī's presentation is very carefully balanced and very brief. No vowel is supplied unnecessarily, only when the other readings have a different vowel.<sup>78</sup>

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The arrangement and presentation of the work are better and more precisely structured in al-Dānī; but as is evident from the close connection with the *Tabṣira*, they were not created by him.<sup>79</sup> This would suggest that one look for an older, common source. The most obvious person, apart from al-Dāraquṭnī, who died in 385/995 (see above, p. 551), is Makki b. Abi Ṭālib's teacher, Abū l-Ṭayyib b. Ghalbūn, who died in 389/999 (see above, p. 551 n. 51), who was also the father of al-Dānī's teacher, Abū l-Ḥasan Ṭāhir b.

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<sup>77</sup> Sūra 2:2, *fī-hi hudan the hā' al-kināya*, at the same place, though unjustly, but historically justified, also the great *idghām*, which first occurs already in sūra 1:2–3, *al-raḥīmi malik*; sūra 2:4, *bi-mā unsila of the madd*; 2:6, *a'andhartahum two hamzs* in one word, etc.

<sup>78</sup> Quite different the later Mss. of the *Taysīr*, which not infrequently display unnecessary additions from Ibn al-Jazarī's *al-Taḥbīr*, and contain references that do not go back to al-Dānī. Also the two existing Indian lithographs of the *Taysīr* (Hyderabad, 1316/1898, and Delhi, 1328/1910), are based on such corrupted Mss.

<sup>79</sup> This can reach literal particulars and identical details of the arrangement. The main difference is that the presentation of the *Tabṣira* is less firm and that the arrangement is less clear and more superficial. There are also some terminological differences to be found, for example, *mā qalla dawruhu min al-ḥurūf* (*Tabṣira*, thus, incidentally also *K. al-Hādī* of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sufyān al-Qayrawānī, Pretzl's "Verzeichnis," no. 2, p. 21) instead of *farsh al-ḥurūf* (*al-Taysīr*).

Ghalbūn (d. 399/1008), the author of *K. Tadhkira*,<sup>80</sup> which is largely identical with the two works (see below, p. 561sq.). He is also the most likely person to whom the introduction of the Fourteen transmitters might be ascribed.

The most weighty difference between the *Tabṣira* and the *Taysīr* is that in the *Tabṣira* the great *iddighām* is missing. This is still feasible despite the mutual identity of the transmission from Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’ because the *idghām* is only partly represented in the branches of both of them. This is not unique to the *Tabṣira*, because Ibn al-Jazarī<sup>81</sup> mentions a great number of writings on variant readings that agree on this point, among them Ibn Mujāhid’s *al-Sab‘a*; he also mentions that the chapter from the same transmission found in the *Taysīr* is to be found already in Abū l-Ḥasan Ṭāhir b. Ghalbūn (d. 399/1009). Both of the last of the *uṣūl*, *sakt* and *yā’āt*, are missing from the *Tabṣira*. Regarding the *yā’āt*, the work represents an earlier stage when, influenced by orthographic contingencies, the systematic treatment of these uneven points had not yet been attempted. From Ibn al-Jazarī’s details it is evident that the phonetic subtleties of *sakt* had not been firmly established by Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib’s time, and this remained so for quite some time to come.<sup>82</sup>

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Insignificant differences, particularly with respect to the order of the chapters on *uṣūl*, are not wanting from the writings on variant readings in the group represented by the *Tabṣira* and the *Taysīr*; they nevertheless form one entity compared with the works on variant readings which are much more at variance with each other, and which place the *uṣūl* before the discussion of the first sūra. Also, those works that deal with more than seven readings can be divided into two groups. To the first group belongs their most important representative work, the *Nashr* of Ibn al-Jazarī, which, with its systematic perfection and carefully thought-out plan in the chapters on *uṣūl*, considerably outdistances the *Taysīr*, but it is still surpassed by an older work of the second group, *Rawḍat al-ḥuffāz* of Abū Ismā’īl (Mūsā) AL-MU’ADDIL (see above, p. 549 n. 38; Pretzl’s “Verzeichnis,” no. 31, pp. 43–44).

The accumulation of homogeneous passages and the development of the chapters on *uṣūl* do not constitute the apex of the systematic arrange-

<sup>80</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 16, no. 23.

<sup>81</sup> This goes up to literal conformity and identity of details of the arrangement, the main difference being the less strict presentation of the *Tabṣira*, which in its disposition is superficial and less logical. Also some terminological differences are to be met with, for example, *mā qalla dawruhu min al-ḥurūf* (*Tabṣira*, thus, incidentally, also *al-Hādī* of Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sufyān al-Qayrawānī, Pretzl’s “Verzeichnis,” no. 2) instead of *farsh al-ḥurūf* (*Taysīr*).

<sup>82</sup> *al-Nashr*, vol. 1, 240 and 412.

ment of the content of the variant readings of the literature of the variant readings. It was ([Sa'd al-Dīn] Sharaf al-Dīn Hibat Allāh b. 'Abd al-Rahīm) IBN AL-BĀRIZĪ<sup>83</sup> (d. 738/1338), who also provided a topical arrangement of the individual variant readings in his *Shir'ā* on the Seven.<sup>84</sup> He did not find a successor; the work remains a curiosity. Conversely, the detailed subject arrangement, which actually represented progress in the presentation of the subject and, at the same time, facilitated memorization by heart, was very likely considered a barrier against quick orientation with regard to individual passages, so that writers reverted—excluding the most general foundations of pronunciation—to listing the particular reference in each and every instance. Printed books of this kind are *al-Mukarrar fī mā tawātar min al-qirā'āt al-sab' wa-takarrar* of Sirāj al-Dīn (Abū Ḥaṣṣ 'Uthmān b. Qāsim) al-Anṣārī<sup>85</sup> AL-NASHSHĀR (ca. 900); further, *Ghayth al-naf'* of 'Alī [b. Muḥammad] AL-NŪRĪ AL-ṢAFĀQUSĪ [1053/1643–1118/1706];<sup>86</sup> *Zubdat al-'irfān* of Ḥāmid b. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Pālāwī [BĀLAWĪ<sup>87</sup>]. The repetition (hence the title *Mukarrar*) cannot be totally complete; each of the most frequent references are mentioned once only at the first occurrence.

The *Taysīr*, to which we now return, was initially studied a great deal. This is evident from the two commentaries,<sup>88</sup> one by ABŪ MUḤAMMAD 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥammad AL-BĀHILĪ (d. 705/1305), entitled *al-Durr al-nathīr wa-l-'adhb al-namīr*, and the other by Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429), entitled *al-Taḥbīr*, where he redoes the *Taysīr*, complete with corrections and additions as well as the reading of the Three after the Seven, but, most of all, the versification of the *Taysīr* modelled after the *Shāṭibiyya*—which from then on dominated the teaching of the variant readings. The commentaries were enormously conducive to the spread of the ideas of the *Taysīr*, although, at the same time, pushing the commentary itself into the background.

The *Shāṭibiyya* was not the first versification of the Seven. According to Ibn al-Jazarī's *Ṭabaqāt*,<sup>89</sup> al-Ḥusayn b. 'Uthmān b. Thābit al-Baghdādī

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<sup>83</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, p. 64, no. 4, l. 3–4.

<sup>84</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 95, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3772; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, p. 64, no. 4, l. 3–4.

<sup>85</sup> Cairo, 1326/1908; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 115.

<sup>86</sup> Cairo, 1293/1876, 1304/1886, 1321/1903, all in the margin of the commentary on the *Shāṭibiyya* of Ibn al-Qāṣih. (Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, p. 698).

<sup>87</sup> Lithograph, Constantinople, 1312/1894, with the commentary *'Umdat al-khullān fī ṭdāh* of Muḥammad al-Amin b. 'Abd Allāh (composed after 1252/1842), lithograph, Constantinople, 1287/1870. In Turkey much used in teaching; deals with the Ten.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. the introduction by the editor to the *Taysīr*, p. *t*. There is a very beautiful manuscript of the first commentary at Cairo, Taymūr Pasha, 235.

<sup>89</sup> No. 1110.

(d. 378/988) had already composed such a work. Also al-Dānī<sup>90</sup> himself had already composed a *rajaz* poem, *al-Iqtīṣād*, on the Seven, which apparently disappeared at an early date. The author of the most famous versification, Abū l-Qāsim al-Qāsim b. Firro [Firruh] AL-SHĀṬIBĪ (d. 590/1193)<sup>91</sup> represents the repercussions of the Spanish science of the variant readings on the East. He was born in Spain, where he studied variant readings, particularly *Taysīr*, continuing these studies on his pilgrimage to the East; he was subsequently appointed by al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil<sup>92</sup> to the *madrassa* which he had founded, and there composed his two poems based on al-Dānī, the above-mentioned *ʿAqīla* (above, p. 406), and the other, simply called *al-Shāṭibiyya* (with the complete title, *Ḥīrz al-amānī wa-wajh al-tahānī*). It is a *ṭawīl*-type poem of 1,173 verses, rhyming with *-lā*. Considering al-Dānī's *rajaz*, the latter's more rigid form created difficulties for the purpose. This was overcome by exhausting poetic licence by means of padding, but particularly by a system of logograms for readers, transmitters, or groups of such people. The logograms are letters that do not stand for themselves at all; they rather occur only in the accompanying text of the respective variant reading. Which of the letters are to serve as logograms is indicated by red ink in the manuscripts, and by brackets in printed copies. Apart from the text, the student must thus also memorize which of the letters are logograms. In the same way that the *ʿAqīla* goes beyond the original, so also the *Shāṭibiyya* goes a little beyond the *Taysīr* as far as content is concerned: For once, by means of details and then also by inserting a propaedeutic chapter on phonetics (*bāb makhārīj al-ḥurūf wa-ṣifātihā*), which had gained a place in the later writings on variant readings in general.

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The *Shāṭibiyya* became famous<sup>93</sup> by its first commentator (ʿALAM AL-DĪN Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad) AL-SAKHĀWĪ (d. 643/1245).<sup>94</sup> His work, *Fath al-waṣīd*—together with some other early commentaries, for example, *Ibrāz al-maʿānī* of (Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ismāʿīl al-Dimashqī) ABŪ SHĀMA (d. 665/1266),<sup>95</sup> *al-Laʿālī al-farīda* of Abū ʿAbd Allāh (Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad) AL-FĀSĪ (d. 656/1258)<sup>96</sup>—is part of a group of works in which, once more, now following the

<sup>90</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2091 (vol. 1, p. 505, 2); in addition, Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 5, p. 36, l. 6.

<sup>91</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, p. 41, no. II; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2600.

<sup>92</sup> *EP*: Abū ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān AL-QĀḌĪ AL-FĀḌĪL, d. 1200.

<sup>93</sup> Abū Shāma, commentary on the *Shāṭibiyya*, entitled *Ibrāz al-maʿānī* (Cairo, 1349/1930), p. 7; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2318 (vol. 1, p. 570, l. 9).

<sup>94</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 410.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 317; printed, Cairo, 1349/1930.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 409; at this place are listed also a number of commentaries, *ibid.*, suppl. vol. 1, p. 728. Cf. also Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, vol. 1, pp. 337–339.

*Shāṭibiyya*, the old science is spread out in its fullness. Added is the most successful of all the commentaries on the *Shāṭibiyya*, the *Kanz al-maʿānī*<sup>97</sup> of (Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿUthmān) AL-JAʿBARĪ (d. 732/1331). The great majority is mainly limited to the minimum necessary for the understanding of the poem as well as the supplementary material. In addition to the commentaries already mentioned, there are also the following printed commentaries: *Sirāj al-qārīʾ al-mubtadiʾ wa-tadhkār al-muqriʾ al-muntahī* of (Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān) IBN AL-QĀSHĪH,<sup>98</sup> and *Irshād al-murid ilā maqṣūd al-Qaṣīd* of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad AL-ḌABBĀʿ (living at Cairo).<sup>99</sup>

The logograms became later also used in prose texts as a very practical means of illustration. The first work of this kind is the *Mūḍīḥ* of [Abū] ʿAbd Allāh Naṣr b. ʿAlī AL-FĀRISĪ,<sup>100</sup> the same applies to the above-mentioned *Zubdat al-ʾirfān* of al-Bālāwī (see above, p. 557). But as this was an impediment to memorization, there was an attempt to avoid it in poems that were in competition with the *Shāṭibiyya*; and this already by al-Shāṭibī's contemporary, Abū ʿAbd Allāh (Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad) AL-MAĀFIRĪ (d. 591/1194),<sup>101</sup> and later Mālik b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān IBN AL-MURAḤḤIL (d. 699/1299),<sup>102</sup> and also, ABŪ ḤAYYĀN AL-GHARNĀṬĪ (d. 745/1344), who composed his poem, *ʿIqd al-laʾālī fī l-qirāʾāt al-sabʿ al-ʾawālī*, in the rhyme and metre of the *Shāṭibiyya*,<sup>103</sup> as well as (Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī) IBN AL-FAṢĪḤ al-Hamadhānī (d. 755/1354), who indicates his purpose already by its title, *Ḥall al-rumūz*.<sup>104</sup> On the other hand, there was an attempt to surpass al-Shāṭibī's conciseness. Such is the case with the above-mentioned commentator on the *Shāṭibiyya*, Shuʿla (d. 656/1258) (see above, p. 559 n. 97) who in his *Shamʿa* reduced the *Shāṭibiyya* to approximately half its size, this way formally surpassing it.<sup>105</sup> Such and similar attempts did not succeed in displacing the *Shāṭibiyya*.

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<sup>97</sup> This title is identical with the older commentary of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad SHUʿLAH (d. 656/1258); al-Jaʿbarī apologizes in the epilogue of his commentary that without knowing the predecessor he chose the identical title. (Istanbul Ms., Fatih Camii Kütüphanesi 52:550<sup>v</sup>f, Vakf Ibrahim, 51, Velyeddin Carullah, 15.)

<sup>98</sup> Completed in 759/1357, printed 1321/1903, etc., recently in 1954. Yusuf E. Sarkīs, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de bibliographie arabe*, 209.

<sup>99</sup> G. Bergsträsser, "Koranlesung in Kairo," p. 27, also printed in the margin of Abū Shāma, see above, p. 558 n. 95.

<sup>100</sup> Pretzl's "Verzeichnis der handschriftlich erhaltenen älteren Qirāʾätwerke," no. 19, pp. 32–34; different from those of the *Shāṭibiyya*.

<sup>101</sup> Ḥājji Khalīfa, see below, *Qaṣīda fī l-qirāʾāt*.

<sup>102</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2644.

<sup>103</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Naṣh*, vol. 1, p. 94, l 19; *Ṭabaqāt*, 3555.

<sup>104</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 380; Ḥājji Khalīfa, loc. cit.

<sup>105</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *al-Naṣh*, vol. 1, p. 94, l 1; *ṭabaqāt*, 2780. [Recently published, *Sharḥ Shuʿla ʿalā l-Shāṭibiyya* (1954).]

[iii/222] The *Taysir* and the *Shāṭibiyya* displaced a number of other teaching guides on the Seven that had temporarily dominated the teaching institutions in certain areas. The most important of these was the *Unwān*<sup>106</sup> of Abū Ṭāhir IBN KHALAF AL-ANṢĀRĪ (d. 455/1063); although more recent, the book has a better *isnād* than the *Taysir*. It is an excerpt from the same author's larger work entitled *al-Iktifā'*.<sup>107</sup> In Egypt it had been the most common school-book for a long time. It was there also provided with a commentary. Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429) composed a book on the comparison of the *Unwān* to the *Shāṭibiyya* entitled *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān fī l-khilāf bayn al-Shāṭibiyya wa-l-'Unwān*.<sup>108</sup> Together with the *Taysir* and the *Shāṭibiyya*, the *Unwān* formed the basis of *Mu'īn al-muqri'* *al-niḥrīr 'alā mā akhtaṣṣ bih al-'Unwān wa-l-Shāṭibiyya wa-l-Taysir* of Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān AL-BILBAYSĪ (d. 779/1377),<sup>109</sup> as well as of a work of 'Umar b. Qāsim al-Anṣārī entitled *al-Badr al-munīr* (about Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Laythī, Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' and Ibn Kathīr (al-Kinānī)) that the author of *Kashf al-ẓunūn* [Ḥājji Khalīfah] erroneously considers a commentary on the *Taysir*.<sup>110</sup>

[iii/223] Somewhat later than the *Unwān* appeared the *Tajrīd* of Abū l-Qāsim ('Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Afiq b. Abī Bakr) al-Ṣiqillī IBN AL-FAḤḤĀM<sup>111</sup> (died 516/1122), reckoned by Ibn al-Jazarī to be one of the best books on variant readings,<sup>112</sup> and becoming the subject of a similar comparative study entitled *al-Taḥqīd fī l-khilāf bayn al-Shāṭibiyya wa-l-Tajrīd*.<sup>113</sup> ABŪ AL-ḤASAN 'Alī b. 'Umar (not 'Uthmān) al-Kattānī AL-QAYJĀṬĪ (d. 723/1323) in his work, *al-Takmila al-mufīda li-ḥāfiẓ al-Qaṣīda*—a poem in the same metre and rhyme of the *Shāṭibiyya*<sup>114</sup>—made a comparison with the *Shāṭibiyya* and drew upon it for its completion, namely Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib's *Tabṣira* (see above, p. 553) (Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad) IBN SHURAYH's (al-Ru'aynī, died 476/1083)<sup>115</sup> *al-Kāfi* as well as the *Taysir*—the oldest available book on variant readings in

<sup>106</sup> Pretzl's "Verzeichnis," no. 9, p. 27.

<sup>107</sup> Pretzl's "Verzeichnis," no. 8, pp. 26–27.

<sup>108</sup> Pretzl, "Die Wissenschaft der Koranlesung," p. 27. As it is evident from the *isnāds* of the *Unwān*, the author is indeed the famous Ibn al-Jazarī, although the manuscript gives as his *kunya* Abū 'Abd Allāh instead of Abū l-Khayr, and although the work is not mentioned in the lists of his works I know of.

<sup>109</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 111, no. 11.

<sup>110</sup> See introduction to *al-Taysir*, p. ʃ, foot-note.

<sup>111</sup> Pretzl's "Verzeichnis der ... Qirā'ätwerke," no. 15.

<sup>112</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 74 sqq.

<sup>113</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1590.

<sup>114</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 96.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 66 sqq.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 11, bottom.



print at the moment<sup>116</sup>—and (Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad) SIBṬ AL-KHAYYĀṬ’s (d. 541/1146)<sup>117</sup> *Ījāz*.

From among the flood of works on the Seven there remains only one scholarly work to be mentioned, Abū Ja‘far (Aḥmad b. ‘Alī) IBN AL-BĀ-DHASH<sup>118</sup> al-Gharnāṭī’s (d. 540/1145) *al-Iqnā’*, which represents three hundred *ṭuruq*.<sup>119</sup> This combination of limitation to the Seven, accompanied by the greatest possible richness within this framework, is the exception; most of them that found scholastic teaching insufficient went beyond the Seven. The arrangement of the *Iqnā’* departs not inconsiderably from what was custom (including *tajwīd*). Only this work includes chapters on *ikhtilāf madh-āhibihim fī kayfīyyat al-tilāwa wa-tajwīd al-adā’* as well as *mā khālafa fih al-ruwāt a’immatahum*. Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī (d. 745/1344)<sup>120</sup>, the important commentator of the Koran, considers it the best work on the Seven (see below, p. 578).

### *The Extension of the System of the Seven*

The obvious next step beyond the Seven is the inclusion of Ya‘qūb al-Ḥaḍramī who, next to them, is the most renowned writer. Various writers on the Seven considered him worth a monograph, a *mufrada*; they were al-Dānī,<sup>121</sup> Ibn Shurayḥ,<sup>122</sup> and Ibn al-Faḥḥām;<sup>123</sup> the latter work was versified by Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī (d. 745/1344)<sup>124</sup> in his *Ghāyat al-maṭlūb fī qirā‘at Ya‘qūb* (corresponding to his *Iqd al-la‘ālī* (see above, p. 560)).

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The oldest surviving work on the Eight that we have is the above-mentioned *Tadhkira* (p. 496) of Abū l-Ḥasan Ṭāhir b. Ghalbūn (d. 399/1009),<sup>125</sup> modelled on the *Taysīr*; from about the same time originate the *K. al-Wajīz* of Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan AL-AHWĀZĪ (d. 446/1055)<sup>126</sup> and a work of ABŪ AL-

<sup>116</sup> Printed in the margin of the *Mukarrar* (see above, p. 557sq.).

<sup>117</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 82.; Brockelmann, *GAL*, suppl. vol. 1, p. 723.

<sup>118</sup> Pretzl’s *Verzeichnis*, no. 11, pp. 28–29; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, p. 60, no. 45, etc.

<sup>119</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, no. 376 (vol. 1, p. 83, l 11), cf. *Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 87. As a comparison to the number of *ṭuruq* (singular *ṭariq*) might serve the eight hundred *ṭuruq* for the Seven—but it is doubtful that the method of his count is identical.

<sup>120</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, p. 26.

<sup>121</sup> Pretzl’s *Verzeichnis*, no. 34, pp. 45–46; Ms. Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, no. 62.

<sup>122</sup> Ms Damascus, Dār al-Kutub al-Ḍāhiriyya, *qirā‘at*, 67.

<sup>123</sup> Pretzl’s *Verzeichnis*, no. 35, p. 46: *Mufradat Ya‘qūb* or *Mufradat Ibn al-Faḥḥām*.

<sup>124</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Nashr* vol. 1, p. 95, l 3.

<sup>125</sup> Pretzl’s *Verzeichnis*, no. 16, pp. 30–31; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 16, no. 23.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 18.

ḤASAN AL-RĀZĪ ‘Alī b. Ja‘far AL-SA‘ĪDĪ al-Shīrāzī (with *‘ilal*) utilized in the *Muḍīḥ fī wujūh al-qirā‘a* of Abū ‘Abd Allāh Naṣr b. ‘Alī AL-FĀRISĪ.<sup>127</sup> Somewhat later appeared the *Talkhīṣ* of [ABŪ] MA‘SHAR (‘Abd al-Karīm) AL-ṬABARĪ (d. 478/1085).<sup>128</sup> It must be mentioned here that the *Fihrist* knows of an earlier *qirā‘āt* work of this type where not Ya‘qūb al-Ḥaḍramī<sup>129</sup> is the eighth reader but Khalaf b. Hishām (al-Bazzār).

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Whereas in the Maghreb, in Egypt, and also in Syria, the Seven or Eight readings were widespread, the East produced a greater number of works on the *qirā‘āt* of the Ten. The earliest mentioned in Ibn al-Jazarī’s *Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 88, is the *K. al-Ghāya fī l-qirā‘āt al-‘ashr* of Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn IBN MIHRĀN (d. 381/991) on which Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad AL-FĀRISĪ<sup>130</sup> (d. 461/1069) wrote a commentary.<sup>131</sup> About the same time appeared the *Ishārat al-mubtadī wa-tadhkirat al-muntahī*<sup>132</sup> of Abū Naṣr MANṢŪR IBN AḤMAD AL-‘IRĀQĪ.<sup>133</sup> According to Ibn al-Jazarī, the *Irshād al-mubtadī wa-tadhkirat al-muntahī*<sup>134</sup> of Abū l-‘Izz Muḥammad b. Bundār AL-QALĀNISĪ (d. 521/1127) was equally widespread in the East as was the *Taysīr* in the West.<sup>135</sup> It was an excerpt from the author’s much larger work, *al-Kifāya al-kubrā fī l-qirā‘āt al-‘ashr*,<sup>136</sup> and (like the *Shāṭibiyya*) it was repeatedly versified.<sup>137</sup> Of less importance was the *Jāmi‘* of Abū l-Ḥusayn Naṣr b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz AL-FĀRISĪ al-Shīrāzī (d. 461/1068).<sup>138</sup> On the other hand, the following three works must be recognized as belonging to the most noteworthy texts of the Koranic variant readings: (1) *Ghāyat al-ikhtīṣār* of Abū l-‘Alā’ al-Ḥasan AL-‘AṬṬĀR AL-HAMADHĀNĪ (d. 569/1173), the “al-Dānī” of

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., no. 19, introduction.

<sup>128</sup> Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*.

<sup>129</sup> Flügel’s edition, p. 39, l 6. Here the author is named Abū l-Ḥasan b. Murra al-Naqqāsh, this one, however, is likely to be identical with the one of Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, no. 3181, called Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abi Murra d. 352/963, who in any case specialized in the *riwāya* of Khalaf b. Hishām.

<sup>130</sup> *EQ; EP*.

<sup>131</sup> Incomplete Ms., Cairo, Egyptian Library, Taymūr Pasha, no. 344. Brockelmann, *GAL*, suppl. vol. 1, p. 722.

<sup>132</sup> Pretzl’s “Verzeichnis der handschriftlich erhaltenen älteren Qirā‘ätwerke”, no. 21, p. 35. Excerpts from it are mentioned by Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, no. 1545.

<sup>133</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, suppl. vol. 2, p. 721.

<sup>134</sup> Pretzl’s “Verzeichnis,” no. 28, p. 40. Another Ms. of the work is located in Istanbul, Serail, Sultan Ahmet III, no. 169; further, Damascus, Dār al-Kutub al-Ḍāhiriyya, *Qirā‘āt*, no. 27.

<sup>135</sup> *Ṭabaqāt*, no. 2958.

<sup>136</sup> Pretzl’s *Verzeichnis*, no. 27, pp. 39–40.

<sup>137</sup> See Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, nos. 774 and 1805 (vol. 1, p. 430, l 6), and no. 2352.

<sup>138</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, suppl. 1, p. 722: *Jāmi‘ bi-qirā‘āt al-‘imma al-‘ashara*.

the East,<sup>139</sup> (2) *al-Ikhtiyār* of Abū ‘Amr ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī SIBṬ AL-KHAYYĀṬ (d. 541/1146),<sup>140</sup> and (3) *al-Miṣbāḥ al-zāhir* of Abū l-Karam al-Mubārak AL-SHAHRAZŪRĪ al-Baghdādī (d. 550/1155).<sup>141</sup> The greatest dissemination after the *Irshād* belonged probably to the *K. al-Mustanir* of Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad b. ‘Alī IBN SIWĀR AL-BAGHDĀDĪ (d. 496/1102), at least until it was eclipsed<sup>142</sup> by Ibn al-Jazarī’s *Nashr*,<sup>143</sup> which in its form represents a high point in the science of *qirā’āt*. In contrast to his great classic predecessors, Ibn al-Jazarī is no longer interested in the inner justification of the differences of the variant readings (*ta’lil*), the same way that he has almost no connection with the grammarians. He is concerned only with the fact (*adā’*) which he is trying critically to crystallize from a large number of earlier works—he mentions some sixty of them—and then presents them with an unsurpassed clarity of disposition and precise expression. The fact that he dealt with Ten readings vis-à-vis the almost generally accepted Seven obliged him to introduce the development of the Koranic variant readings with a historical survey and to take positions on principles. Drawing largely on older sources, particularly the *Ibāna* of Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 437/1045), he develops the conceptions of the canonical (*ṣaḥīḥa* and *mutawātira*) as well as the uncanonical (*shādhdh*, pl. *shawādhdh*) readings to a certain universality.<sup>144</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, too, limits himself in his work in general to two transmitters of each *imām*. His book, however, is not unessentially enriched by considering far more *ṭuruq*.<sup>145</sup> This becomes quite evident in the case of the reading of Warsh, where the *ṭariq* of ABŪ BAKR Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Shabīb AL-IṢBAHĀNĪ deviates considerably from the *ṭariq* of ABŪ YA’QŪB Yūsuf b. ‘Amr AL-AZRAQ (alone considered in the *Taysir*). Modelled on earlier works,<sup>146</sup> his chapter on *uṣūl* is preceded by a brief survey on *tajwid*. In other ways he follows the main lines of the presentation of the *uṣūl* as known from works on the

<sup>139</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 945: *wa-‘indi annahu fi l-mashāriq ka-Abī ‘Amr al-Dānī fi l-maghārib*.

<sup>140</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, p. 435, l 10, he mentions a versification of the system of the Ten.

<sup>141</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, suppl. vol. 2, p. 723.

<sup>142</sup> Pretzl’s *Verzeichnis*, no. 22, pp. 35–36; no. 24, pp. 37–38; no. 25, p. 38; and no. 26, pp. 38–39; Brockelmann, *GAL*, suppl. vol. 2, p. 722.

<sup>143</sup> The full title reads: *Kitāb al-Nashr fi l-qirā’āt al-‘ashr*. Cf. Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 201. The work was very carefully edited by Muḥammad Aḥmad Duḥmān of Damascus, who produced a very accurate edition (Damascus, 1345/1927, 2 v., 504, 458 p.), from excellent Mss., one of which was used by the author himself, and supplied with his corrections.

<sup>144</sup> See above, p. 471 sqq.

<sup>145</sup> See above, p. 560 n. 111.

<sup>146</sup> See above, p. 533 n. 172.

Seven. A novelty is a large chapter on the *imāla* in the *aḥruf al-hijā'* at the opening of the sūras—which is otherwise treated as *farsh al-ḥurūf*—as well as a very important and practical chapter entitled *bayān irfād al-qirā'āt wa-jam'ih*, where the insufficiency of mixing *riwāyāt* and *ṭuruq* in the course of the reading is treated (see above, p. 527 sq.). Much of *farsh al-ḥurūf* was already discussed in the *uṣūl*, so that it could be considerably abbreviated.<sup>147</sup>

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Next to the Ten, al-A'mash is to be found in *K. al-Rawḍa fī l-qirā'āt al-iḥdā 'ashra* of ABŪ 'ALĪ AL-ḤASAN (Ibn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Baghdādī) AL-MĀLIKĪ<sup>148</sup> (d. 438/1046), whereas the above-mentioned Sibṭ al-Khayyāṭ (d. 541/1146) discusses the Seven in his book *K. al-Mubḥij*<sup>149</sup>—with the exception of Abū Ja'far (IBN AL-QA'QĀ' AL-MAKHZŪMĪ)—all together with Ibn Muḥayṣin, al-A'mash as well as Khalaf b. Hishām (al-Bazzār) and Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī.

It was only much later that the collections of Fourteen readings attained greater importance. The oldest one that we know of is *Īdāḥ al-rumūz wa-mafātīḥ al-kunūz* of Muḥammad b. Khalīl AL-QUBĀQIBĪ (Qabāqībī).<sup>150</sup> His source for the Ten is Ibn al-Jazarī's *al-Nashr*, and for the remaining Four a *mufradāt* work of al-Ahwāzī (d. 446/1054). The largest work is *K. Laṭā'if al-ishārāt li-funūn al-qirā'āt* of the renowned Koranic commentator Aḥmad b. Muḥammad AL-QAṢṬĀLLĀNĪ (d. 923/1517),<sup>151</sup> a work which as far as comprehensiveness is concerned nearly surpasses Ibn al-Jazarī's *al-Nashr*. An excerpt of this is *Ithāf fuḍalā' al-bashar fī qirā'āt al-arba'at 'ashar* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad AL-DIMYĀṬĪ AL-BANNĀ' (d. 1117/1705).<sup>152</sup> Still larger and earlier collections have been discussed in different connections (p. 487 sqq.).

<sup>147</sup> The editor unfortunately failed to facilitate the location of many of the author's incomplete references by supplying page numbers.—Later literature on *al-Nashr* in Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 201—Apart from the versifications of the system of the Ten (mentioned, above, p. 562 n. 137) the likely most widespread system is *Zubdat al-'irfān* by al-Bālawī (see above, p. 557 n. 87).

<sup>148</sup> Pretzl's "Verzeichnis der handschriftlich erhaltenen älteren Qirā'ätwerke," no. 29, pp. 40–41.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 30, pp. 41–43.

<sup>150</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 113; suppl. vol. 2, p. 139; Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 669; apparently the author had already supplied a short survey of the Fourteen in his book, *Majma' al-surūr*.

<sup>151</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 73; in addition the excellent Ms: Istanbul, Fatih Camii Kütüphanesi, nos. 32 and 33; Damascus, Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhiriyya, *Qirā'āt*, no. 6, further, Cairo, Maktabat Qawala, *Qirā'āt*, 1.

<sup>152</sup> Printed at Constantinople, 1285/1868, and at Cairo, 1317/1899, and in 1407/1987.

*The Literature of the Uncanonical Readings (shawādhdh)*

Parallel with the presentation of complete readings of the canonically recognized *imāms*, the transmission of variant readings that were eliminated as uncanonical were studied until quite late. This is based on the fact that the differentiation between *mashhūra* and *shādhdh*<sup>153</sup> did not constitute an absolute rejection of the latter. For practical purposes it was excluded from the Koranic reading, while it was unconditionally retained in *tafsīr* as the discussible heritage of tradition. In reality also the literature of *shawādhdh* begins with Ibn Mujāhid (d. 324/936),<sup>154</sup> the man who established the system of the Seven. He contrasted his *K. al-Sab'a* with a *K. al-Shawādhdh*, which is no longer extant. Ibn Jinnī (d. 324/1002) added a grammatic-lexical commentary,<sup>155</sup> analogous to Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī's *Hujja*, which purports to serve as an equivalent work to *K. al-Sab'a* (see above, p. 550) but with the exception that Ibn Jinnī did not stick as closely to the original as did Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī. Rather, as he himself states in the introduction, he selected from Ibn Mujāhid's book whatever appealed to him linguistically, and probably also resorted to information from other sources.

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To this period belongs also another work on *shawādhdh*, the *Mukhtaṣar fī shawādhdh al-Qur'ān min kitāb al-badī* of Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370/980).<sup>156</sup> Subsequently, nearly all of the important scholars of the Koran composed also books on *shawādhdh*, apart from books on the canonical readings. Thus, al-Dānī did so in his *Muḥṭawī*.<sup>157</sup> Abū l-Faḍl al-Rāzī's (d. 454/1062) *al-Lawāmiḥ*

<sup>153</sup> Regarding the technical terms see above, pp. 487 and 502.

<sup>154</sup> If a *Kitāb al-Shawādhdh* has been transmitted already from his teacher, Aḥmad b. Yahyā THALAB d. 291/903 (Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 152, l 19) [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 140–142] *shādhdh* cannot have been used in the precise meaning of "being outside the Seven" rather in the meaning of a reading that is contrary to *muṣḥaf* and the *'Arabiyya*. The same applies to *kitāb al-Shawādhdh* that his opponent Ibn Shannabūdh d. 328/939 composed (Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 6, p. 302, l 2).

<sup>155</sup> G. Bergsträßer, *Nichtkanonische Koranlesearten*, The Korankommission of the Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften recently added to its collection a valuable photographic copy of a very long Ms. from Medina. A complete edition of the entire work is in preparation in Egypt.

<sup>156</sup> There is an explicit reference to *kitāb al-Badī* of Ibn Khālawayh in Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 4, p. 5, l 16. It cannot be determined whether here *badī* is used in the sense of rhetorical figure of speech or metaphors after the occurrence of the identical title of ('Abd Allāh) IBN AL-MU'TAZZ d. 296/908. [*EL*<sup>2</sup>; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, pp. 569–571,] edited by G. Bergsträßer in 1934.

<sup>157</sup> I could not make out whether this book is identical with Brockelmann's (*GAL*, vol. 1, p. 407) *kitāb al-Ta'rif*; Ms. Alger, 3672.

is a book that was frequently quoted even later.<sup>158</sup> Al-Ahwāzī (d. 446/1055) discusses in his *Jāmi' al-mashhūr wa-l-shādhdh*<sup>159</sup> both canonical and uncanonical readings together; *shawādhdh*, alone, is treated in his *al-Mūḍīh*.<sup>160</sup> A fragment of the *al-Taqrīb wa-l-bayān* of 'Abd al-Raḥmān AL-ṢAFRĀWĪ (d. 636/1238) has survived;<sup>161</sup> as well as the entire work of one of the best scholars of the Maghreb, Abū l-Baqā' AL-'UKBARĪ, d. 616/1219,<sup>162</sup> *Irāb al-qirā'āt al-shādhdhah*, and the *Qurrat 'ayn al-qurrā'* of ABŪ ISHĀQ Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī AL-QAWWĀSĪ AL-MARANDĪ, a pupil of a pupil of Abū l-'Alā' AL-'ATṬĀR AL-HAMADHĀNĪ (d. 569/1173).<sup>163</sup> The latter two works contain infinitely more material than the two older works edited by Bergsträsser, Ibn Jinnī's *Muḥtasab*, and Ibn Khālawayh's *Mukhtaṣar*. In *Qurrat 'ayn al-qurrā'* the author mentions, apart from familiar sources, also the following four unknown works: *al-Iqnā' fī l-shawādhdh wa-l-ikhtiyārāt* of Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Hudhalī al-Miṣrī,<sup>164</sup> *al-Muntahā* of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan/al-Ḥusayn b. Bundār AL-QALĀNISĪ (d. 521/1127); *al-Kāfi* of 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn AL-ṬURAYTHĪTHĪ, a pupil of al-Ahwāzī; and *al-Minhāj* of 'Umar b. Zafar. For the time being, however, the commentary on the Koran, *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ* of 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Ḥayyān, called ABŪ ḤAYYĀN, must remain the principal source for *shawādhdh* (see below, p. 578<sup>165</sup>).

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### Writings on the Individual Variant Readings (mufraadāt)

In contrast to the writings discussed up to now, which treated the variants of different readers in the order of the Koran side by side, those are works

<sup>158</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1549; it is one of the main sources regarding details of *shawādhdh* in the commentary of ABŪ ḤAYYĀN al-Andalusī (see below, p. 578sq.). A specimen of its richness is supplied by the author of *al-Nashr*, Ibn al-Jazarī (vol. 1, p. 47, l 8) for the first sūra.

<sup>159</sup> *Ṭabaqāt*, 1006, Ibn al-Jazarī did not here mention the work but did so in his *Nashr*, vol. 1, p. 34, l 19.

<sup>160</sup> According to the *Qurrat 'ayn al-qurrā'* (see below) where it served as a source. According to this the two books, *Īdāh* and *Ittidāh*, of al-Ahwāzī are works on the Seven.

<sup>161</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 410.

<sup>162</sup> Arthur Jeffery, Cairo, is preparing an edition of the work.

<sup>163</sup> Ms. Escorial, 1337, according to the title page an autograph. The first pages in wrong order and probably incomplete.

<sup>164</sup> Not in the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn al-Jazarī. Ḥājjī Khalifa mentions an *Iqnā' fī l-qirā'āt al-shādhdhah* of Abū l-Ḥasan AL-AHWĀZĪ d. 446/1055, adding *wa-dhakara l-Ja'bari annahu li-Abī l-'Izz al-Qalānisi*. Yāqūt, *Irshād* (vol. 6, p. 427, l 1) knows of an *iqnā'* of al-Ahwāzī *fī ihdā' ashra qirā'a*; regarding this, see above, p. 547 n. 23.

<sup>165</sup> Published in Cairo (1328/1910) and, more recently, edited by Ṣ.I. Sayyid in 1989.

that present the variants of a single reader separately. This kind of treatment has as its origin the form of the *nuskha*, which has been frequently mentioned previously, and for this reason is very well documented at the earliest date.<sup>166</sup> The need to memorize widely differing strands of transmission later led to the composition of the special descriptions of individual readers. For example, al-Dānī (d. 444/1052) in his *Tamhīd*,<sup>167</sup> *Taqrīb*, and *Ījāz*<sup>168</sup> thus repeatedly discussed Nāfi‘ b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Laythī’s reading under various aspects. Already Ibn Mujāhid composed separate *mufradāt* for each of the Seven.<sup>169</sup> Many later writers of the science of *qirā’āt*, like Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 437/1045),<sup>170</sup> Abū l-‘Alā’ AL-‘AṬṬĀR AL-HAMADHĀNĪ (d. 569/1193),<sup>171</sup> and Abū Shāma (d. 665/1266) also did so.<sup>172</sup> Only two books on the Seven readers have survived, *al-Tahdhīb* of al-Dānī<sup>173</sup> and the considerably more comprehensive *al-Kāmil al-farīd* of ABŪ MŪSĀ Ja‘far b. Makkī b. Ja‘far AL-MAWṢILĪ (d. 717/1313).<sup>174</sup> From among the readers beyond the Seven Ya‘qūb al-Ḥaḍramī in particular was discussed most frequently (see above, p. 561). Ibn Mujāhid produced special studies of the readings of both the Prophet and ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.<sup>175</sup> Ibn Shannabūdh, too, wrote about the latter two.<sup>176</sup> The second Seven were included in the *Mufradāt* of al-Ahwāzī (d. 446/1055).<sup>177</sup> Ḥājjī Khalīfa still knows of a *mufradāt* (of unknown content and size) of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan IBN MIQSAM (d. 354/965).

<sup>166</sup> *Fihrist*, p. 315sqq.

<sup>167</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, p. 505, 17.

<sup>168</sup> Pretzl’s “Verzeichnis der handschriftlich erhaltenen älteren Qirā’āt-Werke,” no. 36, pp. 46–47. Prof. A. Jeffery, Cairo, kindly made available to me a Maghrebi Ms. of another writing of this author (of unknown title). Such works were common mainly in the Maghreb where the reading of Nāfi‘ b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Laythī prevailed. It was also there that originated a much used, and frequently commented *rajaḥ* poem, *al-Durar al-lawāmi‘ fi aṣl maqra‘ al-imām Nāfi‘*, of ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Barī (d. 730/1329). See Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 248; *EP*.

<sup>169</sup> *Fihrist*, p. 31.

<sup>170</sup> Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 7, p. 175, 12 (Nāfi‘!).

<sup>171</sup> Ḥājjī Khalīfa see under *mufradāt*.

<sup>172</sup> Ḥājjī Khalīfa see under *mufradāt*.

<sup>173</sup> Pretzl’s “Verzeichnis ... der Qirā’āt-Werke,” no. 33 (p. 45).

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, no 37 (p. 47).

<sup>175</sup> Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vol. 2, p. 118, 16.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 302, 11.

<sup>177</sup> See above, p. 564.

*The Writings on Tajwīd*

[iii/231] The oldest composition on *tajwīd*—according to its own testimony—is the poem of (Abū Muzāḥim b. Khāqān) AL-KHĀQĀNĪ (d. 325/937).<sup>178</sup> In a parænetic vein he exhorts to pleasant pronunciation (*ḥusn al-adā'*—the expression *tajwīd* is not yet in use) and lists its elements, mentioning at the same time different ways of articulation, *taḥqīq*, *tartil*, and *ḥadr*. The entire attitude of the poem is clear evidence that the teaching of the Koranic recitation is derived from the soil of the cult of reciters (*ādāb ḥamalāt al-Qur'ān*). On the other hand, the abundance of the orthoepic-phonetic terminology and the appearance of some rules emanating from grammar show that for the concrete formation of the abstract requirement of pleasing pronunciation the respective prescriptions of philology have been instituted. The fusion of the two elements, *fiqh* and *lughā*, becomes clearly visible also in the *Ri'āya* of Abū Muḥammad MAKKĪ IBN ABĪ ṬĀLIB (d. 437/1045) who considers himself to be the first author of a work on *tajwīd*.<sup>179</sup> Its first part deals with the rules of order, the merit of the recitation of the Koran, etc., while the second part is purely linguistic, concerned with the consonants, their articulation and qualities, consonantal connections, doubling of the consonants, and, in the final chapter, *nūn* and *tanwīn* in contextual pronunciation. But in the nearly contemporary work of AL-DĀNĪ (d. 444/1052), *al-Taḥdīd fī 'ilm al-tajwīd*,<sup>180</sup> the parænetic part is omitted—it continues its own development<sup>181</sup>—whereas the linguistic and phonetic parts are somewhat enlarged. Here the propædeutic character of *tajwīd* becomes even more evident. The technical terms are explained; apart from the consonants also the variations of the pronunciations of vowels, *imāla*, *sukūn* of the pause, *ishmām*, and *rawm* are fully discussed. From a similar work of al-Ahwāzī (d. 446/1055) only remnants have survived.<sup>182</sup> From another point of view, the same subject has already been studied and published by Silvestre de Sacy<sup>183</sup> as *Fī l-laḥn al-khafī*, “on hidden grammatical

<sup>178</sup> Commentary by al-Dānī (*Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, p. 505, l 11); Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 189; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 14–15.

<sup>179</sup> See the introduction to Pretzl's “Verzeichnis ... der Qirā'āt-Werke,” no. 38 (p. 230).

<sup>180</sup> Pretzl's “Verzeichnis,” no. 39 (p. 233).

<sup>181</sup> A number of works on the subject are listed by Ahlwardt in his *Verzeichnis*, vol. 1, p. 244; best known, and in a printed edition, is *Tibyān fī ādāb ḥamalāt al-Qur'ān* by Yahyā AL-NAWAWĪ (d. 676/1277).

<sup>182</sup> In quotations from *lqnā'* of Ibn al-Bādash (see above, p. 561) as well as of the *Mudīh* (see below).

<sup>183</sup> Silvestre de Sacy, “Traité de la prononciation des lettres arabes,” extrait du manuscrit



mistakes”<sup>184</sup> of Abū l-Faḍl al-Rāzī (d. 454/1062),<sup>185</sup> the teacher of the Koran. Arranged by articulation, the work deals with mistakes that ought to be avoided in the individual consonants, both when standing alone (intervocalic) and when in contact with one another. The arrangement of the matter under the concept *lahn* reminds one of al-Khāqānī, who requires familiarity with *lahn* so that it can be avoided. The origin of this requirement, however, is to be found in a saying ascribed to ‘Umar: *ta’allam al-lahn fi l-Qur’ān*.<sup>186</sup>

The anonymous sixth century *Mūḍih fi l-tajwīd* at the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, no. 499 (written in 785/1383), is likely dependent upon the aforementioned work as well as the presentation of al-Ahwāzī. Frequently based on older sources, the work supplies a very thorough introduction to the teaching of *lahn* and then proceeds to the three chapters on consonants, consonantal connections, and, much shorter, to vowels and the vowelless state. The work concludes with an appendix of the types of recitation which apparently derives entirely from al-Ahwāzī.<sup>187</sup>

Somewhat more than three centuries later, and clearly as competition to al-Khāqānī, ‘Alam al-Dīn AL-SAKHĀWĪ (d. 643/1245) treated *tajwīd* in a poem comprising sixty-four verses in *kāmil* meter (rhyming with *-ānī*).<sup>188</sup> However, the greatest influential edition of the subject comes from the last great representative of the science of variant readings, Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429)<sup>189</sup> with his *al-Muqaddima al-Jazariyya*, a didactic poem of one hundred and seven verses in *rajab 2* meter. The author later returned twice to the subject, namely in a special work, *al-Tamhīd*, and in the section of *al-Nashr* based on *al-Tamhīd*. The arrangement of the *Jazariyya* is strongly reminiscent of that

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arabe n° 260 de la Bibliothèque impériale, pp. 10–58. The value of the text suffers from the continual confusion of *khff* and *hqq*.

<sup>184</sup> Meant is inaccuracy of the pronunciation, compared to *lahn jali* “obvious linguistic mistake”, a true grammatical mistake. *Lahn* also means “way of speaking” and “melody.”

<sup>185</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1549.

<sup>186</sup> Unfortunately I was unable to check the content of a similar work by (‘Alī b. Ja’far) ABŪ AL-ḤASAN AL-RĀZĪ al-Sa’īdī entitled *Kitāb al-Tanbih ‘alā l-lahn al-jalī wa-l-lahn al-khafi*. Ms., Istanbul, Vehbi Efendi, no. 40, fol. 44<sup>r</sup>–51<sup>v</sup>.; [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 17, no. 27].

<sup>187</sup> He mentions as authorities: al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad b. ‘Umar [d. ca. 175/791; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, p. 613,] Sibawayh, and his commentators, Mabramān al-Naḥwī, [Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 86–87,] and [Abū Sa’īd al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd Allāh] AL-SĪRĀFĪ [*EP*], Muḥammad b. al-Mustanir QUTRUB, al-Mazīnī, [Abū ‘Umar Ṣāliḥ b. Ishāq] AL-JARMĪ [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 72–73], Ibn Durayd; al-Farrā’; Ibn Kaysān; Ibn Mujāhid as well as individual readers of the Seven.

<sup>188</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 410.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 201 sqq.

of *al-Nashr*. The system of the location and types of articulation is derived from it, but from the section on the methods of recitation only some generalities on *tajwīd* as transition to the rather badly arranged treatment of consonants and connections of consonant, preceded by those sections that consider *tarqīq*. Under ض and ظ are listed all the words with ظ that occur in the Koran: an integration of unrelated *tajwīd* material from one of the special works on the difference of the two sounds. It is followed by some verses about *madd*, which was introduced to elementary teaching because of the increasing interest in the more recent science of the variant readings, the cases of prolongation, and the treatment of *waqf*. To *tajwīd* belong only the rules of the sound effect of the absolute initial sound (in double consonants “extension *alif*”) and final sound; they form the end of the poem which, however, is preceded by the elements of the rules where in the Koran a pause is obligatory, and where one must, may, or may not pause; and a detailed study of two respective chapters of the rule of *rasm*, regarding cases when two words are written together, and about such when the script in the feminine reproduces the contextual form with *-at* instead of *-ah*.

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Next to (*al-Muqaddima*) *al-Jazariyya* there still remains a mass of even shorter and more elementary school booklets that have been composed in Arabic and in other Islamic languages until the present. The most popular of all is probably the *Tuhfat al-atfāl* (sixty-one verses) of Sulaymān b. Ḥusayn AL-JUMZŪRĪ composed in 1198/1783.<sup>190</sup> For the most modest needs people were satisfied to present the rules of *tajwīd* as required for the recitation of the first sūra separately. Already al-Ja‘barī (d. 732/1331) thus composed his *al-Wāḍiḥa fī tajwīd al-Fātiḥa*. But also the more scholarly occupation with *tajwīd* beyond the numerous commentaries on the *Jazariyya* did not stop with Ibn al-Jazarī. Best known from later literature is *al-Durr al-yatīm* of Muḥammad b. Pīr ‘Alī L-BIRKĀWĪ (d. 981/1573)<sup>191</sup> which goes far beyond *al-Nashr* as far as casuistry and consideration of differences of opinions is concerned, although without references to the authorities.

#### *Writings on Pause in Koranic Recitation (waqf)*

Koranic recitation required a meaningful connection or separation of the parts of speech which initially could have been learned from oral teaching, but as a consequence of the many syntactic obscurities, there still remained

<sup>190</sup> Y.E. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de bibliographie arabe*, p. 708.

<sup>191</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 440.

many controversial instances. From a very early date they were thus treated in special writings. Already the *Fihrist*<sup>192</sup> mentions Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb al-Taymī and other older authorities.<sup>193</sup> The earliest of such extant writings is a work from the second part of the third century by one Abū l-ʿAbbās, attacking *al-Maqāṭiʿ wa-l-mabādīʿ* of Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī (d. 250/864).<sup>194</sup> The most important book of the early period, however, is *Īḍāḥ al-waqf wa-l-ibtidāʿ* of Abū Bakr IBN AL-ANBĀRĪ (d. 327 or 8/938 or 9).<sup>195</sup> It consists of two parts, the first one dealing with the rules of the absolute pause, which otherwise constitutes a subject of the *uṣūl* in the general works on *qirāʾāt* (see above, p. 540sq.). The second part deals with the relative pause seen from the syntactic point of view and contains extremely valuable considerations regarding possible syntactic interpretations of readers and authors. He knows two types of permissible pause: (1) *al-Tāmm huwa lladhī yaḥsun al-waqf ʿalayhi wa-l-ibtidāʿ bi-mā baʿdah wa-lā yakūn baʿdah mā yataʿallaq bih*; and (2) *al-ḥasan huwa lladhī yaḥsun al-waqf ʿalayh wa-lā yaḥsun al-ibtidāʿ bi-mā baʿdah*. A *waqf* that is neither *tāmm* nor *ḥasan* is called *qabīḥ*; this, for example, includes the separation of the *muḍāf* from the *muḍāf ilayh*, and of the *manʿūt* from the *naʿt*.

Another important work of this type on *al-Waqf wa-l-ittināf* originates from the grammarian Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad AL-NAḤḤĀS (d. 338/950);<sup>196</sup> like most of the following works, it is without a section on the absolute pause, but instead is richer with respect to syntactic and exegetic discussions. From this, and the booklet of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad IBN AWS (d. ca. 340/951),<sup>197</sup> another and older classification of *waqf* becomes apparent: *tāmm*, *kāfi*, and *ḥasan*, which is already documented in a saying of a contemporary of Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) (in *Manār al-hudā* [see below] p. 4, l 14 [sic]), according to which this opinion is considered *bidʿa*. It is still maintained in later works, such as *al-Muktafi* of al-Dānī (d. 444/1052), and

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<sup>192</sup> Flügel's edition, p. 36; in *Manār al-hudā* (printed edition, 1307/1889, see below), p. 4, l 5, already even Nāfiʿ and Yaʿqūb al-Ḥaḍramī.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid.

<sup>194</sup> British Museum, Arabic, 1589, statement wrong. See on this, Pretzl's "Verzeichnis," pp. 236–237: "The anonymous work on *waqf* in the Ms. Ar., 1589 of the British Museum *Catalogue* (*Cod. Orient. Mus. Brit.* ii, partis suppl. MDLXXXIX, p. 718) identified as the work of Ibn al-Anbārī cannot be thus identified on the basis of the introduction. The author attacks Abū l-Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, the author of a *Kitāb al-Maqāṭiʿ wa-l-mabādīʿ*. He seems to be one Abū l-ʿAbbās, a pupil of Khalaf b. Hishām, Shurayḥ b. Yūnus, and Ibn Muḥammad al-Ḍūrī, thus still belonging to the second half of the third century."

<sup>195</sup> Pretzl's "Verzeichnis," no. 45, pp. 234–237; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 15, no. 18.

<sup>196</sup> Pretzl's "Verzeichnis," no. 46, p. 237; *EF*; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 207–209.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid., no. 47, pp. 237–238: *Waqf wa-l-ibtidāʿ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 15, no. 18.

in *Rawḍat al-nāẓir* of Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Kawwāshī (d. 680/1281).<sup>198</sup> In this classification *kāfī* is defined as *munqaṭi' fī l-lafẓ muta'alliq fī l-ma'nā*. [Abū Muḥammad] al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Sa'īd al-'Ummānī [AL-'AMMĀNĪ]<sup>199</sup> (lived after 550/1155 in Egypt) composed two books on *waqf* and *ibtidā'*,<sup>200</sup> one of which, *al-Murshid*, was later expanded by Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā AL-ANṢĀRĪ (d. 926/1519) in his *al-Muqṣid li-talkhīṣ mā fī l-Murshid fī l-waqf wa-l-ibtidā'*.<sup>201</sup> Like Ibn al-Anbārī's *Īḍāḥ al-waqf wa-l-ibtidā'* it includes also the rules of the absolute pause, and, following Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, divides the relative pause into: *tāmm*, *ḥasan*, *kāfī*, *ṣāliḥ*, and *mafhūm*.<sup>202</sup> We find nearly the identical arrangement in a larger but later work of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm AL-USHMŪNĪ,<sup>203</sup> entitled *Manār al-hudā*, with the exception that here *mafhūm* has been omitted, and the remaining parts subdivided into *tāmm atamm*, *ḥasan aḥsan*, etc. The arrangement of Muḥammad b. Ṭayfūr AL-SAJĀWANDĪ (died about the middle of the sixth century),<sup>204</sup> who was the author of a larger and a smaller work on *waqf* and *ibtidā'* found more widespread acceptance.<sup>205</sup> He differentiates:

1. *lāzim* (indicated by the logogram  $\mu$ ): *mā law wuṣila ṭarafāh ghuyyira al-murād*.<sup>206</sup>
2. *al-muṭlaq* ( $\mu$ ): *mā yaḥsun al-ibtidā' bi-mā ba'dah*.
3. *al-jā'iz* ( $\mu$ ): *mā yajūzu fīhi l-waṣl wa-l-faṣl li-tajādhub al-mujībiayn min al-ṭarafayn*.
4. *al-mujawwaz li-wajh* ( $\mu$ ): "still to justify."
5. *al-murakhkhaṣ ḍarūratan li-nqīṭā' al-naḥas wa-ṭul al-kalām* ( $\mu$  = *ḍarūrī*.)

He needs two additional signs:  $\mu$  = *qad qīla* "it is also claimed" (that here pause is required) and  $\mu$  at the end of a verse, which purports to forbid the

<sup>198</sup> Ms. Berlin, 563; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 701; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 416, suppl. vol. 1, p. 737; *EF*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>199</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, p. 77, no. 5.

<sup>200</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, no. 1013.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.: *wa-za'ama annahu tabī'a Abā Ḥātim al-Sijistānī*.

<sup>202</sup> The meaning of *al-maḥmūm* is defined as the last stage before *qabīḥ*: *alladhī lā yufham min-hu l-murād*, approximately "still intelligible."

<sup>203</sup> Repeatedly printed, most recently in 1307/1889 at Cairo; cf. Y.I. Sarkīs, *Dictionnaire de bibliographie arabe*, 452.

<sup>204</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, suppl. volume 2, p. 724.

<sup>205</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3084.

<sup>206</sup> For example, *mā bi-mu'minīna | yukhādī'una Allāh*. If pause is ignored, *yukhādī'una* would be considered *ṣifa tumminīna*.

obvious pause. This system, too, was subject to theoretical and practical extensions, although in later times it received a kind of universal acceptance. Basically also the *waqf* indication of the official Cairene edition of the Koran follows suit.<sup>207</sup> Retained are the signs م, لا, ج; omitted are ط, ز, ض, but instead, sub-sections of *jā'iz* are newly introduced: صلى to indicate the position where *waqf* is permissible, but *waṣl* is preferable, فلى to indicate positions where *waqf* is permissible and preferable to *waṣl*. Further, a pair of double signs was introduced ^^ for the very few cases where the syntactic affiliation of a word is doubtful and where *waqf* on the one word excludes the same on the other, for example, in *lā rayba fihi hudan*, sūra 2:2; *fihi* can belong to *rayba* and have *waqf*, but also to *hudan* and then the *waqf* is on *rayba*.

### *Writings on the Enumeration of Verses*

The numbering of the verses of the Koran was actually subject to few variations. Already in the second century the following seven systems of enumeration were established:<sup>208</sup> *al-madanī l-awwal*, with 6217 verses, *al-madanī al-akhīr*, with 6214 verses, *al-Makkī*, 6219, *al-Baṣrī*, 6204 (5), *al-Kūfī*, 6236, *al-Shāmī*, 6226 (7), *al-Ḥimṣī*, 6232. The differences among these tallies are unevenly distributed over the sūras. Whereas twenty-eight sūras show no differences, for sūra twenty alone there are no less than twenty-four differences, and for sūra fifty-six there are seventeen or sixteen. Since the enumeration of the verses is theoretically not connected to the teaching of *waqf*, but frequently of practical importance, and also in the teaching of the *imāla* the end of the verse is occasionally of practical importance, interest in the theoretical aspect of verse-counting has always remained alive in the teaching of the Koran. The introductory chapters of two extant works make it quite clear that this originates from the requirements of the Koranic orthography but not from those of the Koranic readings. Substantially, they at times remarkably strongly resemble the minor Masorah of the Hebrew Bible. Many authorities of the second century are mentioned as the first authors of

<sup>207</sup> Cf. G. Bergsträßer, "Koranlesung in Kairo," p. 9.

<sup>208</sup> The data are derived from a special investigation by Anton Spitaler, München, entitled *Die Verszählung* [verse-numbering] *des Koran nach islamischer Überlieferung* (1935), a work that he published under the auspices of the Korankommission of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Numbers in brackets indicate a different enumeration in the transmission.

such writings.<sup>209</sup> Surviving works include *al-Bayān* of al-Dānī (d. 444/1052),<sup>210</sup> *Kitāb fi ‘adad suwar wa-‘ay al-Qur‘ān* of ABŪ L-QĀSIM ‘Umar b. Muḥammad IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ<sup>211</sup> (an approximate contemporary of the preceding writer), *K. ‘Adad ‘ay al-Qur‘ān* of Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. ‘Alī b. Manṣūr,<sup>212</sup> a pupil of Abū Bakr AL-NAQQĀSH, and also *K. Mubhij al-asrār* of al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad AL-‘AṬṬĀR AL-HAMADHĀNĪ (d. 569/1173).<sup>213</sup> There are other sources to be found in general works on *qirā‘āt* that are useful for the investigation of this subject, for example, *Rawḍat al-ḥuffāz* of al-Mu‘addil (fl. 5th/11th cent.) and *Latā‘if al-ishārāt* of al-Qaṣṭallānī (d. 923/1517), as well as *Ithāf fuḍalā’ al-bashar* of AL-DIMYĀṬĪ AL-BANNĀ’.

### *Writings on Koranic Orthography*

[iii/238] Familiarity with the old Koranic orthography was a far more important prerequisite for the teaching of the Koran than the verse-counting. Not only actual textual variants, but also purely orthographic peculiarities thus determined the pronunciation, the *imāla* in the absolute *waqf* and particularly in the *tashil* of *hamz* in pause. For this reason, writings on the orthography of the ‘Uthmānic model codices were in use at all periods. The best known of these teaching aids was *al-Muqni‘ fi ma‘rifat rasam maṣāḥif al-amṣār* of ‘Uthmān b. Sa‘īd AL-DĀNĪ (d. 444/1052).<sup>214</sup> In his introductory chapter he deals with the history of the establishment of the text of the Koran, followed by the peculiarities of the ‘Uthmānic orthography compared with the orthography current at the time of a particular author, and also older transmissions regarding the particularities of the *amṣār*, which are not of purely orthographic nature but are rather textual variants. The main sources of the book are older writings, including *Hijā’ al-sunna* of AL-GHĀZĪ IBN QAYS al-Andalusī (d. 199/815)—from which derive mainly the details regarding the Medinan codices—and also *Kitāb fi l-hijā’ al-maṣāḥif* of Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā al-Iṣbahānī (d. 253/867), as well as the above-mentioned *Īdāḥ al-waqf* of Abū Bakr IBN AL-ANBĀRĪ (d. 327/938). Al-Dānī’s other authorities are

<sup>209</sup> *Fihrist*, p. 37; on the later literature also Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, vol. 1, p. 174.

<sup>210</sup> Pretzl’s “Verzeichnis,” no. 50, pp. 239–240: *K. al-Bayān fi ‘add ‘ay al-Qur‘ān*.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 51, pp. 240–241; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 16, no. 24.

<sup>212</sup> Recently acquired Ms. by Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, Or. quart. 1386, in R. Sellheim, *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Teil 1. Wiesbaden, 1976.

<sup>213</sup> Pretzl’s “Verzeichnis,” no. 52, p. 241.

<sup>214</sup> Edited by O. Pretzl in 1932.

NUṢAYR b. Yūsuf [AL-RĀZĪ<sup>215</sup>] and Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsīm b. Sallām.<sup>216</sup> The former is considered one of the most important scholars in this field. He does not seem to have been familiar with the older and still extant work, *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* of the renowned traditionist (‘Abd Allāh b. Sulaymān) IBN ABĪ DĀWŪD AL-SIJISTĀNĪ (d. 316/929).<sup>217</sup> It is distinguished from *al-Muqni‘ fī ma‘rifat rasm maṣāḥif al-amṣār* by extraordinarily numerous facts about the textual variants of older Koranic authorities; it is very important for the teaching of the *shawādh*. The work essentially produces the same lists of the differences of the *amṣār* but adds valuable details about orthographic peculiarities, about the treatment of the codices, their sale, etc. Like the *Taysīr*, al-Shāṭibī’s (d. 590/1193) *Muqni‘* was also versified in a poem of three hundred and ten verses in *ṭawīl* meter entitled *‘Aqīlat atrāb al-qaṣā’ib fī asmā’ al-maqāṣid*, and frequently commented on.<sup>218</sup> In later times very widespread, particularly in the Maghreb, was the *rajaz* poem *Mawrid al-ẓam‘ān* of Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad AL-KHARRĀZ(Ī) (d. 711/1311<sup>219</sup>). Further literature is presented above (p. 408) and in the introduction to *al-Muqni‘*. On the pointing of the Koran see below, p. 590 sqq.

*The Commentaries on the Koran as a  
Source of the Science of Variant Readings*

Apart from the works on *qirā‘āt* in the narrow sense, the commentaries on the Koran—unless they are exclusively devoted to grammatical, lexicographic, and exegetic matters—represent the main source of the science of *qirā‘āt*. This is particularly true in the case of the investigation of the uncanonical variant readings. Since they were not treated in the second part of the present work, and a larger number of them have been reprinted since then, or manuscript versions been discovered, the following compilation will be greatly appreciated. The details about printed commentaries have been kindly made available by Prof. Arthur Jeffery, Cairo, who

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<sup>215</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, p. 189.

<sup>216</sup> His book, *Ikhtilāf al-maṣāḥif*, is not mentioned.

<sup>217</sup> Damascus, Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhiriyya, *Ḥadīth*, 407. Photocopies are with the Koran-kommission of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, München. The work has been edited by A. Jeffery, and entitled *Materials for the history of the text of the Qor‘ān*, at Leiden in 1937. [Sezgin, *GAS* vol. 1, p. 175.]

<sup>218</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 410; Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, vol. 1, p. 192b; Y.I. Sarkis, *Dictioinaire de bibliographie arabe*, 1092. A more recent printed edition appeared in 1908 at Kazan (accompanied by a more recent commentary).

<sup>219</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 248; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 3394.

himself checked them systematically in order later to use them for a critical edition of the Koran.

1. *Jāmi' al-bayān fī tafsīr* [or 'an ta'wīl] *al-Qur'ān* of Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr AL-ṬABARĪ (d. 310/923); available in two Egyptian printings, Maymūniyya, 1321/1893, and Amīriyya, 1330/1911. The latter edition is printed somewhat more carefully than the former; both, however, contain plenty of mistakes, so that a new edition would seem to be a great desideratum. Hermann Haußleiter provided an index to the first edition.<sup>220</sup>

Al-Ṭabarī pretty much lists all the more important differences of the Seven, but rarely provides names. He himself mostly prefers the reading of 'AṢIM b. al-'Ajāj AL-JAḤDARĪ, and rather more the *riwāya* of Abū Bakr SHU'BAH IBN 'AYYĀSH<sup>221</sup> than the *riwāya* of Abū 'Umar ḤAḤṢ IBN SULAYMĀN.<sup>222</sup> From among the uncanonical readings he frequently cites the texts of Ubayy b. Ka'b, 'Abd Allāh IBN MAS'ŪD, and some of the first caliphs, as well as 'Alī and Ibn 'Abbās. As a rule, his uncanonical references are listed without any names. Although his collection of such variants is interesting, it is something less than a mine.

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2. *Ma'ālim al-tanzīl*, of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn al-Farrā' AL-BAGHAWĪ (d. 516/1122).<sup>223</sup> This is available in the Bombay edition of 1296/1878, and in two Cairene editions, one in the margin of al-Khāzin al-Baghdādī's commentary, printed in seven volumes by al-Ṭūbī, 1331–1332/1912, and the other in the lower part of the Manār edition of (Ismā'īl b. 'Umar) IBN KATHĪR'S<sup>224</sup> commentary (see below, no. 9). The better edition is the one in the margin of al-Khāzin al-Baghdādī.

Al-Baghawī nearly always supplies the main deviations of the canonical Seven, and usually by name. He regularly also adds the names of Ya'qūb al-Ḥaḍramī and Abū Ja'far IBN AL-QA'QĀ' AL-MAKHZŪMĪ. In addition, he lists the better known variants of Ibn Mas'ūd, Ubayy b. Ka'b, etc. Occasionally, he also cites the variant readings of Ḥumayd b. Qays AL-A'RAJ, Abū Rajā' 'Imrān al-'Uṭaridī,<sup>225</sup> al-Ḥasan (al-Baṣrī), Ibn Abī Ishāq al-Ḥaḍramī,<sup>226</sup> and others. He does not supply the sources of his variants.

<sup>220</sup> *Regīster zum Qorankommentar des Ṭabari* (1912).

<sup>221</sup> *EF*<sup>2</sup>; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 10–11.

<sup>222</sup> *EF*<sup>2</sup>; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 10, no. 3.

<sup>223</sup> Or 510/1117 according to Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 1555, no. 2.

<sup>224</sup> *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, printed in Miṣr, ca. 1356/1937, Cairo, 1952, Beirut, 1966 and 1386/1970. Cairo, 1978, Beirut, 1904/1986. Brockelmann, *GAL*, suppl. vol. 2, p. 49; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 49 and vol. 6, p. 303.

<sup>225</sup> Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 60–61.

<sup>226</sup> *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, pp. 36–37.



3. *al-Kashshāf ‘an ḥaqā’iq al-tanzīl* of Jār Allāh (Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar) AL-ZAMAKHSHARĪ (d. 538/1143) edited by Nassau Lees in two volumes, and published at Calcutta, 1856–1859. There are also several Cairene editions. The Calcutta edition is by far the best, although not always accurate.

Al-Zamakhsharī is very arbitrary in listing variants. He by no means lists all of the Seven, but he has very many uncanonical ones. He frequently lists the representatives of the uncanonical readings, but rather frequently fails to supply the source. From among his sources he mentions Ibn Jinnī, Ibn Khālawayh, and Ibn Mujāhid.

4. *Mafātīh al-ghayb* of Muḥammad FAKHR AL-DĪN AL-RĀZĪ (d. 606/1209). There are three Cairene printings, Būlāq, 1279–1289/1862–1872 in six volumes, al-‘Āmira, 1310/1892 in eight volumes (reprinted, 1324–1327/1906–1909), al-Ḥusayniyya, 1327/1909, in eight volumes, and Constantinople, 1307/1889, in eight volumes, with *Irshād al-‘aql al-salīm ilā mazāyā al-kitāb al-karīm* of ABŪ AL-SU‘ŪD (Muḥammad b. Muḥammad) AL-‘IMĀDĪ (Khoja Çelebi) (d. 982/1574) in the margin (see below, item no. 14).<sup>227</sup>

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī is very inconsistent in his treatment of the variant readings. He sometimes lists pretty completely canonical and uncanonical variants, then passes entire sections without even once mentioning a single variant. He largely copies from al-Zamakhsharī (or possibly the latter’s sources), but now and then he does list important variants that are not to be found in al-Zamakhsharī. He does not supply the sources of his readings, but when discussing them he presents the views of al-Zamakhsharī and other authorities.

5. *Imlā’ mā manna bi-hi l-Raḥmān min wujūh al-i’rāb wa-l-qirā’āt fī jamī’ al-Qur’ān* of Abū l-Baqā’ AL-‘UKBARĪ (d. 616/1219). There are several printed editions: Cairo, Sharaf, 1303/1885, in two parts; and Maymūniyya, 1306/1888, in two volumes; in the margin of the super-commentary of al-Jamal (on the *Jalālayn*), Tehran, 1860, and from it printed at Cairo, Taqaddum, 1348/1929, in four volumes.

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Al-‘Ukbarī is rich in uncanonical readings, but unfortunately he seldom identifies the reader and never the sources from which he derived his information.

6. *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta’wīl* of Abū Sa’īd (‘Abd Allāh) b. ‘Umar AL-BAYḌĀWĪ (d. 685/1282). Among the numerous printings, the best edition is the one by H.L. Fleischer in two volumes, Leipzig, 1846–1848. From among

<sup>227</sup> *EP*.

the Oriental editions it is the five-volume al-Ḥalabī edition of 1330/1911, with the supercommentary of al-Kāzarūnī.<sup>228</sup>

Al-Bayḍāwī is of course greatly dependent on al-Zamakhsharī, even if he does not supply all the variants of the latter. Not infrequently he cites variant readings found in al-Ukbarī but not in either al-Zamakhsharī or Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. Occasionally he produces a variant that cannot even be found in al-Ukbarī. Still, his material for the *qirāʾāt* cannot exactly be called rich. Apart from the Seven he likes to refer to Yaʿqūb al-Ḥaḍramī.

7. *Madārik al-tanzīl wa-ḥaḳqāʾiq al-taʾwīl* of (Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn) Abū l-Barakāt AL-NASAFĪ (d. 710/1311).<sup>229</sup> There is a Bombay edition of 1279/1862, several two-volume editions from Egypt, 1306/1888 and 1326/1908 (Saʿāda); the work further appears in the margin of some editions of the commentary of al-Khāzin al-Baghdādī. Reprint of the Saʿāda edition in four parts, in 1333/1914.

This is a very brief commentary, and generally lists only the main variants of the Seven, occasionally also an uncanonical variant, at times with the name of the reader.

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8. *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ* of ABŪ ḤAYYĀN al-Naḥwī L-ANDALUSĪ (d. 745/1344), printed in eight volumes at Cairo, 1328/1910, and paid for by the Sultan of Morocco. In the margin two smaller commentaries are printed, *al-Nahr al-mādd* of Abū Ḥayyān himself, and *al-Durr al-laḳīṭ min al-baḥr al-muḥīṭ* of his pupil al-Qaysī.<sup>230</sup>

Abū Ḥayyān represents the western tradition of al-Andalus even though he had also studied in Egypt and Mecca. His work is extraordinarily rich in uncanonical readings, which in most cases he discusses in detail. A considerable number of the variants that he lists is totally unknown to the aforementioned commentaries. He is unique in the way he cites his sources. In his introduction he refers to the *Iqnāʿ al-zāhir* of Abū Jaʿfar IBN AL-BĀDHASH as the best authority on the Seven, and to *al-Miṣbāḥ* of al-Shahrazūrī as the best on the Ten. Throughout he cites *al-Kāmil* of (ABŪ AL-QĀSIM) AL-HUDHALĪ, *Kitāb al-Taḥrīr*, *K. al-Rawḍa fī l-qirāʾāt al-iḥdāʿ ashra* of Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm AL-BAGHDĀDĪ (d. 458/1066),<sup>231</sup> *al-Kashshāf* of al-Zamakhsharī, *Iʿrāb al-shawādh* of IBN KHĀLAWAYH, *K. al-Tibyān* of Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Hamadhānī, *al-ʿAyn* of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī, *K. al-Lawāmiḥ fī shawādh al-qirāʾāt* of Fakhr al-Dīn

<sup>228</sup> *EP*.

<sup>229</sup> *EP*.

<sup>230</sup> The text is badly printed, particularly the seventh and eighth volumes which were obviously completed in haste. There are not only many printing mistakes but obvious omissions.

<sup>231</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, suppl. vol. 1, p. 721, no. 4c.

al-Rāzī, *al-Kāmil* of Abū l-Qāsim Yūsuf b. ‘Alī b. Jabbāra al-HUDHAYLĪ (d. 465/1072), and *K. al-Muḥkam wa-l-muḥīṭ al-aẓam fī l-luġha* of (‘Alī b. Ismā‘īl) IBN SĪDAH (d. 458/1066).<sup>232</sup> In addition, he refers to source material of Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, Abū ‘Alī al-Fārisī, al-Ṭabarī, Abū l-Baqā AL-‘UKBARĪ, [Abū l-‘Abbās] AḤMAD IBN ‘ĀMMĀR AL-MAHDAWĪ, Ibn ‘Aṭiyya (al-Muḥāribī), al-Dānī (Muḥammad b. Aḥmad) AL-QURṬUBĪ, Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. al-Sarī AL-ZAJJĀJ (d. 311/923),<sup>233</sup> al-Qāsim b. Firruh AL-SHĀṬIBĪ, Abū ‘Alī AL-AHWĀZĪ, al-Mubarrad, Ibn Qutayba,<sup>234</sup> Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Karīm AL-QUSHAYRĪ,<sup>235</sup> et al.

In the marginal edition of *al-Nahr* occasionally an obscurity of the main text is eliminated, at times also printing mistakes are corrected. In this respect *al-Durr* is of little use.

9. *Tafsīr [al-Qurʾān al-‘aẓīm]* of Abū l-Fidā’ Ismā‘īl b. ‘Umar IBN KATHĪR (d. 774/1372). It has been printed in the margin of *Faḥ al-bayān fī maqāṣid al-Qurʾān* of [Muḥammad Bashīr al-Dīn ‘Uthmān] AL-QANNŪJĪ (Bulaq, 1300/1882–1302/1884 in 10 volumes); also, in the margin of *al-Baghawī* (Cairo, Manār, 1347/1928). The former edition is by far better.

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Ismā‘īl b. ‘Umar IBN KATHĪR is very arbitrary when it comes to references to the variants. On one occasion he supplies a great number of uncanonical variants, whereas, to one’s great surprise, in other cases even the readings of the Seven are totally missing. It is rare that he lists a variant that cannot also be found in Abū Ḥayyān (al-Andalusī) or al-‘Ukbarī, yet at times he cites a reader on a variant that cannot be found in other commentaries. The variants are usually without substantiation. Still, now and then he refers to sources such as al-Zamakhsharī, al-Dānī, al-Qurṭubī, Ibn ‘Aṭiyya (al-Muḥāribī), Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh IBN ABĪ DĀWŪD AL-SIJISTĀNĪ (Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Mūsā) IBN MARDAWAYH,<sup>236</sup> Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām’s *Faḍā’il al-Qurʾān*, etc.

10. *Gharā’ib al-Qurʾān wa-raghā’ib al-furqān* of al-Qummī AL-NAYSĀBŪRĪ (died ca. 706/1306). It is printed in the margin of *al-Ṭabarī* (no. 1). It was also printed twice at Tehran, 1280/1863 and 1313/1895; cf. above, p. 407 n. 130, for a more recent edition.

The author supplies his own introduction to the *qirā’āt*. In the introduction he makes it clear that as far as the variants are concerned he is following

<sup>232</sup> *EF*; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, p. 5; Cairo edition, 1377/1958.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 9, pp. 81–82.

<sup>234</sup> *EF*.

<sup>235</sup> *EF*.

<sup>236</sup> Died in 410/1019; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 225.

the canonical ones, of which he recognizes the Ten, except in particular instances. It is a useful work in so far as the author occasionally refers to minor deviations among the Ten (from unknown *riwāyāt*). He sometimes quotes uncanonical readers when they conform with the canonical ones. He himself mentions as his main source the great *tafsīr* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* (see no. 4).

11. *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, begun by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459), and completed by Jalāl al-Dīn AL-SUYŪṬĪ (d. 911/1505). There are innumerable editions, with and without super-commentary. The work is not rich as far as variants are concerned, since it mentions only the most common ones, and without supplying sources.

12. *al-Durr al-manthūr fī l-tafsīr bi-l-ma'thūr* of al-Suyūṭī, printed in six volumes, Cairo, 1314/1896.

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The author supplies a wealth of variants but rarely those that are not already known from older works. The great advantage of the work is that he lists the *isnāds* of the variants and refers to a large number of earlier authorities, such as Ibn al-Anbārī, Abū Dāwūd (al-Sijistānī), al-Tirmidhī, al-Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ, Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, Abū 'Abd Allāh AL-FIRYĀBĪ, d. 212/827,<sup>237</sup> al-Khaṭīb [al-Tibrīzī?], 'Abd b. Ḥumayd (or Ḥamid) b. Naṣr al-Kissī (d. 249/863),<sup>238</sup> Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-THA'LABĪ, et al. al-Suyūṭī is sometimes quite useful when it comes to ascertaining vague statements in older commentaries.

13. *al-Sirāj al-munīr fī l-i'āna 'alā ma'rīfat ba'd ma'ānī kalām rabbīnā al-ḥakīm* of [Yūsuf b. Muḥammad] al-Khaṭīb AL-SHIRBĪNĪ<sup>239</sup> (d. 977/1569), published Cairo, 1311/1893 in four volumes, together with al-Bayḍāwī in the margin; previous editions in 1285/1865 and 1299/1881.

The work seldom ventures beyond the more important variants of the Seven; the quotations are supplied always without the source.

14. *Irshād al-'aql al-salīm ilā mazāyā al-kitāb al-karīm* of ABŪ AL-SU'ŪD (Muḥammad b. Muḥyī l-Dīn [*sic*] AL-'IMĀDĪ (d. 982/1574), Bulaq editions, 1275/1858 and 1285/1868, in two volumes, also in the margin of the two Cairo editions of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī.

The work is mainly based on al-Zamakhsharī and al-Bayḍāwī, and quotes variant readings, but without specifying the readers.

<sup>237</sup> Muḥammad b. Yūsuf AL-FIRYĀBĪ or al-Faryābī, 120/738–212/827; *EP*<sup>2</sup>; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 40.

<sup>238</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 113, no. 64.

<sup>239</sup> *EP*<sup>2</sup>.

15. *Ināyat al-qāḍī wa-kifāyat al-rāḍī ‘alā tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*, known as *Ḥā-shiyat al-Shihāb* of Shihāb al-Dīn AL-KHAFĀJĪ (d. 1069/1658),<sup>240</sup> eight parts in four volumes, with the *tafsīr* of al-Bayḍāwī (*Anwār al-tanzīl*) in the margin, Būlāq, 1283/1866, a work that was reprinted in about 1976 in Beirut.

It is rich in uncanonical variants. Although it is a compilation, it is useful because of the great care with which the author presents his material, thus facilitating the verification of doubtful passages in other works. Occasionally he supplies his sources, al-Zamakhsharī, Ibn Jinnī (*Muḥtasab*), al-Dānī, Ibn al-Jazarī (*al-Nashr*), Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī, al-Sajāwandī, Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, etc.

16. *Fath al-qadīr al-jāmi‘ bayn fannay al-riwāya wa-l-dirāya min ‘ilm al-tafsīr* of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī AL-SHAWKĀNĪ al-Yamanī (d. 1250/1834), Cairo, 1349/1930, in five volumes.<sup>241</sup>

This commentary, too, is a compilation from printed editions. The South Arabian author obviously had access to a great deal of material that was no longer accessible to the occidental writers. In his discussion of the variants he constantly quotes a number of authorities including Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, al-Zamakhsharī, Ibn al-Anbārī, al-Tirmidhī, al-Wakī‘ b. al-Jarrāḥ (his *tafsīr*), Sa‘īd b. Manṣūr,<sup>242</sup> Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām<sup>243</sup> (*tafsīr*), al-Qurtubī, al-Ṭabarī, ‘Abd b. Ḥumayd (or Ḥamīd) b. Naṣr, etc.

17. *Rūḥ al-mā‘ānī fī tafsīr al-Qur‘ān al-‘aẓīm wa-l-sab‘ al-mathānī* of Maḥmūd AL-ALŪSĪ AL-BAGHDĀDĪ (Bulaq, 1301/1883–1310/1892, in nine volumes; new edition, Cairo, Muniriyya, n.d., in 30 parts).<sup>244</sup>

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A compilation of printed and extant manuscript commentaries. Very rich in variants. His contributions from unusual sources are not very numerous.

18. I found the following Shī‘ite commentaries on the Koran still worth noting: *Majma‘ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur‘ān* (thus the title of the book in the introduction of the lithograph is given thus: *K. al-Majma‘ al-bayān li-‘ulūm al-Qur‘ān*) of Abū ‘Alī al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan AL-TABARSĪ (d. 548/1153, the work was composed in 536/1141).<sup>245</sup> A lithograph, Tehran, 1275/1859, in two vol-

<sup>240</sup> *EP*.

<sup>241</sup> *EP*; Brockelmann, *GAL*, suppl. vol. 2, p. 819.

<sup>242</sup> Abū ‘Uthmān SĀ‘ĪD IBN MANṢŪR b. Shu‘ba al-Khurāsānī, d. 227/842. *EP*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 104, no. 38.

<sup>243</sup> *EP*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, pp. xxxii, 24–38; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 99.

<sup>244</sup> Other editions, Cairo, 1345/1926, 1353/1934 (repr. about 1970), and Cairo, 1964. *EP*.

<sup>245</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 406; Sezgin, *GAS*, vols. 2 and 9. There are numerous modern editions, the latest, Qum, 1403/1983; *EP*.

umes of 560 and 536 unnumbered pages. Y.E. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire de bibliographie arabe*, column 1227, another lithograph 1314.<sup>246</sup>

The commentary evidently follows the model of the *Hujja* of Abū ‘Alī al-Fārisī (see above, p. 552) which is frequently explicitly quoted. Following this example, he clearly shows the subdivisions of the Koranic commentary: *qirā’āt*, *hujaj*, *lugha*, *i’rāb*, *ma’ānī*. But, in contrast, he considers apart from the Seven (these partly also with more than the two familiar transmitters) the readings of Abū Ja‘far IBN AL-QA‘QĀ‘ AL-MAKHZŪMĪ and Ya‘qūb al-Ḥaḍramī, the *Ikhtiyār* of Khalaf b. Hishām and the one of Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, without differentiating the *riwāyāt*. Among the *qirā’āt* very many *shawādh* are supplied. For explicit reasons, the work of Ibn Jinnī (see above, p. 565) is repeatedly quoted as well as al-Zajjāj (see below, p. 584). Al-Zajjāj does not mention several of the *shawādh* readings found in Ibn Jinnī, but often still has considerably more than Ibn Jinnī.

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Other than *al-Hujja* already mentioned above on p. 493, the following manuscript commentaries constitute important source material for the history of the Koran.

1. *K. Ma’ānī al-Qur’ān* of Abū Bakr Yaḥyā b. Ziyād b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān AL-FARRĀ’ (d. 207/822). The work is available in two manuscripts that differ not inconsiderably from one another: Istanbul (Bagdatlı) Vehbi Effendi, no. 66 (some leaves are missing at the end), and Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, 459.<sup>247</sup> It might be a case of two different recensions of this work, produced by the author himself in order to frustrate the avarice of the book-sellers.<sup>248</sup> But the difference between the two is not as great as the story would have it.

The commentary is the most important source of information on the Kūfic recitation of the Koran in so far as it originates directly from the school of al-Kisā’ī, and the *ta’līl* text mostly offers, so to speak, a recension untroubled by oral transmission. Other readings are unfortunately quoted frequently without specific mention of the authorities. Conversely, Ibn Mas‘ūd and Ubayy b. Ka‘b are frequently mentioned, so that this commentary constitutes a considerably safer base for the establishment of their texts of the Koran than is the case with the later sources that are frequently far removed.

<sup>246</sup> It must be emphasized that here not all the printed or lithographed commentaries listed by Sarkis have been mentioned.

<sup>247</sup> O. Pretzl, "Die Wissenschaft der Koranlesung," p. 16.—The manuscript of the Egyptian National Library, *Tafsīr* no. 10 ش is according to the *farāgh* note a copy of the Nurosmaniye manuscript.

<sup>248</sup> See G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 131.

The grammatical explanations of Yahyā b. Ziyād AL-FARRĀ' are highly esteemed by the Arabs themselves as the most perfect example of what has been achieved in the science of the Koran.

2. *K. al-Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān* of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Sarī AL-ZAJJĀJ (d. 316/928<sup>249</sup>), a pupil of the renowned al-Mubarrad. The work is partly extant in a very poor manuscript at Istanbul, Umumiye, no. 247; the Ms. Veliyeddin Efendi, 43, constitutes its continuation (in a better condition, dated 368/978). The Egyptian National Library has a work of the same title and author, al-Zajjāj, signature *Tafsīr*, 632, which I have not been able to see.

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The work is rich in *shawādh* details, mostly without the names of the readers.

3. *K. I'rāb al-Qur'ān wa-tabyīn mā fī-hi min al-naḥw wa-dhikr al-qirā'āt* of Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il, known as AL-NAḤḤĀS (d. 338/949). A very good manuscript at Istanbul, Umumiye, no. 245.

The work, like the above-mentioned (p. 510) book (*al-Waqf wa-l-ittināf*) by the same author, is on *waqf* and represents a very rich collection of older grammarians of all schools on the *ḥujaj al-qirā'a*. It considers the *shawādh* not always equally, but not infrequently it lists variant readings that are otherwise totally unknown. It is particularly concerned with the differences of the Baṣran and Kūfan schools. The author is a pupil of the aforementioned [Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm] AL-ZAJJĀJ and is very often quoted.

4. In the Egyptian National Library, *Tafsīr* no. 385, there is a work by the same author entitled *Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān*.

<sup>249</sup> *EF*; *EQ*; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 81–82.





## MANUSCRIPTS OF THE KORAN

### *The State of Manuscript Research*

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The close connection of the variant readings of the Koran with the 'Uthmānic text would logically lead to the conclusion that a study of manuscripts beyond the *qirā'āt* literature is unlikely to produce anything new. However, as far as non-'Uthmānic manuscripts are concerned, one would think that we have sufficient information on the subject through the *shawādhdh* works. As a matter of fact, at least from the fourth century AH onwards, the manuscripts of the Koran as such no longer played an important role. The expertise in orthographic peculiarities of the solely recognized 'Uthmānic recension required for the practice of Koranic variant readings, as well as the production of manuscripts of the Koran, could be derived from the above-mentioned secondary sources (p. 512 sq.). For a quick orientation even Occidental scholars could dispense with the trouble of collating manuscripts. Only the recognition of the relative application of the science of *qirā'āt* makes a renewed investigation of the earliest manuscripts of the Koran rewarding, and promises—in case non-'Uthmānic copies of the Koran should indeed not come to light<sup>1</sup>—at least a control of the narrow Muslim tradition and an augmentation of our knowledge of the period before the systematization of the science of the Koran. At the suggestion of G. Bergsträßer, the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, München, started to assemble, as far as possible, a complete collection of photographs of our extant older manuscripts of the Koran, thus initiating for the first time the investigation of important research material. As this project of the Bavarian academy is only in its beginning stages, the following exposition does not constitute conclusions; rather, it merely represents a general introduction to the problems and the methodology of manuscript research.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Rumours about such things have not infrequently been heard from scholars in the Orient and the Maghreb, but I did not get a chance to follow them up. Important seems to be the news from several quarters that before the First World War there was at Damascus a non-'Uthmānic codex from Homs. Muḥammad KURD 'ALĪ writes in his book, *Khiṭaṭ al-Sha'm*, vol. 6, p. 199, that during the War some twelve boxes with precious books, including very old manuscripts of the Koran, were removed from Damascus. It is not true that they came to Germany. Until now they are unfortunately not available to scholarship.

<sup>2</sup> See G. Bergsträßer, *Plan eines Apparatus criticus zum Koran*; further O. Pretzl, *Die Fortführung des Apparatus Criticus zum Koran* (1934).

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Whereas investigation into Arabic palaeography with reference to papyrology made enormous advances in the 1920s and 1930s, particularly through the monumental work of Adolf Grohmann,<sup>3</sup> in the case of palaeographic inquiries into the earliest manuscripts of the Koran the most basic preliminaries are still wanting.<sup>4</sup> Only a very small part of the older Korans has been catalogued. The richest collection of this kind I found at Istanbul. Although most of it is located at the Topkapı Sarayı, where now nearly all the collections of Kūfic Korans formerly held by municipal libraries are brought together, there are still other old Korans in the Evkaf (Müzesi), which originally owned some sixteen such manuscripts, and also recently received some more from municipal libraries. A very valuable collection, particularly because of the great variety of scripts, is the collection of the earliest fragments of the Koran at the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. Several very old codices are held by the Egyptian Library at Cairo, and the Azhar Mosque. During my study tour of Morocco in the spring of 1934, surprisingly valuable copies were discovered there. Larger and smaller collections (mostly fragments) are preserved in various libraries in the Occident.

### *The Script of the Older Korans*

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(1) The Korans of the first four centuries were mostly written in a script different from the common Arabic cursive script. From a very early period on, they were lumped together under the misleading name of “Kūfic.” The origin of this name cannot be determined with certainty (see below, p. 590 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. first of all Ad. Grohmann, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri archiduci Austriae*, series arabica, 3 (1924).

<sup>4</sup> Valuable help is at least provided by B. Moritz's article, s.v. Arabia (a) “Arabic writing” in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 1 (1908–1913), pp. 381–393. Further G. Bergsträßer, “Zur ältesten Geschichte der kufischen Schrift” (1919).—Reproductions of Korans are to be found in B. Moritz, *Arabic palaeography* (1905). Unfortunately the work does not list either library shelf numbers or size. He also fails to supply references to his datings.—Very valuable is also the reproduction of the so-called Samarqand codex (see above, p. 393 n. 37). From among the relevant literature I know: Henry Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia* (1885), Chauvin X, no. 94. *Bericht über die Kgl. Bibliothek Petersburg* [St. Petersburg Library], p. 346. Aleksandr L. Kun, “Коранъ Османа” in: *Материалы ыля туркестанскаго орая: Ежегодникъ*, ed. Nikolai A. Maev, p. 401. A larger number of reproductions also in L.H. Möller, *Paläologische Beiträge aus den herzoglichen Sammlungen in Gotha* (1844). Some samples also in the *Oriental series* of the Palaeographical Society, London, 1875–1883, and *Paléographie universelle*, ed. Joseph B. Silvestre, vol. 1 (Paris, 1839). On illuminated Korans see E. Kühnel, *Islamische Kleinkunst* (1925), pp. 26–37!

This designation undoubtedly indicates the lapidary script. It is characterized by reducing letters that originally displayed a greater variety of shapes down to a few basic artistic forms, namely to the simple hook  $\curvearrowright$ ,  $\curvearrowleft$  for the letters *b*, *t*, *th*, *n*, *y* (only in the initial or the medial forms; the final forms, as is the case also in the following groups, differ very considerably from one another, being not uniform even in the case of one and the same letter!), to the group for the letters *m*, *w*, *f*, *q*, and to the very much stretched parallels for the letters *d*, *dh*, *s*, *ḍ*, *z*, *k*.

Some letters do not appear in an identical shape even in the earliest time, so that  $\zeta$ , which appears as a line crossed from top left to right below the line  $\backslash$  or in the shape still currently used, an acute angle  $>$ . *Alif* appears with or without horizontal line;  $\xi$  as an angle open at the top and standing on the line  $v$ , or as a semi-circle  $\cup$  supported by a stem  $|$ . The initial  $\xi$  has the shape of a semi-circle open to the right which, at times—in the one ductus of the Samarqand codex as well as in other cases—attains the length of an *alif*, but mostly retains the height of the smaller letters. As this style of the script commands high artistic ability, the script fluctuates at all times between calligraphic perfection and clumsy imitation whenever used for the Koran in general. The fact that the perfect form can already be documented in older numismatic inscriptions and monuments speaks against the attempt to date this artistic perfection to the end of a development. The main forms recur also in later documents of this genre, so it cannot be a question of development.<sup>5</sup> Still, on account of minor changes of the forms,<sup>6</sup> and particularly because of more diverse final forms, a variety of manuscripts can be combined into smaller stylistic groups that then display a certain continuity of form, both in the number of lines and in the orthography. Only later do we find excesses—after the third century, when Korans generally are more frequently dated—in the so-called “ornamental” or “floral” Kūfic; thus, since the beginning of the fifth century we see, for example, a very strong

<sup>5</sup> I would like to emphasize that the only remarkable development is the *m*, which originally reached half below the line (unless a connection made this impossible, cf. plate no. 1), but in subsequent times was always put on the line.

<sup>6</sup> This includes most of all the change of the circle for *m* and *w*, rarely for *f* and *q*, into semi-circles, semi-pear-shaped or egg-shaped forms (cf. plate 2!). It seems to me that the stylistic development of the circle into triangles or squares appears only in very late Korans. The oldest dated document of the latter type I know of is the *vakfiye* on the Koran, Evkaf Müzesi, no. 1474, of 337/948! The Koran, no. 114, of the Egyptian Library is a very good example of how a different style evolves in one and the same hand. Whereas the *m* is at the beginning pretty much round, it gradually appears with a point at the upper left, changing eventually to a pronounced pear-shaped form.

emphasis on the varied strokes vis-à-vis the script, and the decoration of the upper lengths as well as the straight line with floral ornaments.<sup>7</sup>

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The overwhelming majority of Korans written in lapidary script on parchment are in horizontal format. Some of the oldest copies we know of are nearly square, as, for example, Evkaf, no. 3733 (with the gargantuan size of 56 by 63 cm, twelve lines to the page) which in script and appearance equals the Koran of the Egyptian Library, reproduced by Bernhard Moritz in plate no. 1. Nearly equally large are both the Samarqand codex and the Paris Ms. no. 324, twelve lines each, but in a different hand. We do have evidence from a very early time that small sizes, and the form of notebooks that were used for other types of books, were frowned upon. It is reported from Ibrāhīm AL-NAKHA'Ī (see above, p. 513) and others:<sup>8</sup> *kānū yakrahūna an yaktubū l-maṣāḥifa fi l-shay' al-ṣaghīr [kāna] yaqūl 'aẓẓim al-Qur'an. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk says:<sup>9</sup> kāna yakrah al-karārīs ya'nī al-maṣāḥif tuktab fihā and: lā tattakhidhū lil-ḥadīth kurrāsatan ka-kurrās al-muṣḥaf. Indeed, we find only oversize copies among old Korans. However, the huge sizes of the above-mentioned copies are likely to have been rare. They have survived probably only because they are precious.*

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(2) The script of a smaller group of manuscripts takes the middle place between the lapidary and the cursive forms known from papyri. Compared with the length of vertical strokes—which in most cases extends to the preceding line—its script is quite compact. The vertical strokes throughout lean toward the right. Apart from certain subsequent intermediate forms, these manuscripts are always in vertical format, and written in deep-black ink (made of soot) which was extremely unevenly flowing. Based on a passage in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*,<sup>10</sup> Joseph von Karabaček already considered this script Ḥijāzī. Their division of the verses, as far as I could ascertain, and their other characteristics, do indeed point to the narrow group of Median and Damascene manuscripts. As far as their orthography is concerned,

<sup>7</sup> One of the most magnificent codices of this genre, dated 909, is to be found in the Saray, Revan Köşk, no. 18.

<sup>8</sup> 'Abd Allāh IBN ABĪ DĀWŪD AL-SIJISTĀNĪ, *K. al-Maṣāḥif* (see above, p. 575) in *juz' 4*, beginning of *bāb ta'ẓīm wa-taṣḥīr al-maṣāḥif*.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, somewhat earlier!

<sup>10</sup> Flügel's edition, vol. 1, p. 6, l 3: فأما [الخط] المكي والمدني ففي ألفاته تعوج إلى يمينه اليد وأعلى الأصابع 3: وفي شكله انضجاج يسير. J. Karabaček in "Julius Euting's Sinaïtische Inschriften," p. 323, translates inaccurately, "as far as the Meccan and Median scripts are concerned, in their *alifs* there is a bend to the right side of the hand ... and in the body of the text a slight inclination to the side." Omitted is *wa-a'lā al-aṣābi'*, for which I, too, cannot supply a translation; possibly *wa-huwa a'lā al-aṣābi'* "has the greatest vertical length?"

they represent an older stage of development than the earliest lapidary manuscripts we know of. On the other hand, they are connected with the oldest lapidary codices by certain peculiarities of style; for example, the leaning towards the right of the vertical strokes is found also in the two oversize manuscripts, Evkaf, no. 3733, and the Egyptian Library, mentioned above, whereas the final *yā'* drawn far backwards and underlining several words (see plate 8, l 10) is also frequently met in the Paris codex no. 324. Almost everywhere *shay'* is found as شای.<sup>11</sup> Typical for all is the largely defective writing of the *ā*.

As a demonstration of the extent of the defective writing of this group of manuscripts the collation of two codices on sūra 3, verses 32 to 37: Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, no. 328, and Istanbul Saray Medina 1<sup>a</sup> might serve. It must be observed that in this passage the group of the lapidary Korans is generally in agreement with the Cairo edition as far as the defective writing is concerned, so that passages which already appear there defectively are not listed again. The two manuscripts have an additional fifteen defective writings, namely eight times قل and قلت for *qāl* and *qālat*, verse 32, نبأ for *nabātan* verses 32 and 33, الحرب for *miḥrāb*, verse 35, هنالك for *hunālīka*, فندته for *fa-nādathu*, verse 35, امرئى for *imra'ati*, عقر for *'āqirun*.<sup>12</sup> Consonantal script of the *ā* occurs in this section only in the following words: verse 32, *ḥisāban*, verse 33, *da'ā*, *al-du'ā'i*, *qā'imun*, verse 35, *yashā'u*, verse 36, *al-nāsa*, *ayyāmin*.<sup>13</sup> This amount of defective writing is disproportionally large when compared with the other codices. The introduction of yet another Kūfīc consonantal script going even further is ascribed by the author of the *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, 'Abd Allāh IBN ABĪ DĀWŪD AL-SIJISTĀNĪ,<sup>14</sup> to the governor 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād (d. 69/688), who was prompted by his secretary, Yazīd al-Fārisī.<sup>15</sup> There it is reported that he enlarged the *muṣḥaf* by two thousand letters. *Wa-kāna lladhī zāda 'Ubayd Allāh fī l-muṣḥaf kāna*

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<sup>11</sup> *Shay'* is also found in the Samarqand codex, where it is written with *alif* on several occasions, whereas according to *Muqni'* (edited by Pretzl, p. 45, l 2) this could only be the case in the passage, sūra 18:23. Conversely, also in the *muṣḥaf* of Ubayy b. Ka'b it is always written with *alif*.

<sup>12</sup> The two last passages are defective also in the Samarqand codex, which has a gap to verse thirty-two.

<sup>13</sup> Among them three passages where *alif* is followed by *hamz*.

<sup>14</sup> See above, p. 574 sq.; the passage occurs at the end of *juz'* 3 towards the end of *bāb ikhtilāf kḥuṭūṭ al-maṣāḥif*.

<sup>15</sup> For more about him see Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhib al-tahdhib*, vol. 2, p. 374; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 4, l 13.

*makānuhu fi l-muṣḥaf qālū: qāflām*<sup>16</sup> *wa-kānū: kāf nūn wāw fa-ja'alahu 'Ubayd Allāh qālū: qāf alif lām wa-ja'ala kānū kāf alif nūn wāw alif*. According to this, it concerns both the *alif* of division and the *alif* of prolongation. However, it must be said as a critical aside that even if only the *alif* of prolongation had been introduced by this 'Ubayd Allāh, the number of two thousand for the letters which he allegedly added would be far greater. In contrast, this would correspond approximately to the number of differences of defective writings between the more cursively written Korans and the early lapidary Korans. The report might be a reminder of the fact—and in agreement with the investigation of the manuscripts—that Iraq experienced a more serious transformation of orthography. Since—as far as we can determine—this also coincided with the change of the ductus, it might give rise to the assumption that it became the custom there from then on to write Korans in lapidary script only. This would be one explanation for calling the lapidary script “Kūfic”.

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This script was introduced also to the Ḥijāz, as the considerable number of Ḥijāzī lapidary codices attests. In any case, the Korans of the second group written in cursive script leaning to the right are to be considered more original and, thus, more closely approximate 'Uthmānic orthography. The original Ḥijāzī script survived even after the introduction of the lapidary script. The codex Istanbul, Saray, Medina 1<sup>a</sup> (see plate 10), which shows several scripts that deviate considerably from one another, and hardly retains any inclination to the right, but corresponds down to the least little detail to the Ḥijāzī group, is probably one of the last representatives of this type of script, whereas codex two of the British Museum,<sup>17</sup> as a near complete specimen is probably the most important one.

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(3) A third group of the older Korans is written in Maghribī script. The details of their script and its appearance clearly betray their dependence upon the Medinan Korans. Their characteristic script, together with the old orthography, has remained nearly unchanged until the most recent times. The oldest example of this type is probably the colossal codex no. 3735, preserved in the Istanbul Evkaf Müzesi which, with seven lines to the page, measuring 56 by 63 cm, equals the Medinan codex no. 3733 (see above, p. 588).

<sup>16</sup> Thus the manuscript but according to what follows *wāw* must still be added; in addition (against the manuscript) the first time *قلو* and *كنو* ought to have been written.

<sup>17</sup> One page of it is reproduced in table 69 of the *Palaeographical Society series*, London, 1875–1883.

*The Provision of the Koran with Reading Aids,  
Verse Dividers, and Names of the Sūras*

The fact that all the Korans were originally written in the ambiguous consonantal script, without vowels, headings, or division of verses, posed considerable difficulties in praxis. These problems were gradually solved by the introduction of reading aids or divisions of verses and, in the case of the individual sūras, by headings and subtitles respectively. We have a statement from Yahyā b. Abī Kathīr [al-Yamānī Abū Naṣr,<sup>18</sup> d. 129/746], regarding the sequences of these innovations:<sup>19</sup> *fa-awwal mā aḥdathū fī-hi l-nuqaṭ ‘alā l-yā’ wa-l-tā’ fa-qālū lā ba’sa bih wa-huwa nūr la-hu thumma aḥdathū fī-hi nuqaṭan ‘inda muntaha l-āy thumma aḥdathū l-fawātiḥ wa-l-khawātim*. This is in general accord with research on manuscripts.

1. The introduction of diacritic points seems to have been accomplished without opposition. In the earliest manuscripts they are still used very sparingly. Their origin goes back to pre-Islamic times, and they can already be found on the earliest coins. In the lapidary script they are nearly always indicated by strokes. The differentiation of letters by means of points and strokes respectively happened in the same fashion as is still common today. There is, however, disagreement over the use of diacritics in the cases of *f* and *q*. The *qāf* is usually found with two strokes above the letter, and *fā’* with one stroke below the letter; one also encounters the differentiation still used currently in the Maghreb, *qāf* with one stroke above, *fā’* with a stroke below, but also the converse, *q* with stroke below, and *f* with stroke above or without stroke (see plate no. 10, l 4 and 5!). The diacritic points for *tā’ marbūṭa* apparently make a very late appearance, even in *naskhīl*. In most of the older manuscripts the diacritics are in the same ink as the vowel marks. It is only later that it becomes a custom to indicate consonantal variants—like the vowels (see below, p. 596)—by different colours.

*Verse Dividers*

2. The verse dividers—which originally consisted of several differently arranged strokes—also seem to have been introduced without opposition.

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<sup>18</sup> EQ; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 73 sqq.; F. Sezgin, “Goldziher and hadith, p. xxxv.”

<sup>19</sup> al-Dānī, *Kitāb al-Bayān* (Istanbul Ms, Halis Eff, no. 22) fol. 38<sup>r</sup>, l 14. F. Sezgin, “Goldziher and hadith,” p. xxxv.

The sources frequently insert three points to indicate the verse division; for example, the above-mentioned Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr: *mā hādhihi l-maṣāḥif illā hādhihi l-nuqaṭ al-thalāthah ‘inda ru’ūs al-āy.*<sup>20</sup> Later the verses were separated by a coloured rosette. Verse dividers, however, are by no means supplied in all manuscripts, nor were they there from the outset. They are supplied or omitted rather indiscriminately, even in one and the same codex. There are also Korans where not the individual verses are indicated but only sections of five or ten verses. Tradition ascribes the introduction of these sections of five or ten verses to Naṣr b. ‘Āṣim al-Laythī,<sup>21</sup> who died 89/708 or 90/709 (see above, p. 511). This innovation is opposed by various old authorities, for example, Ibrāhīm AL-NAKHAĪ, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Muḥammad IBN SĪRĪN al-Anṣārī, but particularly—with little credibility—Ibn Mas‘ūd. The following saying is derived from the latter: *jarridū l-Qur’ān wa-lā tukhal-litūhu bi-shay’* which, incidentally, is also ascribed to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Ibrāhīm AL-NAKHAĪ, and, apart from *ta’shīr* and *takhmīs*, is also to reject the headings of the sūra (see below).<sup>22</sup> The five-verse sections are frequently indicated by a ه (according to *abjad*) or by red, large *alifs* in a black circle or larger rosettes, and the sections of ten verses, by painted rosettes,<sup>23</sup> frequently also in contrast to the five-verse sections, by painted squares, with or without a written عشر or the corresponding *abjad* numeral (see plate no. 5, l 10).

### *Names of the Sūras*

[iii/259] [3.] Yet another innovation applies to the names of the sūras that originally appeared probably as titles written at the end of the sūras that later becoming headings, with or without added *khātimat sūrat kadhā* and *fātiḥat sūrat kadhā* respectively, and frequently accompanied by the number of the verses: *wa-hiya ... āya*. The sūras carried no names in the oldest Korans. Aversion to them seems to have prevailed for a long time (see above). However, it is already reported from Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795)<sup>24</sup> that

<sup>20</sup> al-Dānī, *K. al-Bayān* (Istanbul Ms, Halis Eff., no. 22) fol. 38<sup>r</sup>, l 19, similarly Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *K. al-Maṣāḥif: yuqirrūna* instead *yu’arrifūna*.

<sup>21</sup> I.e. ‘Ubayd b. ‘Umayr al-Laythī: *EQ*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 11 sqq.

<sup>22</sup> Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *K. al-Maṣāḥif, bāb kitābat al-‘awāshir fī l-maṣāḥif*. Some of this also in *al-Itqān* of al-Suyūṭī, *naw’ 76, faṣl fī ‘ādāb kitābatihī* (Sprenger ed., p. 868; Cairo edition, 1318), vol. 2, p. 170.

<sup>23</sup> Green, primarily in Ḥijāzī manuscripts!

<sup>24</sup> al-Dānī, *Kitāb al-Bayān*, Istanbul Ms, Halis Eff., no. 22, fol. 38<sup>r</sup>, l 2.



he showed a *muṣḥaf* belonging to his grandfather which had been written during the time of ‘Uthmān, and included titles written at the end of the sūras that later became headings, written in ink on a band ornament over the whole length of the line: *fa-ra’aynā khawātimahu min ḥibr ‘alā ‘amal al-silsila fī ṭūl al-saṭr wa-ra’aytuhu ma’jūm al-āy* (i.e. with verse divisions marked). Occasionally only a rest of a line is left vacant between the individual sūras (see plate 6). But in most cases a blank line is inserted. This space is frequently used for ornaments or consists of sūra headings embellished by leaf ornaments and arabesques (see plate 7). This was the only place for the decoration of the Koran,<sup>25</sup> its legitimacy being at first controversial.<sup>26</sup> Later on, the first and last leaves of the Korans also became embellished by arabesques, framed in gold, and divided into small fields (circles, squares) on which the letters of the first and the last sūras were spread out. We find Korans that are divided into seven parts (see below), where the end of each part is highlighted by ornaments. In ravishingly illuminated Korans the ten-verse sections already indicated in the text are emphasized by individual marginal medallions, as is also the case of passages where *sajd* is to be made.<sup>27</sup>

4. The division of the Koran into *ajzā’* pretty certainly seems to go back to al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (d. 95/713). It is reported from him:<sup>28</sup> *jama’a ... al-ḥuffāz wa-l-qurrā’ ... fa-qāla akhbirūni ‘ani l-Qur’ān kullīhi kam huwa min ḥarf fa-ja’alānā naḥsub ḥattā ajma’ū anna l-Qur’ān kullahu thalāthamī’at alf ḥarf wa-arba’ina alf wa-sab’a mi’a wa-nayyif wa-arba’in ḥarfān qāla fa-akhbirūni ilā ayy ḥarf yantahī nisf al-Qur’ān fa-ḥasabū wa-ajma’ū annahu yantahī fī l-kaḥf wa-l-yatalattfa fī l-fā’* (p. 18, l 18) *qāla fa-akhbirūni bi-asbā’ihi ‘alā l-ḥurūf.*

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<sup>25</sup> Cf. E. Kühnel, *Islamische Kleinkunst*, p. 26 sqq.!

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *K. al-Maṣāḥif, bāb fī taḥliyat al-maṣāḥif*. According to him, Ibn Mas’ūd allegedly pronounced the decorations of the Koran permissible. The same question, with reference to mosques, is already discussed in the previous chapter, *kitābat al-maṣāḥif bi-l-dhahab*. (Manuscripts written entirely in gold are not seldom mentioned in literature; one copy has survived in Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye, without number.) This is followed by a short chapter, *fī tatyīb al-maṣāḥif*, which states that Ibn Mas’ūd opposed adding musk scent to produce a pleasant smell. The same also in al-Dānī, *Kitāb al-Bayān* (Istanbul Ms. Halis Eff., no. 22), fol. 37’.

<sup>27</sup> The indication of *sajd* is still prohibited by al-Bayhaqī [*EP*; *EQ*,] who died in 458/1065. (*al-Itqān*, Sprenger ed., p. 870, Cairo ed., 1317, vol. 2, p. 171, l 20), *naw’*, p. 761, *faṣl fī ādāb kitābatih*.

<sup>28</sup> Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *K. al-Maṣāḥif, bāb tajzī’at al-maṣāḥif*, from where the following quotations have been adopted. Cf. in particular the above-mentioned work of Abū al-Qāsim ‘Umar b. Muḥammad IBN ‘ABD AL-KĀFĪ (above, p. 574!). Older works on *ajzā’* have been listed in Ibn al-Nadīm’s *Fihrist* (Flügel’s ed., p. 36, l 28).

According to this, the first seventh extends to the *d* of *man šadda ‘anhu* in sūra 4:55, the second seventh to the *t* of *ḥabiṭat* in sūra 7:145, the third seventh to the last *alif* of *ukulahā* in sūra 18:31, the fourth seventh to the last (?) *alif* of *li-kulli ummatin ja‘alnā mansakan* in sūra 22:66, the fifth seventh to the *h* of *wa-mā kāna li-mu‘minin wa-lā mu‘minah* in sūra 33:36, the sixth seventh to the *w* of *ḡanna l-saw‘i* in sūra 48:6, and the last seventh to the end of the Koran. Enumerated too are the the fractions of three and four.

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Another tradition of dividing the Koran into *ajzā‘* (s.v., *juz‘*) leads through ‘Āšim al-Jahḍarī (d. 128/745); but compared with al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf’s arrangement it seems to be less accurate because the divisions coincide mostly with the end of a sūra. But also fractions of five, eight, and ten are listed. In the older Korans I found only divisions into sevenths. In the margin, however, other divisions are frequently added by a later hand, particularly fractions of ten and thirty. The latter become the rule in the *naskhī* Korans. In more recent editions (as also in the official Cairene edition) it is customary to have the fractions of sixty in the margin.

Whereas the arrangement established by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf evidently purported to guarantee both the inviolability of the consonantal text and to facilitate its control (cf. this with the minor Masorah of the Hebrew Bible), later arrangements serve liturgical purposes to establish definite prayer curricula. They are no longer called *ajzā‘* as formerly, but now *ahzāb* (plural of *ḥizb*, but also *wird*), a name from the Koran which was later applied to private prayer.<sup>29</sup>

5. There is no generally accepted tradition regarding the introduction of the vowel marks. According to one tradition<sup>30</sup> they are said to have been introduced by [Zālīm b. ‘Amr] ABŪ AL-ASWAD AL-DU‘ALĪ (d. 69/688)<sup>31</sup> but only for the vowel signs and *tanwīn*, whereas the signs for *hamza*, *tashdīd*, *rawm*, and *ishmām* are attributed to al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (b. 100/718).<sup>32</sup> According to others, it is supposed to have been Naṣr b. ‘Āšim al-Laythī (d. 89/707

<sup>29</sup> Cf. article *ḥizb* in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

<sup>30</sup> Most of the traditions here discussed are to be found in al-Dānī, *Kitāb al-Naqṭ* (edited by Otto Pretzl, *Orthographie und Punktierung des Koran: zwei Schriften von ad-Dānī*, pp. 132–133), further in Ibn Abi Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *K. al-Maṣāḥif* (see above, p. 575). Most of them, however, are to be found in *al-Itqān* (see above, p. 259 n. 22).

<sup>31</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 31–32; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 415.

<sup>32</sup> According to a very credible opinion which, however, is not documented, al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad is ascribed to have introduced the *ḥarakāt* which are still in use until now (cf. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, loc. cit., p. 171, l 12!) Neither the sources nor the manuscripts give any clue that there is supposed to have been a sign for *rawm* and *ishmām* (in the sense of a particular pausal pronunciation; see above, p. 540 sq.). [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 8, pp. 51–52.]

or 90/708). It is also ascribed to a pupil of ABŪ AL-ASWAD AL-DU'ALĪ,<sup>33</sup> Yahyā b. Ya'mar who is said to have been commissioned with the task by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, and that under the caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (d. 86/705).<sup>34</sup> The innovation was rejected on the part of (Abū l-Khaṭṭāb) QATĀDA b. Di'āma, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Ibrāhīm AL-NAKHA'Ī, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and Muḥammad IBN SĪRĪN. However, according to others, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is said to have approved of the vocalization,<sup>35</sup> whereas it is reported from Muḥammad IBN SĪRĪN that he owned a pointed manuscript of Yahyā b. Ya'mar. Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) prohibited the marking of all official (*ummaḥāt*) Korans, whereas he approved of them for the small copies (*ṣighār*) used for instruction. We indeed find that all the oldest large copies of the Koran (Samarqand codex, Evkaf, 3733, and the great Cairene codex, see above, p. 588) have no vowel marks at all. In very many of the other copies they are only later additions. The attempt to preserve the script of the text of the Koran unchanged would explain the habit of using as colour for the vowel marks a colour that clearly stands out against the colour of the script.<sup>36</sup> Vowel marks are nearly always written in red, for *hamza* yellow and green are customary as well (see below, p. 597). Other colours—blue, orange, yellow and green—are used to indicate variants, a habit, although disapproved of by al-Dānī,<sup>37</sup> which according to the state of manuscripts has been used very frequently.<sup>38</sup> Blue is nearly always used when the *imāla* is intended to be expressed. In such a case there is a red point (for *a*) above the consonant, a blue one (for *i*) below.

The use of reading marks is explained in two works, *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* [iii/263] of Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (d. 316/929),<sup>39</sup> and *Kitāb al-Naqṭ* of 'Uthmān

<sup>33</sup> *EP*; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia*, p. 415; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 31–32.

<sup>34</sup> The authorities who are ascribed to as having introduced the signs are all Baṣrans.

<sup>35</sup> He is even ascribed to have introduced the vowel marks.

<sup>36</sup> al-Dānī, *Orthographie und Punktierung des Koran: Kitāb al-Naqṭ* (ed. Otto Pretzl), p. 134, l 1: *lā astaḥīz al-naqṭ bi-l-sawād li-mā fihi min al-taghyīr li-ṣūrat al-rasm*.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134, l 3.

<sup>38</sup> See plate no. 5, third line from the bottom, where *lā khawfun 'alayhim* is vowelled in red, whereas *lā khawfa 'alayhum* is in green. In the Marrakesh manuscript (see plate 3) the suffix *humū* when ending with a vowel is with a point on the *u*; a corresponding variant is nearly always the *sukūn* sign (frequently followed by *tashdīd*), which is an indication of the pronunciation, *-hum*.

<sup>39</sup> See above, p. 575 sq., *bāb kayfa tunqaṭ al-maṣāḥif*, rather short and in poor condition. It begins as follows: *qāla Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī wa-naqaṭahu bi-yadihi hādha kitāb yustadall bi-hi 'alā 'ilm al-naqṭ wa-mawāḍi'ihā*. This is followed by expositions by the renowned Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī (d. 255/869), whose *Kitāb fi l-naqṭ* is indeed mentioned in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* (edited by G. Flügel, p. 35). In addition, the *Fihrist* lists the following authors of works that are no longer extant: al-Khalil b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD Yahyā b.

b. Sa'īd AL-DĀNĪ (d. 444/1052).<sup>40</sup> There is a great difference between the two works occasioned by the Iraqi pointing on the one hand, and the Medinan-Maghrebi pointing on the other hand. Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī recognizes only vowel marks, including *tanwīn* (the *hamza*, too, he usually indicates by a vowel mark in a particular position), whereas al-Dānī produces a complicated system of reading aids, which attempts to do justice to all the refinements of Koranic reading, and which, according to him, is based on old Medinan manuscripts as well as explicit prescriptions of older Koranic authorities such as, for example, 'Īsā b. Mīnā' QĀLŪN. Indeed, we find his system most strictly adhered to in two manuscripts extant in the Maghreb, namely Ms. Fès (see plate 1) and Ms. Medersa Ben Yusuf, Marrakesh (see plate no. 3) as well as in many codices written in Maghrebi script. But even al-Dānī's work does not do justice to the far more manifold investigations into manuscripts. In addition, the two works differ since, according to Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī only the absolute necessary marks are used, whereas al-Dānī's presentation presupposes complete pointing.

- [iii/264] (a) The indication of vowels: The three vowels, *a*, *i*, and *u* are indicated by one point each. In the case of *fatha* the point is placed above the consonant preceding the vowel, in the case of *kasra* under the same, and in the case of *ḍamma* in the middle of the consonant or to the left behind it.<sup>41</sup> Deviating from their usual method of pointing, the codex Medina 1b in the Istanbul Saray (see plate 4) has instead of the *ḍamma* a small vertical stroke immediately after the consonant.<sup>42</sup>

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al-Mubārak AL-YAZĪDĪ, further Muḥammad b. 'Īsā (al-Iṣbahānī), who has been mentioned above, p. 574, as a source for al-Dānī's *Muqni'*, and Abū Bakr IBN AL-ANBĀRĪ.

<sup>40</sup> Edited together with the author's *Muqni'* by O. Pretzl entitled *Orthographie und Punctierungen des Koran* (1932). In the introduction (p. 123, last line) the author refers to a larger work on the subject of *naḡf* that he composed but which has not survived. Despite the greater richness compared with the previous one, the book has considerable lacunae, particularly regarding the exposition of the *hamz* orthography, which is too much concerned with the *qirā'a* of 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd WARSH (with *tashīl al-hamz*), so common in the Maghreb.

<sup>41</sup> al-Dānī: *fawqa, tahta, fī wasṭi* or *amāma l-ḥarf*. In Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī the expression *quddām* or *bayna yaday*, also *fī jabhat al-ḥarf*, is found instead of *amāma*. These expressions are based on the conception that the writing is from right to left so that what follows is fronted to the preceding letter. Analogously, a sign preceding the letter is also considered *fī qafā'*, "standing in the neck."

<sup>42</sup> See line 3 from the bottom: *yushābūna* and penultimate line, last word, *al-'umuru*, etc.

(b) *Tanwīn* is indicated by doubling the respective vowel marks. According to al-Dānī (*al-Naqt*, p. 135) the points are placed one upon another (*tarākub*) when the *n* is fully articulated, but next to one another (*tatābu*) when *idghām* or *ikhfā*' of the *n* occurs with the following letter.<sup>43</sup> In manuscripts this differentiation is not always observed.<sup>44</sup>

According to *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, in case of the ending *-an* (masc. sing.) the second point can also be omitted because it is sufficiently identified by the *alif*. Al-Dānī (*Naqt*, p. 136, l 8) is familiar with the habit of "uneducated" scribes in this case to distribute the points in a way that one of them is positioned on the preceding consonant, while the other is on the *alif*.

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(c) The (over-) prolongation of vowels is indicated by adding the respective vowel of prolongation (*alif*, *yā*', *wāw*) in small form and in red colour. In the Ms. Istanbul, Saray, 50386, however, a small *alif* is found as a sign of prolongation also for *ī*<sup>45</sup> and *ū*. Not infrequently, the *-ū* of the suffixes, *-kumu*, *humu*, etc. is expressed by a point on the line with an overhead hook (similarly to the *tashdīd*, see below, p. 598). Al-Dānī (*al-Naqt*, p. 136, l 15) also knows of a graphical distinction of the *ishbā*' (normal pronunciation of a vowel) and *ikhtilās* (vanishing), and, in the first case, suggests putting an *alif ṣughrā muntariḥa*<sup>46</sup> and *yā*' or *wāw ṣughrā* respectively, in the latter case the normal point of a vowel, an unfortunate differentiation that I have not encountered in manuscripts.

(d) *Hamz*: In the case of initial or final *hamz* Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī does not yet know of a proper mark other than the respective vowel point. However, for the medial *hamz* he demands two points, a *fī qafā*' *al-alif*, before *alif* to indicate the glottal stop, another one after *alif* (above!) to indicate *a*, corresponding to *i* and *u* in the middle and below respectively. Accordingly, the second point is called *muqayyida*. He recommends the use of a green point in cases where *hamz* is pronounced in two different ways, with and without *tashīl*. For al-Dānī, however, the main rule is that *hamz* is indicated by a yellow point, but in his explanations he pays far

<sup>43</sup> See above, p. 537 sq., and also below, p. 599.

<sup>44</sup> Very clearly, for example, in plate 3b, l 1, *suqufan min*, conversely l 3, *sururan 'alayhi*. In the Ms. Saray Medina 1b (plate 4) in the second case, the points are far apart, for example, l 5, *baghtatan fa-* where the one point is above the *ṣ*, the other, on the line immediately before the *f*; likewise (l 7) *bi-rusulīn min* the one point below the *l* (somewhat removed to the side!), the other point directly before the *m*.

<sup>45</sup> See plate 7, last line, *alladhī anqaḍa*.

<sup>46</sup> This must correspond to a *fath sign* of the more recent vocalization.

more attention to those cases where *hamz* is softened (*al-Naqt*, p. 142 sqq.). According to al-Dānī, a softening of *hamz* is indicated when the vowel *hamz* is written without particular sign for *hamz*. *Hamzat al-waṣl* is usually indicated by a red horizontal stroke which, according to the position of the vowel, runs above for *fatha*, in the middle for *ḍamma*, and below for *kasra*.<sup>47</sup> The vowel of the *hamzat al-waṣl* at the beginning of a word might be indicated by a green vowel mark.<sup>48</sup> In many manuscripts Warsh's peculiar softening of *hamz* is likewise indicated by *naql*. According to al-Dānī, in both cases a red circle is placed above the *alif* to indicate that there is no *hamz* (see below, p. 600).

[iii/266] According to *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, ʾā is written with a point before the *alif*, while ʾā with a point after the *alif* (positioned a bit higher, *wa-tarfaʿūhā qalīlan ilā raʾs al-alif*), a differentiation which is observed in many manuscripts.<sup>49</sup>

A *hamz* orthography differing from the common one is to be found in the Istanbul codex Saray Medina 1b. Here, *hamz* is indicated by a red hook opening to the top.<sup>50</sup> In the manuscript Saray Emanet 12, the *hamz* sign is found as three red points, for example, [consonantal script without any points] انزلنه : *anzalnāhu*, or arranged in the shape of a triangle [as on *shūn*]: *yuʾminūna* يشومنون *shayʾan* سثا [on both words points only on ش]. The vowels are then no longer written individually.

[iii/267] (e) As an indication of *sukūn* a small horizontal stroke is placed above the vowelless consonant<sup>51</sup> (*jarra bi-l-ḥamrāʾ*, al-Dānī's *al-Naqt*, p. 137, l 5). This sign is apparently found nowhere in Iraqi manuscripts, in others only rarely. However, al-Dānī (p. 150, l 1 sqq.) also knows of the small circle as a sign of *sukūn*, which is still in use today. According to him, the sign is used in order to indicate (1) that a letter existing in the script is ignored in pronunciation (2) that a *tashdīd* is missing from the *ḥurūf al-mukhaffafa*, and (3) that a vowel is missing from the *ḥurūf al-musakkana*. In line 6, he traces this habit back to Qālūn: *qāla fī maṣāḥif ahl al-Madīna mā kāna*

<sup>47</sup> See plate 1, l 3 *mā Allāhu*, stroke at the upper end of *alif*; also, l 3, *wa-yakhshā l-nāsa*, in contrast l 9, *amru Allāhi*, stroke in the middle of the *alif*. Further plate 2, l 2 and 6. Still clearer, plate 3, 3 a, l 2, *min al-qaryatayni*, l 4, *fī l-ḥayāti l-dunyā*, and l 4, *matāʿ al-ḥayāti*.

<sup>48</sup> For example, this is the case in plate 1, l 9, *amru Allāhi*, however not in l 2 in *-llāha*, which follows *wa-l-taqī*.

<sup>49</sup> See plate 6a, l 5, *anzalnāhu*, and 6b, l 3, *min āli*! Further plate 5, l 10, *āmanū*, and l 13, *ajruhum*.

<sup>50</sup> See plate 4, l 8, *yastahzīʿūna, yaklaʿukum* (over *r* and *y*!) and frequently.

<sup>51</sup> See plate 3a, l 2, *al-qaryatayni* (above *r* and *y*) and frequently!

*ḥarf mukhaffaf*<sup>52</sup> *fa-‘alayhi dāratun bi-l-ḥumra wa-in kāna ḥarfan musakkanan fa-ka-dhālika aydan*. As regards the use of *sukūn* see also below, Seite 269 [sic, p. 600].

(f) *Tashdīd* is indicated by a small semi-circle open at the top or bottom, or an acute angle. According to al-Dānī (p. 137, l 7) it is always positioned above the consonant together with the respective vowel mark, in which case the vowel still needs to be properly indicated, whereas according to his information, in Maghrebi and Medinan manuscripts it is positioned where the respective vowel ought to be placed, under omission of a vowel point.<sup>53</sup> The sign ˆ still used currently is derived from ش and apparently to be found only in later manuscripts.

In Koranic reading the doubling of a consonant can be effected also in Sandhi by the assimilation and incorporation of a vowelless or (in the reading of Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’) even of a vowelless consonant of the preceding word.<sup>54</sup> In this case different rules apply for the use of *tashdīd*: In the case of an *idghām ṣaḥīḥ*, i.e. complete assimilation and incorporation, the doubled consonant receives a *tashdīd*, the vowelless consonant, however, no *sukūn*. But if assimilation and insertion are not complete—this is the case of *ikhfā’* of the *n* and *m*, see above, p. 536!—then the vowelless *n* and *m* receive no *sukūn*, but the following consonant also no *tashdīd*, unless *n* is followed by a *w* or *y* because in this case *tashdīd* can be positioned, but then also the *tashdīd* must be written above the *n* to differ from the *idghām tāmm*. Naturally, the same applies also to *tanwīn*, which, when it is not fully articulated, is identified by two vowel points placed next to each other (see above, p. 597). Whenever *tanwīn* is followed by a *b*, the second point of the *tanwīn* can be replaced by a small *m* (in order to indicate the *qalb*, see above, p. 536).

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<sup>52</sup> It seems to be beyond doubt that here *mukhaffaf* was originally used in contrast to *muthaqqal* (vowelled) not in contrast to *mushaddad*. This, indeed, is in contradiction to the respective passage where, according to Qālūn, it is explicitly added: *wa-in kāna ḥarfan musakkanan*; but for a purely stylistic reason I like to consider this addition a gloss of the author, which would explain his inaccurate conception of *mukhaffaf* in contrast to *mushaddad* instead of *muthaqqal*.—The small circle as sign of *sukūn* is to be found (mostly in another [blue!] colour) next to the stroke in the Marrakesh manuscript (plate 3), for example, page a, last line, *li-man*, and in the preceding line, *an yakūna*, whereas, for example, on page b, l 4, in *wa-an*, on the other hand, it is missing. It seems to have been added by a later hand.

<sup>53</sup> See plate 3a, l 1, *nuzzila*; l 3 from the bottom, *mimmā*; p. 3b, l 2 from the bottom, *la-yaṣuddūnahum*; but cf. l 4 of the same page, *kullu* with *tashdīd* above the *l*! In both cases also the vowel mark for *u* is used, while it is missing in *a* and *i*.

<sup>54</sup> See above, p. 536; *al-Naqt*, pp. 139–142!

(g) *Hurūf nāqīṣa* and *zā'ida*: According to al-Dānī, there is a special rule that applies to letters which, though pronounced, are not written in the 'Uthmānic consonantal text. The most frequent case is the omission of the *alif* of prolongation; rare is the coincidence of two *hamzas*, the omission of a bearer of *hamza*, for example, *a'andhartahum* (spelled *أندرتهم*) *a'idhā* (إذا) *a'unzila* (أنزل). As a rule also, when two *y*'s or *w*'s follow one another only one is actually written, for example, *al-nabīyyīn* (النبين) or *Dāwūd* (داود). In all these cases the missing letter can be added in red colour. Conversely, there are a number of passages in the Koran where there is one letter too much, which, however, is not reflected in the pronunciation. This is most frequently the case with *alif al-qaṭ'*, and often in the case of identically written words as a means of differentiation, e.g., *وليك* *ulā'ika* and *إليك* *ilaika*. These are indicated by a small red circle as a sign of deletion (see above, p. 598). In many of these cases it is doubtful which letter is to be considered the bearer of *hamza*. Consequently the signs for the *hamz* and the circle of deletion are also different.

[iii/269] (h) From the earliest time a ligature somewhat resembling the Greek letter  $\gamma$  had been in use for the letter combination *lām alif*. For the punctuation the question which of the two strokes stood for *lām* and which one for *alif* was of practical importance. According to al-Dānī (*al-Naqṭ*, p. 151) the stroke standing to the right ought to be the respective bearer of the vowel and *hamza* sign due to the *alif*, a solution which likely corresponded to the scribes' habit of, starting the sign from the left and finishing it to the right. HĀRŪN b. Mūsā AL-AKHFASH, however, held the opposite view, and this prevailed in the vocalization of the *naskhī* manuscripts.

(i) So far I have not been able to identify signs for *waqf* (see above, pp. 570–573) in lapidary manuscripts, despite the fact that their use is documented from the second century onward. Abū Bakr IBN AL-ANBĀRĪ reports from al-Kisā'ī (d. 189/804)<sup>55</sup> *wa-hum* (i.e. the people) *yasma'ūna wa-yaḍbuṭūna 'anhu ḥattā l-maqāṭi' wa-l-mabādi'*.<sup>56</sup> Still, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn AL-BAYHAQĪ (d. 458/1065) prohibited the use of a sign for *waqf*.<sup>57</sup> In later *naskhī* manuscripts such signs are common.

<sup>55</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 9, pp. 127–131.

<sup>56</sup> Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. 1, p. 538, l 13.

<sup>57</sup> al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān* (Cairo ed. 1318, vol. 2, p. 171, l 3), *naw'* 76, *faṣṣḥ fi ādāb kitābatih*.



*The Dating and Provenance of Manuscripts*

Incontestably dated manuscripts of the Koran are extremely rare. Not until the fourth century did their number become more abundant. Other than the copies referred to by B. Moritz in *Enzyklopädie des Islām*, vol. 1, pp. 405–406, I have been able to identify two dated copies, the only remaining colophon of a Damascene Koran (now at the local Museum) from 298/910, and the supplement to a manuscript allegedly written by ‘Alī (Topkapı) Sarayı (Müzesi), Emanet no. 6, from 307/919.<sup>58</sup> In contrast, far more frequent are forged dates in lapidary codices which mostly name ‘Uthmān, ‘Alī or al-Ḥasan al-Başrī as scribes.<sup>59</sup> Identifying the provenance of Koranic manuscripts also poses considerable difficulties. Based on works of Koranic subjects containing lists of orthographic and textual variants of the individual *amṣār*,<sup>60</sup> theoretically it ought to be easy to determine the distribution of the manuscripts among the main centres of Islamic culture. In practice, however, these criteria turn out to be unreliable. The investigation of several complete Korans in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi showed that nearly all codices are miscellaneous texts. So far, I have come across only a single copy of the Koran, Saray 50386, which according to al-Dānī’s list of variants is to be identified as Medinan, but even this one has a non-Medinan variant in sūra 57:24.<sup>61</sup> This would mean that it is methodologically wrong to desire to localize Koranic fragments on the basis of single variants. In order to illustrate the scope of this textual mix, the results of just two manuscripts of the (Topkapı) Sarayı (Müzesi) must suffice as an example.

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Saray codex 50385 in general supplies the special Medinan variants; in two cases, sūras 3:181 and 6:63, it is a Damascene text, in two passages of sūra 23 verses 89 and 91, it is a Başran text. Even in sūra 2:126 the text does not follow the Medinan-Damascene tradition.

Saray Medina 1a has the Damascene text in sūras 2:116, 3:127, 10:23, 40:22, 55:11 and 78, 57:10; and in addition in the following passages, where Damascus and Medina coincide: sūras 3:127, 5:58 and 59, 9:108, 18:34, 26:217,

<sup>58</sup> It carries the *farāgh* note: *wa-hādhihi l-tatimma* (i.e. the last four folios) *ta’rikhuhā sanat sab’ wa-thalāthat mi’a wa-ammā kātibuh min awwalih ilā sūrat al-qāri’a bi-khaṭṭ al-imām ‘Alī ‘alayh al-salām*.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. already above, p. 394 n. 38. The Ms. Saray, Sultan Ahmet, no. 2, has the forgery: *katabahu ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib fi shahr Ramaḍān sanat tis’ wa-’ishrīn*.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. pp. 395 and 575.

<sup>61</sup> Here and in what follows the quotation of the variants has been supplied. This can easily be ascertained with the aid of the list above on p. 396 sqq.

42:29, 43:71, 57:24, 91:15. Once, in sūra 18:94, it has a Meccan peculiarity; in sūra 6:63, possibly a Kūfan variant. Conversely, in six passages, 4:69, 6:32, 7:41, 73 and 137, 39:64, the Damascene variants are missing. The important variant, sūra 6:138, cannot be recognized in it because it is written neither *شركاهم* (Damascene) nor *شركاؤهم* (so the others) but *شركاهم*. It can safely be said that the codex belongs to the inner circle formed by the groups of Medina, Damascus, and Mecca, but on the basis of the lists it is not possible to be more specific.

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An additional means of determining the provenance of manuscripts is the verse-numbering included in the Korans, which differ according to *amṣār*, and about which we are informed by Islamic tradition.<sup>62</sup> But here one is faced with the first difficulty, namely that in many codices we cannot determine with certainty whether or not the verse-numbering coincides with their writing. In many other codices it was later changed by erasure. Further, as with the lists of variants, the transmission itself is not absolutely reliable and complete. There are frequently verse endings in the manuscripts that are not mentioned in the transmission. The sūra headings frequently contain numbers of verses that do not fit any of the systems of verse-numbering of the *amṣār*. Not infrequently the sum total of verses corresponds to that of one *miṣr* whereas in the case of another sūra this would suggest a different *miṣr*. In addition, the control of the sum total is made difficult since very frequently, for pages on end the verse signs in the text are wanting.

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To some extent it is possible to infer the provenance of manuscripts from the vocalization, provided it exists. But even if it does, one can never be sure that it was done concurrently with the writing of the consonantal text—and at the same place. A precondition for evaluation is competence in the uncanonical readings, which must first be crystallized from the rich literature. But in view of the wide distribution of the better known readings beyond their place of origin, which we can follow throughout the third and fourth centuries (see above, p. 508sq.) it is precisely at the time when manuscripts are widely vocalized that such vocalization as an indication of the place of origin might at best serve as yet another confirmation parallel to other criteria.

The use of the particular character of a script for dating and establishing the origin of a manuscript reminds one of a citation from Muḥammad

<sup>62</sup> A. Spitaler, *Die Verszählung* [verse numbering] *des Koran nach islamischer Überlieferung*; see already p. 573.

IBN ISHĀQ<sup>63</sup> in the *Fihrist*:<sup>64</sup> *fa-awwal al-khutūṭ al-ʿArabīyya al-khaṭṭ al-Makki wa-baʿdah al-Madani thumma l-Basri thumma l-Kūfi*. Until now, no single style from among the great variety of lapidary Korans can be attributed to any particular *miṣr*. That particular work, which after the continuation of the afore-cited passage in the *Fihrist* might best be characterized as Medinan-Meccan script (see above, p. 588sq.), could according to the conclusions above (p. 602) just as well have been written at Damascus which, in view of the prevailing relations between the Ḥijāz and Syria under the Umayyads, and which can be documented also in Koranic readings, would be quite plausible. Conversely, it must be stated that in one and the same *miṣr* quite different types of script were in use. For example, the fundamentally different scripts evident from plates 5, 7, and 8 to 10 are likely to be of Medinan origin, possibly also plates 1 and 3. In view of the domination of Ḥijāzī influence on Syria and North Africa, a precise differentiation will be possible by accident only. The purpose of palaeological investigation will have to be content with grouping together many small scripts according to the type of script, originating from either one writer or a school of writing, with the hope that from other criteria temporal and local relations might be established.

### *New Editions of the Koran*

The systematization of the Koranic reading had already been established in the older lapidary codices, and completely dominates the *naskhī* manuscripts. The former thus lost all importance for the history of the text. Apart from conservative Maghrebi manuscripts, the manuscript and lithographed copies of the Koran have continuously departed from the ʿUthmānic orthography. Only some thirty years ago a reform of the Koranic writing arose at Cairo, culminating in the official Cairene *muṣḥaf* of al-Maṭbaʿa al-Amīriyya in 1344/1925.<sup>65</sup> It has since been repeatedly reprinted, with only a change of the year of printing, and with tacit minor corrections. Based on the above-mentioned (p. 513sq.) *rajaz* poem, *Mawrid al-ẓamʿān* by al-Kharrāz[i], the edition provides a reconstructed consonantal text through an extremely complicated system of the positioning of reading signs, and attempts (in

[iii/273]

<sup>63</sup> Ibn al-Nadīm himself? It could be also (Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿUbayd Allāh) AL-MUSAY-YIBĪ also known as Ibn al-Musayyib al-Kātib d. 236/850 [Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 2, p. 587, l 3] (Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2847) or Abū Rabīʿa d. 294/906 (*Ṭabaqāt*, 2849).

<sup>64</sup> Flügel's edition, p 6.

<sup>65</sup> A detailed description by G. Bergsträßer, "Koranlesung in Kairo," pp. 2–13.

close connection with the above-mentioned (p. 531) exact pointing of the lapidary codices) graphically most precisely to express the reading of Ḥaḥṣ b. Sulaymān *ʿan* ʿAṣim al-Jaḥḍarī. The edition, produced with unbelievable care, is from a scholarly point of view an astonishing performance of Oriental scholars. Since this edition is destined only for practical use, it does not do justice to the original multifarious nature of the Koran, which is theoretically recognized in Islam to this very day.

For more than a century Occidental scholars were surprisingly content with G. Flügel's rather inadequate edition of the Koran, published first in 1834, but not improved ever since. Only in most recent times have two independent projects been launched to provide scholars with a scientific edition of the Koran. Arthur Jeffery, professor at the American University in Cairo, is occupied with establishing an apparatus criticus on the basis of the text of Ḥaḥṣ b. Sulaymān, intending to present a most complete picture of the Islamic transmission in so far as this can be derived from commentaries of the Koran, *qirāʾāt* works, and other literary sources. On the other hand, the Koran enterprise of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften in München (see above, p. 586) endeavoured to recover the oldest version of a non-reconstructed consonantal text based on investigations into Koranic manuscripts, together with an apparatus criticus derived from the manuscripts and the variant readings (supplemented by the critically evaluated oldest transmissions) to illustrate the textual history of the Koran during the first centuries.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> A fairly similar research project, the Corpus Coranicum, was launched early in the twenty-first century at the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Potsdam.

PLATES

Tafel I

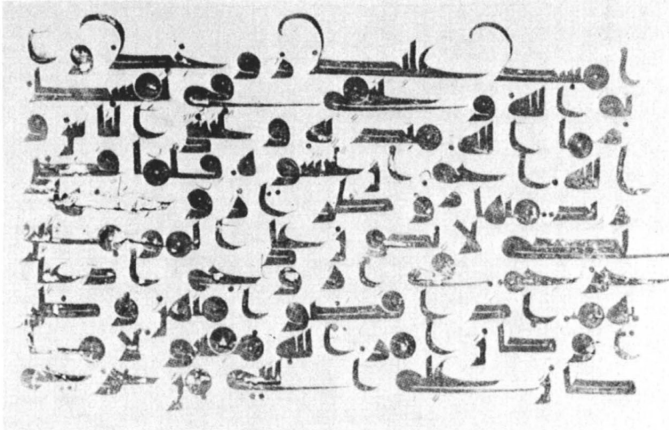


Abbildung 1. Fās, Bibliothek al-Qarawījīn Nr. 8° l h 25  
Format 20×31 cm Sure 33, 37—38

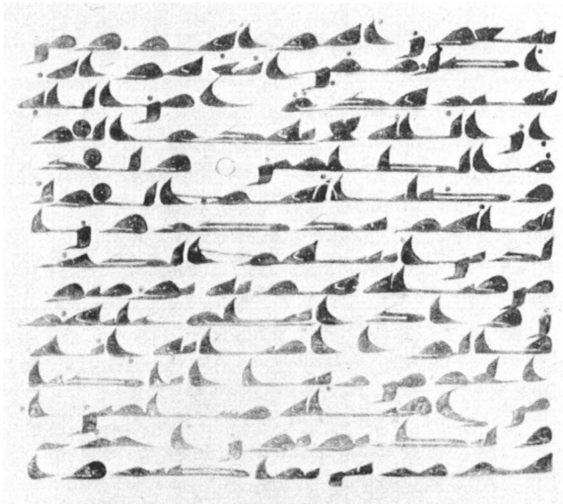


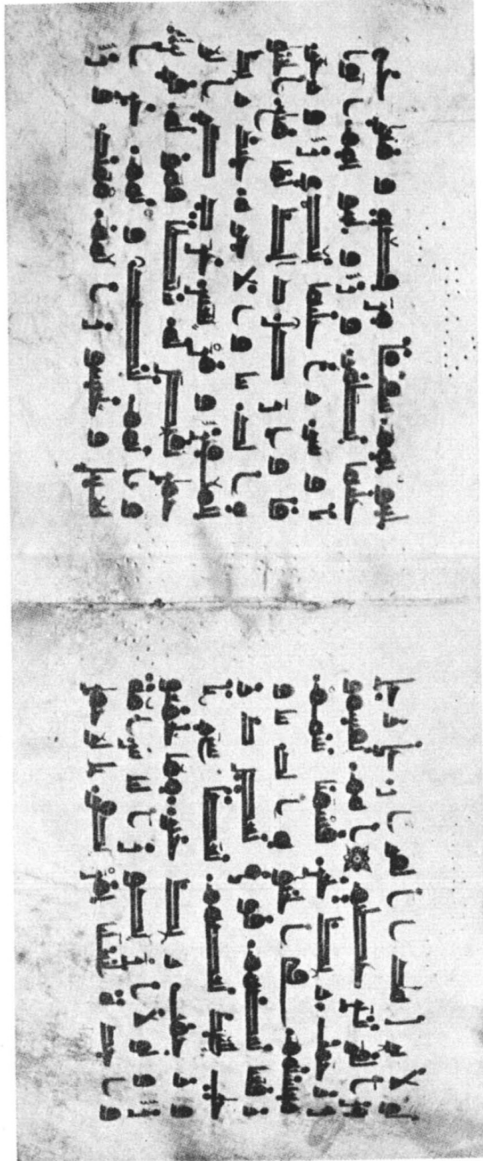
Abbildung 2. Paris, Bibl. Nationale Nr. 334, fol. 55 r.  
Format 31×40,5 cm Sure 28 50—54

Tafel II

Format der Seite 16x22 cm

Abbildung 3. Marrakesch, Medersa Ben Jusuf, o. Nr.

Sure 43, 30-36



b

a

Tafel III



Abbildung 4. Istanbul, Saray, Medina 1 b  
 Sure 21, 39-45  
 Format ca. 14x17,5 cm

## Tafel IV

و فيها و هو بها و عد بها و بكاه  
 ما زنا سيد او زنا لك هو اد  
 نى بالذ هو حدى با هبطوا  
 مكدنا ما راكم ما سنا لم و عد  
 سب عليهم بالذ له و المسكه  
 و يا و لا تكذب من الله ابا  
 يا لهم كما نوا كعد و زنا سب  
 الله و بقاء زنا لسن سب الله حيا  
 ابا ما كعدوا و كما نوا كعد  
 و زنا لسن زنا صوا و اللى  
 ما و او اللى و اللى  
 نرا من الله و اليوم الاح و  
 عمل كعدنا و اعلم انهم عظم  
 بهم و لا حو فب عليهم و لا هم  
 عد نوز و اد ان حدى با صنفكم  
 و د بها و هو كعد الكو ذ حدى

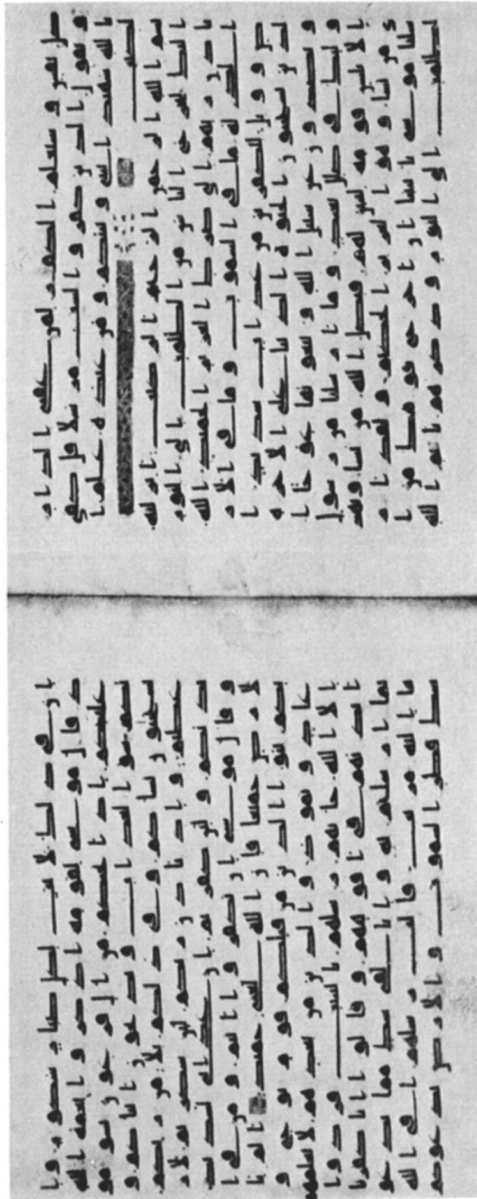
Abbildung 5. Istanbul, Saray 50385

Format 36×29 cm

Sure 2, 58-60



Tafel V



a

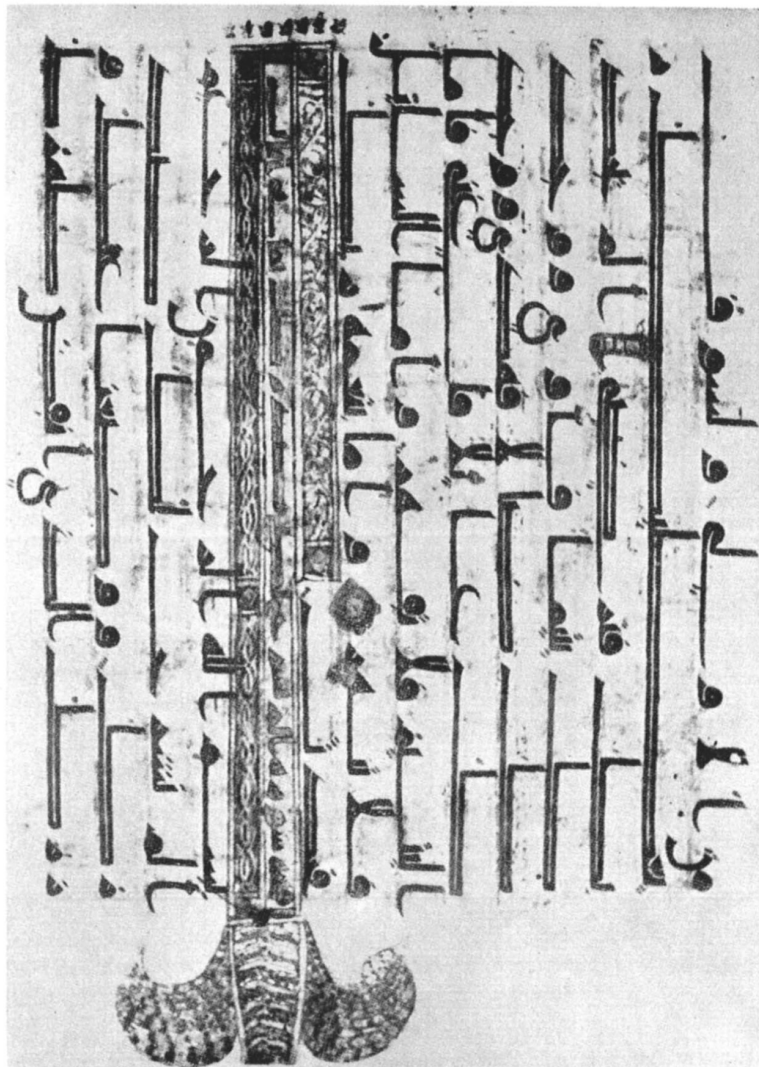
b

Abbildung 6. Istanbul, Saray 50 395

Sure 13, 42-14, 11

Format der Seite 24 x 33 cm

## Tafel VI



Format 30×40 cm

Abbildung 7. Istanbul, Saray 50386

Süre 93, 4—94, 5

Tafel VII

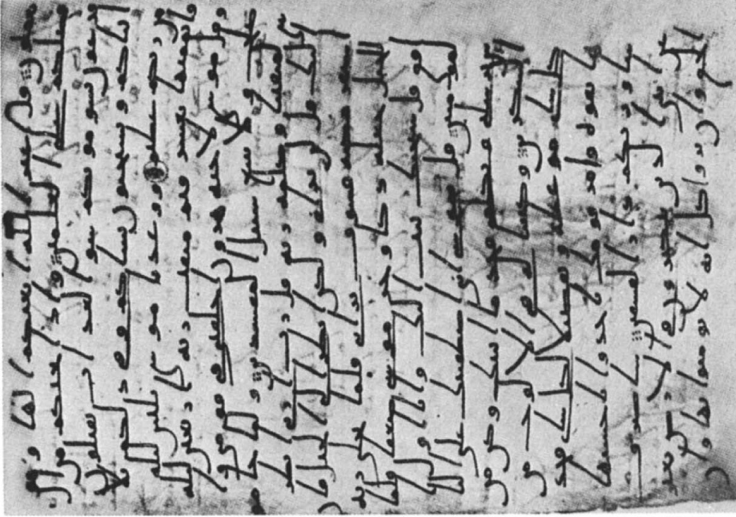


Abbildung 9. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Nr. 828, fol. 36 r.  
 Sure 7. 136-144  
 Format 34×26 cm

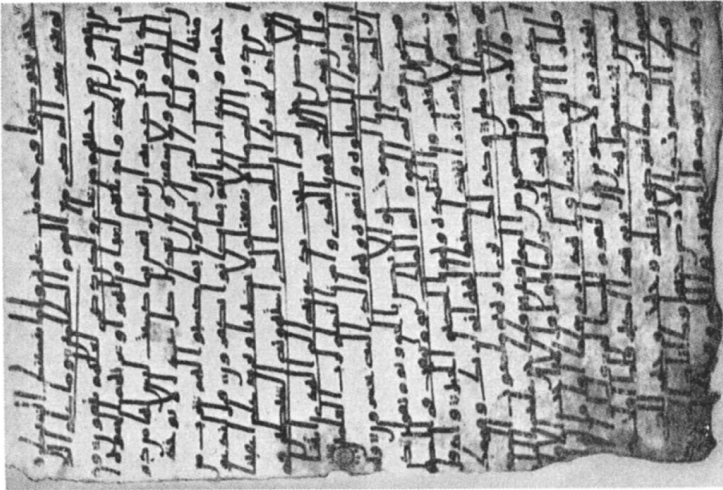


Abbildung 8. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Nr. 328, fol. 94 r.  
 Sure 6. 67-80  
 Format 34×26 cm



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The sources as they appear in the three indices of the German edition cannot always be identified with certainty. Those monographs and articles that have been identified are listed according to current Anglo-American usage. The source used to identify German periodical articles and similar collective works is Fuat Sezgin's twenty-one volume *Bibliography der deutschsprachigen Arabistik und Islamkunde*, published between 1990 and 1995 at Frankfurt am Main by the Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften an der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität.

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- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 313 (= cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1915.) Sūras 4:75–6:20. 83 leaves.

- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 314 (= cod. Mss. Or. quarto, no. 372.) Sūras 4:89–26:211. 167 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 315 (= cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1915.) Sūras 4:75–6:20. 8 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 316 (= cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1916.) Sūras 4:158–5:84; 10:42–10:49. 50 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, no. 317 (= cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1922.) Sūras 5:88–5:93; 6:16–6:25; 7:51–7:57; 7:75–7:85. 4 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 323 (= cod. Mss. Or. folio, no. 379.) Sūras 8:49–8:62; 9:5–9:9. 3 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 325 (= cod. Mss. Or. quarto, no. 689.) Sūra 10:5–10:13. 2 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 327 (= cod. Landberg, no. 834.) Sūras 10:55–11:69, 15:54–16:114, 17:13–17:28, 17:58–17:62, 17:69–17:109, 18:4–18:13. 50 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 328 (= cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1923.) Sūras 11:13–22, and 11:120–12:9. 2 folios.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 331 (= cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1919.) Sūras 12:101–15:67, and 16:3–17:1. 18 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 333 (= cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1948.) Sūras 15:81–16:14; 17:4–17:25. 2 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 335 (= cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1960.) Sūra 16:34–16:60. 1 leaf.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 337 (= cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1950.) Sūras 16:119–17:4. 1 leaf.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 338 (= cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1929.) Sūras 18:33–20:14. 8 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 339 (= cod. 1st Petermann, no. 38.) Sūras 19 to 114, with lacunae. 179 leaves.
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- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 345 (= cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1955.) Sūras 25:22–25:31, 25:47–25:56, 27:10–27:16, 27:32–27:44, 27:61–27:67. 6 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 346 (= cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1935.) Sūras 26:188–26:210; 27:28–27:39. 2 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 348 (= cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1927.) Sūras 28:73–29:39. 10 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 349 (= cod. Mss. Or. folio, no. 379.) Sūras 31:3–33:37. 24 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 350 (= cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1928.) Sūras 32:30–33:38. 10 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 351 (= cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1946.) Sūra 33:4–32. 6 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 352 (= cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1942.) Sūra 39:24–39:71. 7 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 354 (= cod. Mss. Or. folio, no. 379.) Sūras 40:79–41:11, 42:46–43:12. 2 leaves.

- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 355 (= cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1930.) Sūras 41:20–41:37; 42:50–43:37. 3 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 356 (= cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1921.) Sūras 41:24–41:33; 48:4–49:13; 70:19–71:6. 10 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 359 (= cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1949.) Sūra 46:1–46:21. 1 leaf.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 362 (= cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1934.) Sūras 48:18–48:29; 53:38–54:25. 2 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 363 (= cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1938.) Sūra 48:26–48:29. 2 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 364 (= cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1925.) Sūras 67:1–9; 67:10- heading of surah 102; 104:8–114 end. 59 leaves.
- al-Dānī, Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān b. Sa‘īd. *al-Muqni‘ fi ma‘rifat rasm maṣāḥif al-amṣār*. [Wilh. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 419 (= cod. Sprenger, no. 376; a Cairo edition by Muḥammad al-Sādiq Qamhāwī was published in 1978).]
- Ibn ‘Alwān al-Muqri‘, Aḥmad b. Rabī‘a. Introduction to the explanation of the Koran, without title, in: W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, 420 (= cod. Sprenger, no. 400.)
- An introduction to the orthography of the Koran, without title; the author died after 816/1413, in: W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*, no. 429 (= cod. 1st Wetzstein, no. 154, part iv, fols. 17<sup>v</sup>–41.)
- al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. *Ithāf al-wafd bi-naba‘ sūratay al-khal‘ wa-l-ḥafd*, in Wilh. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 438 (= cod. Landberg, no. 343.) 4 leaves.
- Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām. *Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān*. Wilh. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 451 (= cod. Petermann, no. 449.) 58 fols.
- Ibn Salāma, Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh al-Baghdādī. *al-Nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh (fi l-Qur’ān)*. Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 476 (= cod. Sprenger, no. 397.) 29 leaves.
- al-Nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh min al-Qur’ān*, anonymous, without title, fols. 62–91. W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 476 (= cod. Sprenger, no. 397, i)
- Ibn Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī, ‘Abd al-Qāhir. *K. al-Nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh*. W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 478 (= cod. 1 Petermann, no. 555.)
- al-Mūḍih fi l-tajwid*, a work on correct Koranic pronunciation, by an author living before 785/1383. W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 499 (= cod. Sprenger, no. 391.) 75 leaves.
- Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Qaysī, Abū Muḥammad. *al-Kashf ‘an wujūh al-qirā’āt al-sab‘ wa-‘ilalihā wa-ḥujajihā*. Wilh. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 578 (= cod. 2nd Petermann, no. 17.) 524 leaves.
- Ismā‘īl b. Khalaf al-Muqri‘, Abū Ṭāhir. *‘Unwān fi l-Qur’ān al-sam‘*. Wilh. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 591 (= cod. Sprenger, no. 382.) 53 leaves.
- Ibn al-Ṣafrāwī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. *al-Taqrīb wa-l-bayān fi ma‘rifat shawādh al-Qur’ān*. Wilh. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 613 (= cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1290.) 66 leaves.
- al-Nawawī, Yaḥyā b. Sharaf. *al-Tibyān fi ādāb ḥamalāt al-Qur’ān*. Wilh. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 617 (= cod. Sprenger, no. 403 [by an editing hand])
- Ibn al-Jazarī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad. *al-Nashr fi l-qirā’āt al-‘ashr*. W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 657 (= cod. 1st Petermann, no. 159.) 366 leaves. Edited by M.A. Duhmān, Beirut, 1345/1926–1927.

- al-Tha'labī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. *al-Kashf wa-l-bayān 'an tafsīr al-Qur'ān*. Wilh. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, 737 (= cod. Sprenger, no. 409.) 240 leaves.
- Ibn 'Atīyya, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abd al-Malik. *Al-Jāmi' al-muḥarrar al-ṣaḥīḥ al-wajīz fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'azīz*. Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis* 800 (= cod. Sprenger, no. 408.) 203 fols.
- al-Qurṭubī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad. *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*. W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 810 (= cod. Sprenger, no. 436.) 230 leaves. Printed, Cairo, 1354/1935.
- Muḥammad b. Murtaḍā. *K. al-Ṣaḥīfī (Tafsīr al-Qur'ān)*. W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 899 (= cod. 1 Petermann, no. 553.)
- K. al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*, in Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*, no. 910 (= cod. 1 Wetzstein, no. 103.)
- al-Qummī, 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm. *Tafsīr Alī b. Ibrāhīm*. W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 929 (= cod. Sprenger, no. 406.) 343 leaves.
- Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Bukhārī, et al. [*Collectin of various hands*] in: R. Sellheim, *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Teil 1. Wiesbaden, 1976, p. 12. (*Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*; vol. 17, series A. Or. quarto 1386)
- Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Aqṣarā'ī. *Sharḥ arba'in ḥadīthan*. W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 1512 (= cod. Sprenger, no. 397, ii), fol. 18b–27b.
- A number of sayings from the Prophet, without name or heading. W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 1645 (2) (= cod. Sprenger, no. 397, iii), fol. 27b–29b.
- Anonymous work of a Naqshbandī, pupil of Muḥammad al-Ma'ṣūm al-Fārūqī b. Aḥmad, fl. 1100/1688, on true religion and heresy. W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, Mss. Or. octavo, no. 2192 (= cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1792, part 2, fol. 4b–6b).
- 'Iyād b. Mūsā al-Sabtī al-Yahṣubī. *al-Shifā' bi-ta'rīf huqūq al-Muṣṭafā*. Wilh. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, 2559–2563 (= cod. 1st Petermann, no. 60, cod. Sprenger, nos. 116 and 117, cod. Mss. Or, quarto, no. 45, cod. 2nd Wetzstein, no. 1771, respectively).
- al-Dhahabī, *Ṭabaqāt*. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Or. fol., no. 3140. Not yet catalogued in 2008.
- K. al-Mabānī li-naẓm al-ma'ānī*, in Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*, no. 8790 (= cod. 1 Wetzstein, no. 94, part iv.)
- Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, Muḥammad b. Abi Bakr. *'Uyūn al-athar fī l-maghāzī wa-l-shamā'il wa-l-siyar*. Wilh. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, nos. 9577 and 9578 (= Sprenger, nos. 122 and 123.)
- Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Manī'. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*. W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 9648 (= cod. Sprenger, no. 103.) 302 fols.
- Ibn Ḥubaysh, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, *al-Ghazawāt al-dāmina al-kāfila* in W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 9689 (= cod. Wetzstein, no. 173.) [Edited by Suhayl Zakkār, Beirut, 1992.]
- al-Mizzī, Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān. *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmā' al-rijāl*, part. 4. Wilh. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, 9930 (= cod. Landberg, no. 40.) 340 leaves.
- Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān b. [*sic*] al-Dhahabī. *Ma'rīfat al-qurrā' al-kibār 'alā l-ṭabaqāt wa-l-a'ṣār*. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 9943 (= cod. Mss. Or. quarto, no. 462.) 128 fols.
- Dabṭ asmā' al-ṣaḥāba*. W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, no. 10169 (= cod. Sprenger, no. 282.) 72 leaves.



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- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Pertsch, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, no. 427 (= cod. Möller, 1b, Nr. 1.) Sūras 1:1–6, and 2:6–8. 2 folios.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Pertsch, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, no. 433 (= cod. Möller, 1b, Nr. 7.) Sūras 3:67–4:112. 20 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Pertsch, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, no. 437 (= cod. Möller, no. 1b, Nr. 9.) Sūra 5:20–22. 4 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Pertsch, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, no. 441 (= cod. Möller, no. 1b, Nr. 36.) Sūra 7:67–68. 1 leaf.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Pertsch, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, no. 442 (= cod. Möller 1b, Nr. 16); Stz. Kah. 1399. Sūras 12:30–12:31. 2 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Pertsch, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, no. 443 (= cod. Möller 1b, Nr. 13.) Sūras 10:93–11:12, 12:44–12:70. 2 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Pertsch, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, no. 445 (= cod. Möller, no. 1b, Nr.17.) Sūra 12:87–12:93. 2 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Pertsch, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, no. 446 (= cod. Möller, no. 1b, Nr. 14.) Sūras 13:38–14:5. 7 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Pertsch, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, no. 447 (= cod. Möller, no. 1b, Nr. 15.) Sūras 14:6–14:11. 7 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Pertsch, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, no. 451 (= cod. Möller, no. 1b, Nr. 22.) Sūra 20:72–82 and 20:86–97. 8 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Pertsch, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, no. 457 (= cod. Möller, no. 1b, Nr. 33.) Sūra 34:25–41. 6 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Pertsch, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, no. 458 (= cod. Möller, no. 1b, Nr. 27.) Sūras 36:50–37:2. 1 leaf.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Pertsch, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, no. 460 (= cod. Möller, no. 1b, Nr. 31; Stz. Kah. 1399.) Sūras 37:76–37:169, and 38:30–38:86. 4 leaves.
- Koran fragment (Kūfic.) W. Pertsch, *Die arabischen Handschriften*, no. 462 (= cod. Möller, no. 1<sup>a</sup>.) Sūras 43:51–46:14. 12 leaves.
- Ibn al-Jazarī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad. *al-Nashr fī l-qirāʾāt al-ʿashr*, W. Pertsch, *Die arabische Handschriften*, no. 549 (= cod. Möller, no. 65); W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, 657 (= codex 1 Petermann, no. 159); W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, 591 (= cod. Sprenger, 382); ed. M.A. Duhmān. Beirut, 1345/1926–1927.
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- Birgevi (Birgili/Birkawī), Muḥammad b. Pīr ʿAlī. محمد افندی برکلی شرح کتاب، also known as *Risale-i Birgili*, and *Vesīyyetname-i Birgili*. *Handschriften in Göttingen*, cod. Asch, 88, 90, 87, 97.

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- 1° *Le Mokhtaṣar* d' Al-Qodoûrî. Copie datée de l'an 892 de l'hégire (1487 de J.C.)  
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