

The History of the Quran *Part 1*

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Introduction:

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي عَلَّمَ الْإِنْسَانَ مَا لَمْ يَعْلَمْ، وَالصَّلَاةَ عَلَى نَبِيِّهِ الْأَكْرَمِ الَّذِي نَطَقَ بِالْقُرْآنِ
الَّذِي يَهْدِي لِلَّتِي هِيَ أَقْوَمُ، وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَى آلِهِ وَأَصْحَابِهِ مَصَابِيحِ الظُّلَمِ.

Praise be to Allah, Who teaches man that which he knows not. And benedictions be upon the Holy Prophet (S), who spoke the Quran that guides man towards that which is (still) firm. And peace be upon his Family (A) and his Companions who are the beacon of light in the darkness.

Since the day of the revelation of the Quran and its realization in the tongue of the Arab Prophet (S), all Muslims, starting from the Companions of the Prophet (S), the Tabi'un (the second generation of Muslims who saw the Companions) Muslim 'Ulama' and experts in the art of recitation of the Quran, have been showing such great care and meticulousness that was never seen for any of the heavenly Scriptures.

The large number of books written about the Quranic sciences ever since the earliest Islamic centuries by the scholars, exegetes, the readers of the Quran and the intellectuals are enough to substantiate this claim. In order to study it, discuss it and probe into the intricacies and mysteries of this Divine Book they travelled in various directions, and traversed the untrodden paths and far-flung lands in order to pursue their academic interest.

From the sixth/ twelfth century the European scholars also followed the same path, imitating their Oriental counterparts, started studying the issues related to the history and exegesis of the Quran and compiling books on the Quran and its commentaries methodically from the academic point of view with great care.

During the recent years, the Germans took up a great and

commendable job. The Scientific Society of Munich of present Germany made great efforts regarding this Exalted Book, and decided to collect all original sources related to the Holy Quran and the books written about the Quranic sciences, such as the exegeses and glossaries of Quranic terms, symbols and metaphors, by all possible means.

Mr. G. Bergstraesser (1) , the German Orientalist and scholar, was appointed for performing this task in view of his expertise. He started working in this field, and when he died in 1933 the aforementioned society assigned this job and its pursuance to Dr. Ottopretzl. This professor wrote a letter to the Academie Arabe of Damascus stating:

For the convenience and information of our friends we have resolved to write every verse of the Quran in specific pages copying from all the known manuscripts available to us, obtained from the old codices of the Quran, with different forms of recitation (*qira'at*) as found in different text, along with their various expositions, which have been written and published during the course of time according to their successive order indicating the centuries, for the common benefit of all with a view that all details put together may be accessible to anybody who is interested in this subject, so that he may be saved from the trouble of referring to different books, exegeses and sources.

At the first stage this institute took up the job of publishing the most significant books on the Quran, such as **al-Tuysir** of Abu 'Amr 'Uthman ibn Sa'id al-Dani (2), which deals with the seven ways of reading (*qira'at*) the Quran, and is regarded as one of the most accurate and authentic books written about the science of reading the Quran. The other book is **al-Muqni'** about the different styles of writing the Quran at different Islamic centres. **Al-Nuqat** written by al-Dani, **Mukhtusur al-Shawadhdh** by Ibn Khalawayh (3), **al-Muhtasib** by Ibn Jinni (4), which is published in the Latin script under the publications of the Scientific Society of Munich, **Ghayat al-Nihdyuh**, about the classes of the readers of the Quran **al-qurra'** by Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Jazari (5) d. 833 A.H., **Ma'ani al-Qur'an** by al-Farra' (6) and a treatise on the history of the science of the Quran in German language, which is a bibliography of the books written about the science of the Quran that are present in different libraries all over the world. The subject that was not paid attention to and scholars did not take much interest in is the history of the Quran and the different phases since the day of the Holy Prophet (S) till the early Islamic era through which this book passed. If there are found some studies in this field, they are merely concerned with the sciences of the Quran. No book or compilation on this subject of great significance and of general benefit that can cover all the issues related to this kind of study and solve the ambiguities of the problem has come into existence till now.

For compiling the present history of the Quran (**Ta'rikh al-Qur'an**)

I started collecting the relevant material on this subject and its related issues from various books a long time ago, and examined it critically and carefully. The present book presents a summary of my studies and researches that actually forms a part of introduction to the exegesis of the Quran, which I intend to compile in the manner of rational analysis and logical study of the Quran. Accordingly, I am beginning this book with a short account of the character of the Prophet (S) that has been drawn from trustworthy traditions and authentic sources. I hope that the readers will be benefited from this writing. God Almighty may have compassion on me. Him alone I ask for help.

Muhammad (S), the Prophet of Islam and the Quran:

As the Divine Law works in the system of creation to keep alive the entire world of matter and existence with the light of the sun which revolves around its axis, similarly the Divine Law works in the direction of vitalizing the human soul by means of the prophets and prophetic mission. In the same manner as the rays emitting from the sun can be the best guide for men in the world of existence to guide them towards light, the rays of light emanating from the wahy (the Divine revelation) of the prophets are the best guide for men to lead them towards the brightness of the Word of God. The Word of God, the Most High, that was revealed to the Prophet (S) is the Holy Quran which is termed as the Light in the following verse:

... قَدْ جَاءَكُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ نُورٌ وَكِتَابٌ مُبِينٌ * يَهْدِي بِهِ اللَّهُ مَنِ اتَّبَعَ رِضْوَانَهُ سُبُلَ السَّلَامِ
وَيُخْرِجُهُم مِّنَ الظُّلُمَاتِ إِلَى النُّورِ بِإِذْنِهِ وَيَهْدِيهِمْ إِلَى صِرَاطٍ مُسْتَقِيمٍ *

...Now has come unto you the Light from God and a manifest Scripture. Whereby God guides him who seeks His good pleasure unto paths of peace. He brings them out of darkness unto light by His decree, and guides them unto-a straightpath. (5:15-16)

If you interpret this verse in historical context-in the early years of the early seventh century A.D., you shall see that the conditions of the Middle Eastern countries as well as the Western world were in a state of turmoil. The entire world was immersed in the darkness of ignorance and the masses were heading towards destruction and waywardness. Human civilization and culture were meant nothing but luxuries of a few men, and their political life was under the shackles of ignorant ideas. Morality of the general public had reached its nadir due to unhindered sensualities, and their beliefs were corrupted by continuous disputations and polemics. Their blood was shed by

oppressors and tyrants without any sublime purpose and noble cause. The nations of the world had long ago lost their beauty and charm and were leading an animal existence.

At the juncture of this moral and intellectual degeneration, the bright light of Muhammad (S) appeared on the dark horizon for the guidance of this world that had gone astray, and gave a new life to this lifeless body. Carrying this Holy Book in his hands and holding fast the ever-illuminating torch of tawhid (the principle of the Unity of Divine Being) and guidance he invited the nations of the East and the West to embrace this light. He transformed the indecent and disgraceful manners of the inhabitants of the earth into righteousness and virtuousness. He built the belief-structure of the people on the basis of mutual kindness and forgiveness, and cemented their social relations by nurturing among them a spirit of friendship and oneness. His struggle and efforts were all aimed at realizing the beauty of good conduct. He did neither have any worldly ambitions, nor did he intend to grab any riches or to form an empire. His aim was to make the world a perfectly impeccable and civilized place by all possible means, and to emancipate the human mind from the age-old fetters of ignorance. He announced the immutable law of the freedom of reason to the world in the following words:

وَلَا تَقْفُ مَا لَيْسَ لَكَ بِهِ عِلْمٌ إِنَّ السَّمْعَ وَالْبَصَرَ وَالْفُؤَادَ كُلُّ أُولَئِكَ كَانَ عَنْهُ مَسْئَلًا *

(O man), follow not that whereof you have no knowledge. Verily the hearing and the sight and the heart-of each of these it will be asked. (17:36)

Here I present a glimpse of the character of this Prophet (S), and the great reformer on the basis of the most authentic sources.

The Birth of the Prophet (S):

The -people who tried to investigate about the date of the Prophet's birth faced two main hurdles in their investigation:

1. The Arabs did not render their history into writing as writing had newly developed at that time.

2. The absence of any information concerning the calendar followed by the Arabs of **jahiliyyah**; **we** do not know whether their year was solar or lunar in order to determine the correct and exact date of his birth in the month of Rabi' al-'Awwal, since the names of the pre-Islamic months also differed from what they are today.

Caussin de Perceval (7) preferred lunar calendar as the calendar followed by the pre-Islamic Arabs. In doing so he has followed Abu al-Rayhan al-Biruni (8) and some other Muslim historians who believed that

the Arabs after every three years added a month to the leap-year, and in this way they removed the disparity of the months and seasons between their year and the solar year. Therefore, their years were the solar as well as the lunar. We do have no other documents except the narrations of the reliable and trustworthy Shi'ah and Sunni scholars regarding the biography of the Prophet (S).

A majority of the Muslim scholars and the early muhaddithun (narrators of traditions), fuqaha' and historians agree on the month of Rabi' al-'Awwal as the month of the Prophet's birth, but there are differences among them regarding the day.

Most of the Shi'ah 'ulama' believed the 17th day of the month of Rabi' al-'Awwal and the year of the Elephant ('Am al-Fil) (9) as the date of the Prophet's birth.

Al-Shaykh al-Mufid Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn al-Nu'man (10) in his book '*Hada'iq al-riyad*' that gives an account of the religiously important dates says that the Prophet (S) was born on Rabi' al-'Awwal 17.

Ibn Tawus al-'Alawi (11), in his book 'al- '*Iqbal*' writes:

The scholars among the people whom I happened to meet believed and observed Rabi' al-'Awwal 17, Friday, the year of the Elephant, as the day of the Prophet's birth.

Al-Majlisi (12), the author of '*Bihar al- 'anwar*' writes:

All except a few among the Imamiyyah Shi'ah generally believe that the Prophet (S) was born on the 17th of the month of Rabi' al-'Awwal, in the 42nd year of the reign of Khusrau Anushirwan, and this view is supported by the Prophet's statement who is reported to have said:

وُلِدْتُ فِي زَمَنِ الْمَلِكِ الْعَادِلِ أَنْوْشِيرَوَانَ

"I was born during the reign of Anushirwan, the Just king."

The author of al-Kafi does not agree with this group of Shi'ah scholars and maintains that the Prophet (S) was born after the lapse of twelve nights of the month of Rabi' al-'Awwal, in the year of the Elephant.

Hafiz Abu Zakariyya Muhyi al-Din ibn Sharaf al-Nawawi (d. 676/ 1277) writes in his book '*Tahdhib al-asma' wa al-lughat*' that it is popularly accepted that the Prophet (S) was born in the year of the Elephant.

Ibrahim ibn al-Mundhir al-Khuzami, Shaykh al-Bukhari, Khalifab ibn al-Khayyat and others unanimously agree that the day of the Prophet's birth was Monday, the month of Rabi' al-'Awwal, but they

differ as to whether it was the second or the eighth or the tenth or the twelfth day of the month. All these four dates are popularly accepted.

In order to determine the date of birth of the Prophet (S), Mahmud Pasha (13), the well-known Egyptian professor of mathematics has-adopted a method which leads to reliably correct date. His method is as follows: He first probed into the nature of the calendar that was followed by the Arabs, investigating as to whether it was a solar or a lunar one. He collected ancient traditions and evidences and inferred his conclusion on the basis of three dates:

1. The date of death of Ibrahim, the Prophet's son.
 2. The day of arrival of the Prophet (S) at al-Madinah at the time of his migration from Makkah.
 3. The day of the Prophet's birth,
- All these dates are according to the Julian calendar.

The professor inferred his conclusion from the astronomical phenomena. The solar eclipse that occurred on the day of Ibrahim's death in the tenth year after the migration, as the narrators of the ahadith report. The meeting of Saturn and Mars in the house of Scorpio that according to some astronomers occurred in the year of the Prophet's birth and a few days before his birth, which was believed to be a premonition or an omen of the advent of Islam; the day of Prophet's arrival at al-Madinah is determined on the Jewish Day of Atonement ('Ashura'), as the majority of the narrators of the traditions and the biographers of the Prophet (S) maintain that the Prophet (S) arrived on the day of the Jewish feast at al-Madinah. He then translated these events into the solar calendar and concluded:

As the Arabic month in which these three events took place are known, therefore the date of the Prophet's birth is Monday, Rabi' al-'Awwal /April 20, 571 A.D.

The Circumstances of the World at the Time of the Manifestation of the Prophet's Light:

The sacred light of Muhammad, the son of 'Abd Allah, the son of 'Abd al-Muttalib of Banu Quraysh in the clan of Banu Hashim emerged in the early seventh century A.D. He pronounced the religion of Islam, and his message was disseminated throughout the Arabian Peninsula with an unprecedented rapidity that was never witnessed earlier in the history of any nation or religion. This truthful religion spread throughout the Oriental lands through all the existing means that were available at that time.

During that period Egypt and Syria were under the domination of Byzantine Empire, which was known among the Arabs as Roman Empire, and was ruled by a ruler named Heraclius. Mesopotamia and Yemen were under the domination of the Iranian Empire and were ruled by Anushirwan.

These two big powers were always at war with each other, and were disintegrating due to internal mutinies and intrigues. Their treasuries were emptied of gold and silver. The Khusrau's troops captured the city of al-Raha (14) in 611 A.D. from the Romans and plundered huge quantities of rare and precious objects which included the Cross on which Jesus Christ was crucified. In 617, Egypt was attacked and Alexandria was conquered. Another division of Iranian army marched towards the Asia Minor and reached Chalcedon and took it under their occupation. There was no barrier left between the capital and the army except the Bay of Busfur (Bosphorus). In the meantime Heraclius woke up from his deep slumber and started making preparations for the war. He took back all the cities as well as the Cross. At the time of advent of Islam in Arabian Peninsula, these two vast empires were at war with each other. This burning was silenced with the end of war in 638 A.D.

At that time these two countries were competing with each other in order to expand their territories as well as to extend their domination over Arabia, this land had gained an important position due to its mineral wealth and gold, the scents and perfumes on the one hand, and on the other due to its geographical location, as it was situated on the way to India.

The Romans, after having attacked Arabia several times under the command of Ilus Gallus in 18 B.C., during the reign of Augustus Caesar, abandoned the idea of conquering this country by force and decided to conclude a peace treaty with it. The Romans chose the kings of Ghassan as their allies and the task of guarding the boundaries of Arabia from the side of Syria and Palestine and enhancing their influence in that land was assigned to them.

The Iranian rulers also pursued the same policy as against them and put their trust in the al-Mundhir kings who were the rulers of Hirah and assigned to them the task of resisting the Romans and enhancing the prestige of Iran in Arabia.

At that time, Christianity was the religion of the Romans, and Zoroastrianism (15) was the official religion of the Iranians.

The Magians shunned the Christians, while the Jews supported them. The Christians were divided into several sects: the Jacobites, the Nestorians, the Arians and the Orthodox, etc. The Jews were also divided into Rabbanites, Qaraites and Samaritans.

In their own land, the Arabs practised the worship of stars and

idols. Judaism and Christianity had come to Arabia via Syria, and Magian religion entered Arabia via Iraq.

Among the Arabs, some people believed in God but did not believe in the Afterlife, while some of them denied both God and the Afterlife. They believed nature to be the creator of the life and the time (**dahr**) as the destroyer. All of them believed in the fate and spirits and demons, and had strong faith in the stellar influence and interpretation of dreams. Among their many bad customs and habits a few were burying their daughters alive, unkindness and cruelty, drinking of wine, gambling and other perversities. In short, waywardness and perversity was predominant in the political, institutional, religious and moral life of the East, and the Eastern people themselves were trying hard to be emancipated from this waywardness and to get rid of its evils.

When the prophet (S) of Islam emerged, he invited his people to embrace the glorious dictum of, **لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ** (There is no god but God and Muhammad is His Messenger), and diverted their attention from the stars of heaven towards the Holy Quran.

It was the Quran, with all its eloquence, fluency of rhetoric, and its beautiful arrangement which embodied the doctrine of tawhid, the belief which is conducive to the human nature. Above all this, the Quran contains in itself the code of human conduct, wisdom (hikmah), laws, science, history, politics and a noble morality.

The Holy Prophet (S) was born in the vicinity of the Holy Ka'bah and a trade centre where the Arabs used to come from distant and far-flung places. The Prophet (S) belonged to the tribe of the Quraysh, who had the privilege of religious leadership of the Arabs and had their business relations with Yemen, Syria and Iraq.

The Holy Prophet (S) motivated his people to spread Islam and urged them to perform **jihad**, for which he promised the carriers of the holy war the highest place in Paradise. The Arabs rated high the qualities of eloquence and excellences of rhetoric, their natural love for freedom was stirred by the sublime values of generosity, nobility, valour and bravery. Moreover, they were accustomed to frequent battles and hazardous life due to their desert habitation on the one hand, on the other the Prophet's promise of Paradise, his eloquence of speech and the beauty of his character proved to be a vital motive for their vigorous operations. Therefore they willingly supported him during his lifetime, and his caliphs afterwards. As such, they were able to extend their rule and spread their law and their language within the span of one century from Sind and India to the Atlantic Ocean in the east-west direction, and from the Caspian sea, Asia Minor Mediterranean and France up to the Indian Ocean and the upper parts of Sudan in the north-south direction.

The Prophet's Character:

Here I shall give a brief account of the Prophet's commendable character, his message and the manner and nature of the spread of his religious invitation with reference to the most authentic sources and the latest books written by prominent Muslim scholars.

The Prophet (S) was born at Makkah on the 12th day of Rabi' al-'Awwal, according to the popular Sunni traditions, and on the 9th day of the same month, according to the exact calculations, and on its seventeenth day, according to the belief of the Imimiyyah Shi'ah, which coincides with 20th April 571 A.D. and the year of the Elephant. His father was dead before he was born and his paternal grandfather 'Abd al-Muttalib fulfilled the responsibility of his maintenance and guardianship till he was eight years old. When his grandfather, too, died, his uncle Abu Talib assumed the responsibility of bringing him up.

During those days, the Quraysh were carrying on trade with Yemen, Syria and Iraq. Abu Talib was also busy with the same profession that his fellow-tribals and people pursued. Abu Talib took Muhammad (S) once on a trade journey to Syria when he was thirteen years old. He was regarded as an intelligent, wise, noble, honest and pure-hearted youth. The signs of his noble character, wisdom, greatness and glory were visible from his venerable countenance.

It is said that while he arrived with his uncle at Busra (16) a Christian monk named Bahira that was famous for his piety and virtuousness saw him and said: "A great mission awaits this youth and soon he will be known from the East to the West of the earth."

When Muhammad reached his twenty-fifth year, he was sent to Syria by Khadijah (A), the daughter of Khuwaylid, one of the richest women of Arabia, with Maysarah, her slave. He brought huge profits on his return from this journey. Khadijah (A) was pleased with his talents, his truthfulness and honesty, and in her turn she offered herself in marriage to him.

As mentioned earlier, Khadijah (A) was one of the most respected women of the Quraysh for both her wealth and her excellence and held a position higher and more distinguished than all others. Because of her wealth and noble family status she proved to be the best companion and supporter of the Prophet (S) prior to the inception of his Prophetic mission and after that too. The Prophet (S) spent his youth with highly good manners, a sense of self-respect, honour and dignity. He was extremely concerned with the condition of his people and could not bear to see them going astray. He had firm faith in the Existence and the Unity of God, in the Hereafter and in the immortality of the soul. He was an impeccable and pious person who loved to worship God with great devotion.

Most of the time the Prophet (S) went into retirement and used to seclude himself in the Cave of Hira', close to the holy city of Makkah, for the sake of praying and worshipping God. He continued to lead life in this fashion till he approached his fortieth year. During this year, on the Night of Power (shab-e qadr), on February 1,610 A.D., when he was meditating in the seclusion of the Cave of Hira', he was visited by the Ruh al-'Amin, the archangel Gabriel (A), who was sent by God for appointing him to the holy office of the carrier of the Divine message.

The Prophet (S) broke this news to his wife Khadijah (A), and Khadijah, his cousin 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (A), his slave Zayd ibn Harithah, and his friend Abu Bakr were the first converts to his faith.

Abu Bakr was a simple and unassuming person, and was popular among his fellow-tribals. He secretly invited the people of his trust to embrace Islam. 'Uthman ibn 'Affan, al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwim, 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Awf, Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas and Talhah ibn 'Ubayd Allah accepted Islam. These persons were called the earliest Muslims (the Sabiqun).

In the first three years, the Prophet (S) secretly invited people to embrace Islam until their number reached forty. Among them 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, and his own uncle Hamzah ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib are worth mentioning. Afterwards he openly invited his kinsmen to Islam and inspired awe in their hearts. Some of them declined to accept his invitation and opposed him with all possible means. Being the custodians of the Holy Ka'bah and the executors of the Arab law, they were afraid of accepting Islam, the new religion, lest this might incur the wrath of the other Arab tribes, who in their view might break trade relations with them. Moreover, the idea of Muhammad's gaining superiority over them, despite his limited resources, was also painful to them. Accordingly, his most powerful and effective opponents and critics were the nobles and the richest members of the Quraysh. Anyhow, the Prophet (S) was guarded by some of his close relatives.

In such conditions, when his Companions were under great pressure and those of them who could not defend themselves advocated to migrate to Abyssinia (Ethiopia). Among them were 'Uthman ibn 'Affan, al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwam, 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Awf and Ja'far al-Tayyar. Al-Najishi, the emperor of Ethiopia, extended a warm welcome to them and received them with love and respect. Some of them returned before the **hijrah** (migration to Makkah), but most of them returned in the seventh year of Hijrah.

Khadijah (A), the Prophet's wife died after leading a married life of twenty-five years with him, and after her Abu Talib, the Prophet's uncle, died. With the death of these two strong supporters, the number of his followers dwindled. But these events could not frustrate him and weaken his resolution. Rather he started visiting market-places and

attending hajj congregations, and openly invited Arabs towards the One God and the natural religion. He exhorted them to stop worshipping idols and the stars of heaven. He forbade people from consuming liquor, gambling, the practice of burying alive their daughters and everything else that he deemed to be lawless and detrimental in the pagan Arab law.

In the meanwhile six individuals from among the people of al-Madinah (Yathrib), all of whom belonged to the tribe of al-Khazraj, embraced Islam. When they returned to their kinsmen, many more people belonging to this tribe gravitated towards Islam and committed themselves to this faith at their hands.

Later on, the following year, twelve other persons from among the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj came to the Prophet (S) and swore allegiance to him and his creed, Islam. The Prophet (S) sent Mus'ab ibn 'Umayr with them to teach people the religious tenets of Islam, and through his efforts Islam was spread in al-Madinah in such a manner that no house was left in which the name of the Prophet (S) was not mentioned.

In the third year on the occasion of hajj seventy-three men and two women came to him and, while taking the oath of his allegiance, expressed their readiness to help him with their swords whenever he wished to arrive at al-Madinah, and later on they returned to al-Madinah. The Prophet (S) thought of joining his supporters of al-Madinah along with his supporters of Makkah, with their consent. When the Quraysh came to know about this plan, they were alarmed that the people of al-Madinah would attack them and would wage a war against them in their own land. As such they resolved to assassinate the Prophet (S).

The Prophet (S) secretly migrated to al-Madinah from Makkah on September 20, 622 A.D.. Afterwards his supporters and followers of Makkah left Makkah and joined him at al-Madinah. They were later on called the muhajirun--the emigrants, and the followers of al-Madinah were called the ansar--the helpers. The Prophet (S) bound these two groups with the bond of brotherhood, and each one of the muhajirun was made brother of a member of the *ansar* group.

When the number of his followers in al-Madmah increased, the Prophet (S) started propagating his religion, and whenever he was forced by circumstances, he drew the sword and wished to make the message of Islam manifest. The Prophet (S) did not want to achieve anything else except the inculcation of the values of piety and virtue, which he wished to attain for himself also.

The battles (ghazawat) in which the Prophet (S) participated personally were twenty-seven in number, among those, in nine battles only both the parties indulged in killing each other. But the wars in

which he did not participate and that were fought by his followers amount to 48. Among these seven battles are famous.

CHAPTER I

Section I:

The Evolving of a System of Writing in Hijaz (Makkah and al-Madinah) and Its Development into the Script in Which the Quran Was to be Written:

The cognate of the Arabic script is the Demotic script (or Egyptian script) that was in common use during those days. (17) Its schism was the Phoenician writing, which belonged to the region of Phoenicia near Canaan located on the coast of the White Sea (the Mediterranean Sea), which is presently known as the Mount of Lebanon.

The Phoenicians belonged to the Semitic race but most of them got mixed with the Egyptians due to their business and trade relations with them and some other factors. They learnt writing of alphabets from them and developed it into a simple and uncomplicated letters for their trade and transaction purposes.

From the Egyptian alphabets, the Phoenicians had borrowed some fifteen alphabets, making a little change in them as the famous archeologist Maspero (18) has written in his book, "***Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique***". Then they added to them the rest of the alphabets. Thus due to their simplicity their alphabets became popular, and gained currency in Asia and Europe on account of their easiness and facileness.

Its third schism in the Aramaic (19) script, which is a matter of controversy between the European and the Arab historians.

Views of the European Historians:

The European historians believe that the four following scripts were derived from the Phoenician script:

1. The ancient Greek is the cognate of all the European and Coptic scripts.
2. The ancient Hebrew, which is associated with Samaria (Neapolis).
3. The Himyaritic (20) Musnad from, which the Ethiopic script was developed.
4. The Aramaic script which is the cognate of six other scripts:
 - a) Hindi script in all its forms.

- b) Old Persian (Pahlawi) script.
- c) The square Hebrew script.
- d) Palmyrene script (of Palmyra or Tadmor).
- e) Syriac script.
- f) Nabataean script.

According to the European historians the Arabic script is of two kinds: The first one is the Kufic script, which is evolved out of Syriac character and is called Estrangelo (21) (Estrangela). The other is the Naskhi of the Arabic character, which is evolved out of the Nabataean (22) character. For this reason the Musnad writing is not regarded as the cognate of the Arabic character. The Syriac is considered as the last cognate of the Nabataean character.

The Views of the Arab Historians:

The pre-Islamic as well as the post-Islamic Arab historians believe that their Hijazi script is borrowed from the people of al-Hirah (23) and al-‘Anbf (24), and this script reached the people of these two cities through the Arabs of Kindah (25) and the Musnad characters of the Nabataean nation.

The Arab historians unanimously agree that the Arabic character was brought to Makkah by Harb ibn Umayyah ibn ‘Abd Shams, who learnt it from different individuals during his tours, among whom Bishr ibn ‘Abd al-Malik, the brother of al-‘Ukaydir, the ruler of Dumat al-Jandal, is worthy of being named. Bishr stayed with Harb ibn Umayyah in Makkah and took his daughter al-Sahba’ in marriage. He taught the script to some of the people of Makkah and died there. A poet from Kindah, expressing indebtedness of the Quraysh to Kindah, says:

<p>فَقَدْ كَانَ مَيْمُونُ التَّقِيْبَةِ أَزْهَرَا مِنْ أَلْمَالِ مَا قَدْ كَانَ شَيْءٌ مُبْعَثَرَا وَمَا زَرْتَرْتُ فِي الْكُتُبِ أَقْبَالُ حِمِيرَا</p>	<p>وَلَا تَجْحَدُوا نَعْمَاءَ بَشْرِ عَلَيْنَا أَتَاكُمْ بِحِطِّ الْجَزْمِ حَتَّى حَفِظْتُمْ وَأَغْنَيْتُمْ عَنِ مُسْتَدِ الْقَوْمِ حَمِيرَا</p>
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Deny **not what Bishr bestowed upon you,**
Blessed with merit and overflowing with bounties he was.
He brought to you the gift of a script, so that you could preserve
The wealth of your heritage that was scattered and disarranged,
He was it who introduced you to the Musnad characters of the
Himyars that made you rich,
What is preserved in your books is the treasure gifted to you by
the decree of the Himyar chiefs.

Ibn ‘Abbas (26) narrates that the people of al-‘Anbar had borrowed that script from the people of al-Hirah. Therefore, according to the Arab historians the Musnad script was the cognate of the Arabic script. One of the Arab researchers has preferred the views held by the Arab historians in his book “*Hayat al-lughat al-‘Arabiyyah*” on the basis of the following arguments:

1. Four types of Musnad script are known to have existed, and the Safawi script is considered to be closest to the Phoenician. It is argued that this proves that the Musnad script itself was basically a single script having close affinity to the Phoenician character, and its likeness to the Aramaic cannot be ignored; it reached al-Hirah and al-‘Anbar from Yemen, and the Aramaeans, through Kindah and Nabataea, and reached to the people of Hijaz through al-Hirah and al-‘Anbar. I (the author of *Hayat al-lughat al-‘Arabiyyah*) consider this journey of the script a remote possibility, since its likeness to the Phoenician, Safawi script strengthens the view that the Musnad script is derived from the Phoenician script, and after gaining currency in Yemen it reached al-Hirah and al-‘Anbar through Yemen. The view that this script was received from the Aramaeans supports the view that the Aramaic character is a cognate of the Hijazi character, since it is not possible that the Aramaeans might have given currency to any other character other than their own specific one.

2. The intermingling of the Nabataeans with the Yemenis and their close contacts with some of the Aramaic groups implies that the Nabataeans should have learnt the Musnad script from them. This possibility is also very remote in my (the author of *Hayat al-lughat al-‘Arabiyyah*) view, since, had the Nabataeans derived their script from the Yemenis on account of their contacts with them, it was also possible that the Nabataeans might have derived their script from the Aramaeans for the same reason, as they had close contacts with them also.

3. The consensus of the Arab historians, the abundance of traditions and their unanimity of the view concerning this issue prove that this character reached Yemen through Hijaz. Thus the third argument is also weak in my (the aforementioned author) view, as the arrival of this script through Yemen does not contradict the view that it originated from the Aramaic script, and it was also possible that they might have derived their script from the Aramaic, for the Yemenis had intermingled with the Aramaeans.,

4. The presence of such rhymed letters *al-rawadif* like (تَجِدُ، ضَمْعُ), (*thakhhhidh*, *dazigh*) that exist in the Musnad script are Himyaritic in origin and not found in the Aramaic.

The fourth argument is also weak in my (the same author) view, because, had the Musnad belonged to the branch of Hijazi script, there

would have been certain specific forms for the rhymed letters **al-rawadif** like other remaining words that were basically contiguous. The absence of specific forms for these letters in Hijazi script proves that the Aramaic character that is lacking in the specific rhymed letters **al-rawadif** is one of the roots of the Hijazi script. But the presence of the sounds of these rhymed letters that were rooted in the nature and in the language of the Arabs caused them to devise and evolve these rhymed letters for expressing those sounds with the diacritical signs.

This theory is supported by the author of the book "**Hayat al-lughat al-'Arabiyyah**" (p. 88), who says: "Inevitably those who devised letters for the rhymed alphabets picked up the following letters and put dots on them such as: *bā'* (باء), *jīm* (جيم), *dal* (دال), *sad* (صاد), *ṭā'* (طاء), and *'ayn* (عين) in order to make them distinguishable." The other proof that the Aramaic character is the cognate of Arabic character is that al-Hafiz Shams al-Din al-Dhahabi (27)', in his '**Tadhkirat al-Huffaz**', in the context of, the tradition narrated by Kharijah ibn Zayd (28), writes that his own father, Zayd ibn Thabit, told him that he had learnt the script of the Jews within fifteen days at the behest of the Prophet (S) of God, and had mastered it. This learning of the script by Zayd within the period of a fortnight is indicative of the fact that what he learnt was the Estrangelo script from which the Aramaic character was derived, and which is one of the two types of the Syriac script and the script of the Jews. It is for the very same reason that it is recorded in the account of Zayd ibn Thabit that he knew the Syriac and it was the Syriac characters from which the Kufic writing was evolved.

Besides this, the Kufic script has the closest resemblance to the Hiri script, which is in its turn similar to the Nabataean script, while Nabataean script is similar to the Aramaic script, and the Aramaic is similar to the Phoenician script, which is similar to the Demotic that was current in Egypt; and this proves the connections between these scripts in the above-mentioned order.

The Script That Was in Use in al-Madinah:

As for the script used in al-Madinah (Yathrib), according to the accounts given by the narrators of hadith and compilers of the Prophet's biographies, when the Prophet (S) came to al-Madinah was the script that was taught by a Jew to the children. There were approximately twenty individuals who could write, among whom were: Sa'id ibn Zurarah, al-Mundhir ibn 'Amr, Ubayy ibn Wahb, Zayd ibn Thabit, Rafi' ibn Malik, and Aws ibn Khuli. It is obvious that they knew the Hijazi script that was derived from the script of the people of al-Hirah. This view also coincides with that of learning of the script of the Jews by Zayd, by the command of the Prophet (S) after his arrival

at al-Madinah.

The first man who gave currency to the art of scribing was the Prophet Muhammad (S) who popularized it after he migrated to al-Madinah. As such, most of the persons were scribes among the approximately seventy individuals belonging to the Quraysh and other tribes that were captured in the battle of Badr. Those who were illiterate and who could not write, their ransom was demanded in money by the Prophet (S), but as for the ransom for the people who could read and write, he made it obligatory upon them that each one of them should teach reading and writing to ten children of al-Madinah. They did according to this, and since then reading and writing gradually spread in al-Madinah and other cities conquered by Muslims, and illiteracy remained confined to the desert region alone.

The Hijazi character is of two types: The **Naskhi** script which was used in letter-writing, and the Kufic script that is attributed to Kiifah, after the city was founded. As the rules of the Hijazi script and the shapes of its alphabets were developed and refined at Kufah, this script is attributed to Ktifah.

Scholars and researchers have succeeded in tracing out the original letters written and sent by the Prophet (S) to al-Muqawqas and al-Mundhir ibn Sawi. They have taken their photographs and have got them printed. The original letter written and sent to al-Muqawqas is preserved in the Museum of the Prophet's relics in Istanbul.

A French scholar discovered this letter in an Egyptian abbey near Akhmim. When Sultan 'Abd al-Majid (29) al-'Uthmani received this news, he invited the scholar to come to him with this priceless letter. He showed it to the experts and scholars who confirmed that the above-mentioned letter was exactly the same that was sent from the Holy Prophet (S) to al-Muqawqas. Sultan 'Abd al-Majid bought this letter for a very high price.

The other letter too is preserved in the library of Vienna, the capital of Austria.

Section II:

The Commencement of the Descending of the Wahy (the Divine Revelation):

The revelation of the **wahy** (the Divine revelation) started on the **Laylat al-Qadr** (the Night of Power), which according to the text of the Quran descended in the month of Ramadan in the forty-first year of the Prophet's birth:

إِنَّا أَنْزَلْنَاهُ فِي لَيْلَةِ الْقَدْرِ*

Verily We revealed it on a grand night. (97:1)

إِنَّا أَنْزَلْنَاهُ فِي لَيْلَةِ مُبَارَكَةٍ إِنَّا كُنَّا مُنذِرِينَ * فِيهَا يُفْرَقُ كُلُّ أَمْرٍ حَكِيمٍ * أَمْرًا مِنْ عِنْدِنَا
إِنَّا كُنَّا مُرْسِلِينَ *

Verily We revealed it on a blessed night. Verily We are ever warning-Therein every wise command is made clear. As a command for Our Presence-Verily We are ever sending (prophets). (44:3-5)

شَهْرُ رَمَضَانَ الَّذِي أُنزِلَ فِيهِ الْقُرْآنُ هُدًى لِلنَّاسِ وَبَيِّنَاتٍ مِنَ الْهُدَى وَالْقُرْآنِ...

The month of Ramadan in which was revealed the Quran, a guidance for mankind, and clear proofs of the guidance and the Criterion (of right and wrong).... (2:185)

The month of Ramadan is the month in which the Prophet (S) went into retirement in the cave of Hira (30) and used to seclude himself for fasting and worshipping God.

There is much difference of opinion regarding the night of the commencement of the revelation. The Quranic verse states:

... إِنَّ كُنْتُمْ أُمَّتُمْ بِاللَّهِ وَمَا أَنْزَلْنَا عَلَى عَبْدِنَا يَوْمَ الْقُرْآنِ يَوْمَ التَّقَى الْجَمْعَانِ ...

... if you believe in Allah and that which We revealed unto Our slave on the Day of Discrimination, the day when the two armies met.... (8:41)

The verse refers to the 17th of Ramadan as the day when the wahy was sent to the Prophet (S) for the first time, as the two armies confronted each other on the 17th of Ramadan in the second year of Hijrah, and the two armies that confronted were the armies of the Muslims and the idolaters in the battle of Badr. Hence, the verse of the Quran makes mention of two auspicious occasions; on the day that God Almighty chose Muhammad (S) as His Prophet and conferred upon Muslims honour and glory by helping them to gain victory.

In his exegesis, Abu Ja'far (31) ibn Jarir al-Tabari writes on the authority of al-'Imam al-Hasan ibn 'Ali (A) that the Night of Discrimination and the Day when the two armies met was the 17th of Ramadan.

Section III:

The Quranic Verse That Was Revealed First:

It is true that the first Quranic verse that was revealed was:

إِقْرَأْ بِاسْمِ رَبِّكَ الَّذِي خَلَقَ *

Read: In the name of thy Lord Who creates. (96:1)

Muhammad ibn Ishaq, popularly known as Ibn Abi Ya‘qib al-Nadim, in his book *Fawz al-‘ulūm*, known as *al-Fihrist*, writes: “Abu al-Hasan Muhammad ibn Yusuf narrated to me that he heard it from Abu ‘Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Ghalib, who heard it from Abu Muhammad ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Hajjaj al-Madini, who had come from al-Madinah in 299/911, who was told by Bakr ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab al-Madini, who heard it from Muhammad ibn ‘umar al-Waqidi (32), who was told by Mu‘ammar ibn al-Rashid, who heard it from al-Zuhri, who heard it from Muhammad ibn Nu‘man ibn Bashir, who told him that the first verses of the Quran that were revealed to the Prophet (S) were:

إِقْرَأْ بِاسْمِ رَبِّكَ الَّذِي خَلَقَ * خَلَقَ الْإِنْسَانَ مِنْ عَلَقٍ * إِقْرَأْ وَرَبُّكَ الْأَكْرَمُ * الَّذِي
عَلَّمَ بِالْقَلَمِ * عَلَّمَ الْإِنْسَانَ مَا لَمْ يَعْلَمْ *

Read: In the name of thy Lord Who creates; creates man from a clot. Read: And thy Lord is the Most Bounteous, Who teaches by the pen; teaches man that which he knew not. (96:1-5)

The Shaykhan (Muslim and al-Bukhari) report from ‘A’ishah that the Prophet (S) used to visit the cave of Hira’ and sojourned for some nights there, taking with him something to eat there. Afterward he returned and spent some nights with Khadijah (A), and then again left taking with him something to eat to the same place for some nights. Thus he continued until one day there suddenly flashed in his heart a flood of the light of Truth, Then an angel descended upon him. “ ‘Read!’ (إِقْرَأْ) said the angel. The Prophet (S) related: I said to him, ‘I know not how to read’. He took hold of me and pressed me so hard that I lost all my strength. And then he released me and said again, ‘Read!’ And I said, ‘I know not how to read’. Then he took hold of me a second time and pressed me very hard, and then released me and said, ‘Read!’ And I said, ‘I know not how to read’. Then he took hold of me a third time and pressed me very hard and said:

إِقْرَأْ بِاسْمِ رَبِّكَ الَّذِي خَلَقَ * خَلَقَ الْإِنْسَانَ مِنْ عَلَقٍ * إِقْرَأْ وَرَبُّكَ الْأَكْرَمُ * الَّذِي
عَلَّمَ بِالْقَلَمِ * عَلَّمَ الْإِنْسَانَ مَا لَمْ يَعْلَمْ *

‘Read: In the name of thy Lord Who creates; creates man from a clot. Read: And thy Lord is the Most Bounteous, Who teaches by the pen; teaches man that which he knew not.’ (96:1-5)

Then the Prophet (S) returned, while his body was trembling, from Hira' to Khadijah (A).

In '*Fada' il al-Qur'an*', Abu 'Ubaydah says that he was told by 'Abd al-Rahman, who heard it from Sufyan, who heard it from ibn Abi Najih that Mujahid (R.A.) told him that the first verses of the Quran that were revealed to the Prophet (S) were.

إِقْرَأْ بِاسْمِ رَبِّكَ .. .

Read: In the name of thy Lord.... (96:1)

And:

ن وَالْقَلَمِ ...

Nun. By the pen.... (68:1)

Ibn Ashtah, in his *Kitab al-masahif*, reports 'Ubayd ibn 'Umayr saying that Gabriel (A) descended upon the Prophet (S) with a special kind of parchment and asked him to read. The Prophet (S) said: 'I know not how to read'. He again said: 'إِقْرَأْ بِاسْمِ رَبِّكَ .. .' (Read: In the name of thy Lord.) It is believed that this was the first surah that was revealed to the Prophet (S).

Al-Zuhri also reports on the authority of traditions that the Prophet (S) was in the cave of Hira' when the angel of God descended with a fine parchment on which it was written:

إِقْرَأْ بِاسْمِ رَبِّكَ الَّذِي خَلَقَ * خَلَقَ الْإِنْسَانَ مِنْ عَلَقٍ * إِقْرَأْ وَرَبُّكَ الْأَكْرَمُ * الَّذِي
عَلَّمَ بِالْقَلَمِ * عَلَّمَ الْإِنْسَانَ مَا لَمْ يَعْلَمْ *

Read: In the name of thy Lord Who creates; Creates man from a clot. Read: And thy Lord is the Most Bounteous, Who teaches by the pen; teaches man that which he knew not. (96:1-5)

After the revelation of these verses of the Quran no other verses were revealed for a period of three years. This period came to be known as '*zaman fatrat al-wahy*', i.e. the time of the intermission of revelation. Thenceforward the Quran was revealed to the Prophet (S) gradually and verse by verse in the course of time. This mode of the revelation of the verses was criticized by the infidels. This subject has been referred to in the Quran and this objection is refuted in the *Surat al-Furqan* in these words:

وَقَالَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا لَوْلَا نُزِّلَ عَلَيْهِ الْقُرْآنُ جُمْلَةً وَّاحِدَةً كَذَلِكَ لِيُثَبِّتَ بِهِ فُؤَادَكَ وَرَتَّلْنَاهُ تَرْتِيلًا *

And those who disbelieve say: Why is the Quran not revealed unto him all at once? (It is revealed) thus that We may strengthen your heart therewith; and We have arranged it in right order. (25:32)

This order and arrangement of revelation and the recurrent flashes of wahy in the heart of the Prophet (S) with the effulgence of the light of knowledge became the source of strength and peace of the Prophet's heart. There is no disparity between gradual revelation of the Quran and the verses that seem to say otherwise, such as:

إِنَّا أَنْزَلْنَاهُ فِي لَيْلَةِ الْقَدْرِ *

Verily We revealed it on the Night of Power. (97:1)

شَهْرُ رَمَضَانَ الَّذِي أُنزِلَ فِيهِ الْقُرْآنُ...

The month of Ramadan in which was revealed the Quran.... (2:185)

إِنَّا أَنْزَلْنَاهُ فِي لَيْلَةٍ مُبَارَكَةٍ...

Verily, We revealed it on a blessed night.... (44:3)

For, there are certain verses in the Quran which according to the words of God Almighty are called the Quran, such as:

... كِتَابٌ أُحْكِمَتْ آيَاتُهُ...

... (This is) a Scripture the revelations whereof are perfected....

(We can understand this point) taking into consideration that there are also verses in the Quran with ambiguous meanings. In addition to this, it may also be said that the essence and the general aims of the Quran as a whole were revealed to the pure heart of the Prophet (S) on that single night:

نَزَّلَ بِهِ الرُّوحَ الْأَمِينُ * عَلَى قَلْبِكَ...

Which the True Spirit [the angel Gabriel] has brought down upon thy heart.... (26:193-4)

And later on, the verses were revealed to him one by one, separately in

the span of several years:

وَقَرَأْنَا نَا فَرَقَانَاهُ لِتَقْرَأَهُ عَلَى النَّاسِ عَلَى مُكُثٍ وَنَزَّلْنَاهُ تَنزِيلًا *

And (it is) the Quran that We have divided, that thou may recite it unto mankind at intervals, and We have revealed it by (successive) revelation. (17:106)

It may be induced from the study of the ahadith that the major part of the Quran was revealed verse by verse like the **Surat Iqra'**, (إِقْرَأْ), the beginning verses of which till the verse 'مَا لَمْ يَعْلَمْ'.... were revealed at the first instance. Similar is the case of **Surat ul-Duha**, the opening five verses of which till 'fatarda' (فَتَرَضَىٰ) were revealed at the first instance. On the other hand some of the surahs of the Quran were revealed in their complete forms at a time, such as **al-Fatihah, al-Ikhlash, al-Kawthar, al-Lahab, al-Buyyinuh** and al-Nasr (33) among the shorter ones, and al-Mursalat (34) among the longer surahs.

This induction is also based on the revelation of five and ten verses collectively like the revelation of ten commencing verses of the **Surat al-Mu' minun** and the revelation of '...غَيْرُأُولَى الضَّرَرِ...' in isolation, which is a part of the verse (4:95): لا يَسْتَوِي الْفَاعِلُونَ... Similar is the case of the following verse:

...وَإِنْ خِفْتُمْ عَيْلَةً فَسَوْفَ يُغْنِيكُمْ اللَّهُ مِنْ فَضْلِهِ إِنْ شَاءَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ حَكِيمٌ *

... If ye fear poverty (from the loss of their merchandise) Allah shall preserve you of His bounty if He will. Verily, God is Knower, Wise. (9:28)

The above-mentioned verse is only a part of the, verse 28 of the **Surat Bara' ah (al-Tawbah)**, and it was revealed separately after another part of it was already revealed.

Section IV:

The Period in Which the Qurun Was Revealed:

The period of time in which the Quran was revealed is divided into two distinct periods:

1. The period prior to the migration of the Prophet (S).
2. The period following it.

1. The Period Prior to the Migration:

During the course of the twelve years, five months, and thirteen

days stay at Makkah-from 17th of Ramadan of the 41st year of the Prophet's birth that is known as the Day of **al-Furqan** (the Day of Discrimination) till the month of Rabi' al-'Awwal of the fifty-fourth year of his birth-the verses and surahs that were revealed at Makkah and within its confines, before the Prophet's migration (Hijrah) are considered as the Makkan surahs and verses.

2. **The Period Following the Prophet's Hijrah to Al-Madinah:**

This period covers all the verses that were revealed after the Hijrah. If some verses were revealed during this period outside al-Madinah, they are also considered as the Madani (35) surahs and verses. Therefore, the portion of the Quran revealed at al-Madinah is approximately 11/30 of the Book.

Abu al-Hasan ibn Hisar in his book '**al-Nasikh wa al-mansukh**', writes that the number of unanimously agreed upon surahs revealed at al-Madinah is twenty. Those surahs which are controversial (from the aspect of their place of revelation) are twelve. Except them, all the verses and the surahs are unanimously proclaimed by the Muslims as the Makkan surahs. These twenty Madani surahs are:

1. **Al-Baqarah** 2. **Al-'Imran** 3. **Al-Nisa'** 4. **Al-Ma'idah** 5. **Al-'Anfal** 6. **Al-Tawbah (Bara'ah)** 7. **Al-Nur** 8. **Al-'Ahzab** 9. **Muhammad (S)** 10. **Al-Fath** 11. **Al-Hujurat** 12. **Al-Hadid** 13. **Al-Mujadalah** 14. **Al-Hashr** 15. **Al-Mumtahanah** 16. **Al-Jumu'ah** 17. **Al-Munafiqun** 18. **Al-Talaq** 19. **Al-Tahrim** 20. **Al-Nasr**.

Abu Bakr ibn al-'Anbari agrees on all these except al-'Anfal (36), and Abu 'Ubaydah (37), in his book '**Fada'il al-Qur'an**', agrees on all but **al-Hujurat**, **al-Jumu'ah** and **al-Munafiqun**. And the author of '**al-Fihrist**', Muhammad ibn Ishaq, according to the narration of Muhammad ibn Nu'man ibn Bashir, whose name has been mentioned in the section concerning the Quranic verse that was revealed first, has also agreed on all the surahs except **Surat al-'Ahza'b**. Hence, that on which these four persons, whose views are accepted as authentic and reliable, unanimously agree are fifteen of the surahs that Abu al-Hasan mentioned in his book '**al-Nasikh wa al-mansiikh**'.

The matter of dispute lies in five surahs as in the following order: **al-'Anfal** which is not accepted as **Madaniyyah** by Abu Bakr ibn al-'Anbari; **al-Hujurat**, **al-Jumu'ah** and **al-Munafiqun**, on which Abu 'Ubaydah shows his disagreement in '**Fada'il al-Qur'an**'; and **al-'Ahzab**, which Muhammad ibn Ishaq, the author of '**al-Fihrist**', does not regard as **Madaniyyah**.

Continued in Part 2

The History of the Quran Part 2

by 'Allamah Abu 'Abd Allah al-Zanjani

translated from the Persian by Mahliqa Qara' i

V: Recitation of the Quran During the Prophet's Lifetime:

The Holy Prophet (S) was *ummt*, unlettered, in the sense that he neither wrote nor read (38). The Quran throws light on this matter in verses 7:157 and 29:48.

After a *surah* or *ayah* was revealed, the Prophet (S), having memorized it himself, would communicate it to the people and recite it to the worthy among those who enjoyed his company. He would also ask them to memorize it.

Traditions transmitted by reliable chains of narrators and recorded in compilations of traditionists whose works are relied upon by Muslims, bear this out. Al-Bukhri, in *al-Sahih*, reports on the authority of 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr that al-Musawwar ibn Mahzamah and 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Abd al-Qari informed him that they heard 'Umar ibn al-Khattab saying that he heard Hisham ibn al-Hakim reciting the *Surat al-Furqan* during the Prophet's lifetime. When he listened to Hisham's reading, 'Umar noticed that he was reading in a way that he had never heard from the Prophet (S). First 'Umar wanted to pounce upon

* It is essential to point out that although written by a Shi'i scholar this history of the Qur'an is mainly based on Sunni sources. Hence it contains some points which are not in accordance with Shi'i viewpoints. For instance, it mentions the name of Abu Sufyan and his sons among the scribes of the revelation. Such, and other statements of this kind made in the book, are controvertible from the Shi'i viewpoint.

This book, entitled *Ta'rikh al-Qur'an* in Arabic, was first published in Cairo in 1354/1935. The author, the late 'Allamah Zanjani (1309-1360/1891-1941) was born in the city of Zanjan. After studying in his native city and then in Tehran, he went in 1330/1912 to Najaf, where he stayed until 1338/1919 and attained the level of *ijhtid*. He travelled

Hisham, who was praying. Then he decided to wait until he had finished. Then he seized Hisham by the collar and asked him as to who had taught him to recite the *surah* that he had heard him recite. Hisham told him that it was taught to him by the Prophet (S). ‘Umar told him that he was lying, as the style of reading taught to him by the Prophet (S) was different from the way Hisham recited it. Then he dragged him to the Prophet (S) and complained that he had heard Hisham recite the *Surat al-Furqan* in a way he had not heard the Prophet (S) recite it. The Prophet (S) first asked ‘Umar to release Hisham’s collar and then asked Hisham to recite it. Hisham recited it in the way that ‘Umar had heard him. The Prophet (S) said: “That is the way it was revealed.” Then the Prophet (S) asked ‘Umar to recite it. ‘Umar recited it the way he heard the Prophet (S) recite. On hearing it, the Prophet (S) said again, “That is the way it was revealed.” Then he added:

إِنَّ هَذَا الْقُرْآنَ أَنْزَلَ عَلَى سَبْعَةِ أَحْرَافٍ فَأَقْرَأُوا مَا تَيَسَّرَ مِنْهُ.

This Quran was revealed in seven readings (sab ‘at ahruf). Therefore, read it as is feasible to you.

Again, al-Bukhari reports from Shaqiq ibn Salamah that he said: ‘Abd Allah ibn Mas‘ud said in a sermon: “By God, I have heard more than seventy *surahs* from the Prophet’s mouth. By God, the Prophet’s Companions knew me to be the most knowledgeable of them regarding the Book of God, although I am not the best of them.”

Shaykh al-Ta’ifih Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Tusi (385-460/995-1067), the Imami faqih, states in his book *al-‘Amali* that Ibn Mas‘ud had learnt 70 *surahs* from the Prophet (S) and the remaining from Amir al-Mu’minin ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib (A). In *al-Mustadrak*, it is reported from Ibn Mas‘ud that he said: “We were with the Prophet (S) in a cave when *al-Mursalat* was revealed to him. I learnt the **surah** from his mouth....”

Abu ‘Ubaydah, in *al-Fada’il*, and also Ibn Jarir, Ibn Mundhir and Ibn Mardawayh, report from ‘Umar ibn ‘Amir al-‘Ansari that ‘Umar ibn

to Palestine, Syria and twice to Egypt and met scholars at al-‘Azhar. After his second journey to Egypt in 1354/1935, he taught for some years at the School of Theology (Danishkadeh-ye Ma’qul wa Manqul) at Tehran, till his death in 1360/1941. His other works include: *Usul al-Qur’an al-ijtima’iyyah*, *Kitab al-‘afkar*, *Taharat ahl al-kitab*, *Sirr-e intishar-e Islam*, *Baqat al-nafs*, *al-Faylasuf al-farisi al-kabir Sadr al-Din al-Shirazi* (on the life and philosophy of Mulla Sadra), **Azamat-e Husayn ibn ‘Ali (A)**, in addition to a number of articles and translations. The Persian translation of this work was done by Abu al-Qasim Sahab under the title *Ta’rikh-e Qur’an* (Tabriz 1382/1341 H.Sh.)

al-Khattab recited the verse (9:100) as follows:

وَالسَّابِقُونَ الْأَوَّلُونَ مِنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَالْأَنْصَارِ الَّذِينَ اتَّبَعُوهُمْ بِإِحْسَانٍ (بِرفَعِ الْأَنْصَارِ)

[which would mean] And the Outstrippers, the first of the Emigrants, and the Helpers who followed them in good-doing. (9:100)

with *al-'ansar* in the nominative case (*raf'*) and without adding *waw* to *al-ladhina*. Zayd ibn Thabit [seeking to correct him] said: وَالَّذِينَ اتَّبَعُوهُمْ بِإِحْسَانٍ (which puts the Helpers on a par with the first Emigrants and among the 'outstrippers'), then added: "[Yet] Amir al-Mu'minin knows better." 'Umar asked for Ubayy ibn Ka'b to be brought to him. When he came, 'Umar asked him about the verse, which Ubayy also recited like Zayd ibn Thabit, then added: "By God, the Prophet (S) taught me to recite it in this manner, and at that time you used to sell wheat." 'Umar was convinced, and he said: "In that case, follow Ubayy's reading."

In al-Bukhari's *Sahih*, it is reported that the Prophet (S) said to Ubayy ibn Ka'b: "God has commanded me to recite the Quran to you." Ubayy asked the Prophet (S) whether God had mentioned him by name. The Prophet (S) said, "Yes, your name was mentioned before the Lord of the worlds."

All these traditions bear out clearly that the Prophet (S) used to recite the Quran before the learned among his Companions and was so particular about their memorizing it that he told Ubayy that God had commanded him to read the Quran to him. These traditions also indicate that the Companions were very particular about memorizing the text of the verses, to the extent that the addition or omission of a *waw* was a matter of concern to them, although it did not result in much change in the meaning. (39)

Note:

By *al-huruf al-sab 'ah* is meant the seven ways of reading the Quran employing different words for identical meanings, like *aqbil*, *halumma* and *ta' ala*, (which mean, 'come!') or as '*ajjil* and *asri*' (which mean, 'hurry!'), or *akhkhir* and *amhil*, or *imdi* and *isri*. This interpretation has been adopted by Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari in his preface to his exegesis of the Quran (40)

This statement is also borne out by trustworthy traditions transmitted from 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, 'Abd Allah ibn Mas'ud (41), and Ubayy ibn Ka'b, which show that the nature of their disagreement regarding the Quran was merely in regard to the way of reading the Quran, not about the meaning. Once, to settle it, they went to the

Prophet (S); the Prophet (S) ordered each one of them to read; he listened to their reading and approved their different ways of reading. Some of them wondered as to how the Prophet (S) could approve of the diverse readings until the Prophet (S) himself answered their doubt with the words:

إِنَّ اللَّهَ أَمَرَنِي أَنْ أَقْرَأَ الْقُرْآنَ عَلَى سَبْعَةِ أَحْرَفٍ

Allah has commanded me to read the Quran with seven readings. (42)

The Prophet's answer reveals the fact that the seven readings give the same meaning. Again, al-Tabari, in the preface to his exegesis, reports from Abu Karib through a chain of his narrators from 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Abi Bakr from his father that the Prophet (S) said that Gabriel asked him to read the Quran with one reading. Then Michael asked him to read it in more than one way, that is, two, till the number reached six or seven. Michael then told him that all these were good enough as long as a verse concerned with Divine chastisement did not end in Divine mercy, or a verse concerned with mercy did not conclude in chastisement, like the words: "halumma" and "ta' ala".

The above interpretation is also supported by what the jurists have understood this tradition to mean. Ibn 'Abd al-Birr (43) says that Ibn Wabb (44) has reported in *Kitab al-Targhib* that Malik was asked as to whether he would approve if they read the verse like 'Umar ibn al-Khattab and say: *فَأَمْسُوا إِلَى ذِكْرِ اللَّهِ* (instead of *فَأَسْمُوا إِلَى ذِكْرِ اللَّهِ*; 62:9). He said that it is permissible and added that the Prophet (S) had said:

إِنَّ هَذَا الْقُرْآنَ أَنْزَلَ عَلَى سَبْعَةِ أَحْرَفٍ فَأَقْرَأُوا مَا تيسَّرَ مِنْهُ.

This interpretation is not rejected by common sense. Because, if there were any difference in meaning in the seven ways of reading, a single statement would give two different and opposite meanings. Therefore, how could the Prophet (S) allow something which went against the meaning intended by God? Yet various traditions indicate that the Prophet (S) had approved different readings. It is obvious that no verse of the Quran should be interpreted in two opposite ways so as to make that which is impermissible appear as permissible and make permissible that which is impermissible, since Allah has said:

...وَلَوْ كَانَ مِنْ عِنْدِ غَيْرِ اللَّهِ لَوَجَدُوا فِيهِ اخْتِلَافًا كَثِيرًا*

_ If it (i.e. the Quran) had been from other than Allah they would have found therein much incongruity(4:82).

In another tradition, al-'A'mash narrates from Anas that he read verse 73:6 as: **إِنْ نَاشَأَ اللَّيْلُ هِيَ أَشَدُّ وَظُلًّا وَأَصْوَبٌ قَبْلًا** * Someone told him that it is 'أَهْدَى'، 'أَصْوَبٌ'، 'أَفْوَمٌ'. He said 'أَفْوَمٌ' all the three have the same meaning. It is possible that he implied something which Muhammad 'Abd al-Karim al-Shahrastani (45) has affirmed in his exegesis, saying that the words of the Prophet (S) **أُنزِلَ الْقُرْآنُ عَلَى سَبْعَةِ أَحْرَافٍ** imply the variations which make the seven readings of the Quran differ from one another due to **imla'** (giving to **fathah** a sound like that of **kasrah**), **ishmam** (giving to a quiescent a slight sound of **dammah** or **Kasrah**, but not so as to lengthen the syllable or make one syllable more) and **idgham** (inserting one letter into another, doubling it by **tashdid**; coalescence.)

Whenever the Companions of the Prophet (S) received any verse or **surah** from him, they would come to him again and again and recite it in his presence, so that they would commit it to memory correctly. After having read it to him they would ask him as to whether they had learnt it exactly as it was revealed to him. Then the Prophet (S) would confirm their reading.

Al-Dhahabi ⁴⁶ writes in his **Tadhkirat al-huffaz** that Kharijah ibn Zayd has narrated from his father who said that when the Prophet (S) came to Madinah he already read seventeen **surahs** and he read them to the Prophet (S). The Prophet (S) liked his reading. Then he said to him, "Learn the script of Jews for my sake, for I cannot rely on them to be my scribes". Zayd says that he then learnt it within half a month. (47)

After learning the Quran by heart and firmly committing it to the memory, every **hafiz** (one who commits the Quran to memory) would transmit what he had learnt, teaching it to children, to their sons, and to the people of Makkah and Madinah who were not present at the time of its revelation. It is for this reason that within one or two days after every revelation whatever part of the Quran came down was recorded and preserved in the hearts and memories of most of the **Sahabah**. The **huffaz** and **qurra'** (**qaris**, reciters of the Quran) would recite in the presence of the Prophet (S) whatever they had memorized of the Quran, and sometimes they would recite a part of it on his command.

It is narrated from Ibn Mas'ud that he said that the Prophet (S) asked him to read the Quran to him. He says he started reading the **Surat al-Nisa** and reached to the verse:

فَكَيْفَ إِذَا جِئْنَا مِنْ كُلِّ أُمَّةٍ بِشَهِيدٍ وَجِئْنَاكَ عَلَىٰ هَؤُلَاءِ شَهِيدًا *

But how will it be when We bring of every people a witness, and We bring you (O Muhammad) as a witness against these? (4:41)

Ibn Mas'ud says that (when he read this verse) tears were flowing

from the eyes of the Prophet (S), who told him that that much was enough for the occasion. Al-'Amidi (48) writes in his book *al-'Afkār al-'abkar* that the well-known copies (*masahif*) of the Quran at the time of the *Sahabah* had been read in front of the Prophet (S). The codex of 'Uthman ibn 'Affan was the last to be read to the Prophet (S) (49) and until his demise he read his prayers in accordance with it.

Ibn Ashtah in *al-Masahif* and Ibn Abi Shaybah in *al-Fada'il* narrate from Ibn Sirin (50) who reports 'Ubaydah al-Salmani to have said that the *qira'ah* (reading of the Quran) done in the presence of the Prophet (S) in the year of his death was the same as done by the people of his day.

Al-Baghawi (51) in his *Sharh al-Sunnah*, writes that Zayd ibn Thabit was present at the time of the last reading of the Quran when the abrogated and unabrogated verses were specified. He wrote it for the Prophet (S) and read it to him, and he used it to teach people the reading till the time of his death. It is for this reason that Abu Bakr and 'Umar relied upon Zayd ibn Thabit to collect the Quran and later 'Uthman assigned him the task of making the copies (*masahif*) during his reign.

The Prophet (S) (when still at Makkah) sent a group of the readers of the Quran to Madinah to teach the Quran to the people. Al-Bukhari reports from Abu Ishaq, who reports al-Bara' to have said: "The first from the Companions of the Prophet to come to us (i.e. to Madinah) were Mus'ab ibn 'Umayr and Ibn Umm Maktum, who came and started teaching us the reciting of the Quran. After them came 'Ammar and Bilal. When the Prophet (S) conquered Makkah, he appointed Mu'adh ibn Jabal for teaching the Quran there. And whosoever migrated to Madinah from Makkah, the Prophet (S) sent him to one of the *huffaz* of the Quran in order to teach him the Quran."

In this way, the number of *huffaz* of the Quran increased during the Prophet's lifetime, and during that period about seventy *qaris* were slain in the Battle of Bi'r Ma'unah, as al-Suyuti records in *al-'Itqan* as a *khabar sahih* (correct tradition). There are many traditions that Abu Bakr had memorized the Quran during the lifetime of the Prophet (S) (52)

Abu 'Ubaydah has mentioned the names of the *qaris* among the Companions in his *Kitab al-qira'at*. From among the Muhajirun, besides the four caliphs, there were: Talhah, Sa'd, Ibn Mas'ud, Hudhayfah, Salim, Abu Hurayrah, 'Abd Allah ibn al-Sa'ib, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Amr ibn al-'As, (53) 'A'ishah, Hafsa and Umm Salamah. From among the Ansar: 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit, Mu'adh (whose *kunyah* was Abu Halimah), Majma' ibn Jariyah, Fadalah ibn 'Ubayd and Muslimah ibn Mukhallid have been named among the *qaris*, with this clarification that some of them completed the Quran after the demise of the Prophet (S). Ibn Abi Dawud (54) has also included the

names of Tamim al-Dari and 'Uqbah ibn 'Amir among them.

Ibn Sa'd, (55) in his *Tabaqat*, reports that he heard it from Fadl ibn Dhakin, who heard it from al-Walid ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Jami', who said that his grandmother reported from Umm Waraqah, the daughter of 'Abd Allah ibn al-Harith, that the Prophet (S) used to visit her and called her **al-Shahidah**. This lady had collected the Quran, and the Prophet (S) had commanded her to lead the members of her household in prayers.

VI. The Writing of the Quran in the Era of Revelation:

The Prophet (S) had certain scribes who used to write the wahy for him in the **Naskht**, the script that was current in those days; they were forty-three in number. The well-known of them were: the four caliphs, Abu Sufyan and his sons Mu'awiyah and Yazid, Sa'id ibn al-'As (56) and his sons Aban and Khalid, Zayd ibn Thabit, al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwam Talhah ibn 'Ubayd Allah, Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas, 'Amir ibn Fuhayrah, 'Abd Allah ibn al-'Arqam, 'Abd Allah ibn Rawahah, 'Abd Allah ibn Sa'd ibn Abi al-Sarah (57), Ubayy ibn Ka'b (58), Thabit ibn Qays, Hanzalah ibn al-Rabi', Sharjil ibn Hasanah, al-'Ala' ibn al-Hadrami, Khalid ibn al-Walid, 'Amr ibn al-'As, al-Mughirah ibn Shu'bah, Mu'ayqab ibn Abi Fatimah al-Dawsi, Hudhayfah ibn al-Yaman, and Huwaytib ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza al-'Amiri. Of all the scribes two whose services were used most often by the Prophet (S) were: Ali ibn Abi Talib-upon whom be peace and Zayd ibn Thabit. It is manifest from the traditions that the Prophet (S) gave utmost care to the writing of the Quran.

Al-Bukhari reports on the authority of al-Bara that when the verse:

لَا يَسْتَوِي الْقَاعِدُونَ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ غَيْرُ أُولِي الضَّرَرِّ وَالْمُجَاهِدُونَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ...

Such believers who sit at home-unless they have an injury-are not the equals of those who strive in the way of Allah.... (4:95)

was revealed, the Prophet (S) asked for Zayd to be brought to him with pen, ink and **katif** (the scapula of sheep). When Zayd arrived, he asked him to write the verse.

In the episode relating to the conversion of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, it is mentioned that a man belonging to Quraysh told him: "Your sister has abandoned your religion". 'Umar went back and slapped his sister in the face in such a manner that the skin was split. But when his temper cooled down, he saw that there was a writing (**sahifah**) lying about in the house in which the verses (57:1-8) were written.

He saw another sheet on which these verses (20:1-8) were

written.

When ‘Umar realized the eloquence of these verses, he accepted Islam.

All these traditions and narrations prove that the Prophet (S) had taken great care that the Quran should be written down, and it was written with utmost accuracy and completeness during his lifetime.

VII. Writing Materials Used:

The scribes of the Quran used to write it on palm wood, on tablets of white stone or pieces of cloth, and sometimes they wrote it on silk or scapulae of sheep or camel and on parchment. As it was customary among the Arabs to write on these things. When written on they were called *suhuf*, and such *suhuf* were written for the Prophet (S) which were consigned to him to be kept in his house.

Muhammad ibn Ishaq al-Nadim writes in his *al-Fihrist* that the Quran was written in the presence of the Prophet (S) on palm wood, on tablets of white stone and on camel scapulae.

Al-Bukhhi narrates from Zayd ibn Thabit that he sought the Quran and collected it from pieces of palm wood, stone tablets and the bosoms of the people who had memorized it.

Al-‘Ayyahi (59) reports in his *tafsir*, in the context of a tradition narrated by him, that Amir al-Mu‘minin ‘Ali (A) said that the Prophet (S) had asked him in his last will not to step out of his house after burying his body, until he had collected and compiled the Book of Allah. Because, at that time the Quran was written on pieces of palm wood and camel scapulae.

In the tradition narrated by ‘Ali ibn Ibrahim (60) from Abu Bakr al-Hadrami, from Abu ‘Abd Allah Ja‘far ibn Muhammad (A), it is mentioned that the Prophet (S) said to ‘Ali (A): “O ‘Ali, the Quran is kept at the back of my bed in sheets of silk and paper. Take them and collect them, do not let the Quran be lost as the Jews had lost the Torah.” ‘Ali (A) prepared himself for this task, collected the Quran in a yellow cloth and set a seal on it.

Al-Harith al-Muhasibi writes in his book *Fahm al-sunan*: “The writing of the Quran was not something recent, since the Prophet (S) used to order it to be written. But the Quran was scattered on scapulae, on stone tablets and pieces of palm wood and paper.” There are traditions showing that the verses of the Quran were put in their proper place by the command and at the instance of the Prophet (S). The traditions also prove that the verses of the Quran were collected and written down during the lifetime of the Prophet (S). (61)

Continued in Part 3

The History of the Qur'an Part 3

by 'Allamah Abu 'Abd Allah al-Zanjani

translated from the Persian by Mahliqa Qara'i

VIII. The Collectors of the Quran During the Prophet's Lifetime:

Some of the Sahabah (R) collected the Quran during the lifetime of the Prophet (S), and some of them had collected a part of it during his lifetime, completing the work after his death. (62) Muhammad ibn Ishaq al-Nadim has mentioned the names of the people who collected the Quran in his book *al-Fihrist* as follows: Amir al-Mu'minin 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (A), Sa'd ibn 'Ubayd ibn al-Nu'man ibn 'Amr ibn Zayd, (63) Abu al-Darda' 'Uwaymir ibn Zayd, (64) Mu'adh ibn Jabal ibn Aws, (65) Abu Zayd Thabit ibn Zayd ibn al-Nu'min, (66) Ubayy ibn Ka'b ibn Qays Malik Imru'al-Qays, 'Ubayd ibn Mu'awiyah, (67) and Zayd ibn Thabit.

Al-Bukhari, in one of the traditions which he has reported from Qatadah, has agreed on four names from among the above-mentioned. Qatadah says that he asked Anas ibn Malik as to who collected the Quran during the days of the Prophet (S). He said they were four individuals and all of them belonged to the Ansar (the Helpers): Ubayy ibn Ka'b, (68) Mu'adh ibn Jabal, Zayd ibn Thabit and Abu Zayd. Elsewhere, instead of Ubayy ibn Ka'b the name of Abu al-Darda' has been reported.

It has been reported in *al-Itqan* that Ibn Abi Dawud, in a hasan tradition, reports from Muhammad ibn Ka'b al-Quradi that those who collected the Quran were five: Mu'adh, 'Ubadah ibn al-Samit, (69) Ubayy ibn Ka'b, Abu al-Darda', Abu Ayyub al-Ansari.

Ibn Sirin reports that they were four individuals: Mu'adh, Ubayy, Abu Zayd, Abu al-Darda' or 'Uthman or 'Uthman with Tamim al-Dari.

Al-Bayhaqi and Ibn Abi Dawud narrate from al-Sha'bi that they were six: Ubayy, Zayd ibn Thabit, (70) Mu'adh, Abu al-Darda', Sa'd ibn 'Ubayd, Abu Zayd, Majma' ibn Jariyah.

In his *al-Munaqib*, al-Khwarizmi reports 'Ali ibn Riyah to have said

that the Quran was collected during the Prophet's time by 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (A) and Ubayy ibn Ka'b. Some of the traditions reveal that Amir al-Mu'minin 'Ali (A) wrote the Quran in the order of revelation of the verses and placed the abrogated verses before the abrogating ones.

Ibn Ashtah 'has narrated from ibn Sirin in *al-Masahif* that 'Ali (A) wrote the abrogating and abrogated verses in his *mushaf* of the Quran. Ibn Sirin says that he sent a letter to Madinah requesting for it (the *mushaf*) but he was not able to obtain it.

Ibn Hajar (71) says that it is reported about Imam 'Ali (A) that he collected the Quran according to the order of revelation of the verses. Ibn Abi Dawud also has narrated this *riwayah*.

In the exposition of *al-Kafi*; Mawla Salih al-Qazwini has quoted from the book of Sulaym ibn Qays al-Hilali that after the demise of the Prophet (S) 'Ali (A) confined himself to his house and was busy in collecting and compiling the Quran; he did not leave the house until completing the work of collecting the Quran, writing the abrogating (*nasikh*) and the abrogated (*mansukh*), the clear (*muhkam*) and the ambiguous (*mutashabih*) verses in the order of their revelation.

Al-Shaykh al-'Imam Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn al-Nu'man al-Mufid (72) writes in *al-'Irshad* and *al-Risalat al-Surwiyyah* that 'Ali (A) wrote the abrogated (*mansukh*) verses before the abrogating (*nasikh*) ones in his *mushaf* of the Quran and wrote the *ta'wil* and *tafsir* of some of the verses in detail.

In the introduction to his *tafsir* of the Quran, al-Shahristani writes: "The Companions of the Prophet (S) were unanimous in that the knowledge of the Quran was the especial province of the Ahl al-Bayt (the members of the Prophet's Family) (A), for they used to ask 'Ali (A) as to whether the Ahl al-Bayt had also another exclusive speciality besides the knowledge of the Quran." This admission of the Companions of the Ahl al-Bayt's prerogative with respect to the Quran proves that there was a consensus among them that the knowledge of the contents of the Quran and their exposition was the especial province of the Members of the Prophet's Household (A).

IX: The Dating of the Surahs:

Here, I have relied on the *Nazm al-durar wa tanasuq al-'ayat wa al-suwar* of Ibrahim ibn 'Umar al-Biqai (73) (Egypt), *al-Fihrist* of ibn al-Nadim (Egypt), and the work of Abu al-Qasim 'Umar ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Kafi as the base. As mentioned earlier, Professor Noldeke, (74) in his book *Geschichte des Qorans* has quoted from 'Abd al-Kafi's book, stating that it was present in Warn Library (Cod Lugd 674).

The Dates of the Revelation of Surahs:

S.No.	Makki <i>Surahs</i>	Madani <i>Surahs</i>	The Sequence of Revelation
1	<i>Al-Hamd</i>		It was revealed after <i>al-Muddaththir (74)</i>
2		<i>Al-Baqarah</i> , except verse 281, which was revealed at Mina at the time of Hijjat al-Wada' (the Last Hajj)	This is the first <i>surah</i> to be revealed at Madinah
3		<i>Al-'Imran</i>	After <i>al-'Anfal (8)</i>
4		<i>Al-Nisa'</i>	After <i>al-Mumtahanah (60)</i>
5		<i>Al-Ma'idah</i> , except verse 3 which was revealed at 'Arafat at the time of Hijjat al-Wada'	After <i>al-Fath (48)</i>
6	<i>Al-'An'am</i> , except verses 20, 23, 91, 93, 114, 141, 151, 152 and 153, which were revealed at Madinah		After <i>al-Hijr (15)</i>
7	<i>Al-'A'raf</i> , except verses 163-170, which were revealed at Madinah		After <i>Sad (38)</i>
8		<i>Al-'Anfal</i> , except verses 30-36, which were revealed at Makkah	After <i>al-Baqarah (2)</i>
9		<i>Al-Tawbah</i> , except the last two verses that were revealed at Makkah	After <i>al-Ma'idah (5)</i>
10	<i>Yunus</i> , except verses 40, 94, 95 and 96 which belong to the Madani period.		After <i>al-'Isra (17)</i>
11	<i>Hud</i> , except verses 12, 17 and 114 which were revealed at Madinah.		After <i>Yunus (10)</i>
12	<i>Yusuf</i> , except verses 1, 2, 3 and 7 which were revealed at Madinah.		After <i>Hud (11)</i> .
13		<i>Al-Ra'd</i>	After <i>Muhammad (47)</i> .
14	<i>Ibrahim</i> , except two verses 28 and 29 which were revealed at Madinah.		After <i>Nuh (71)</i> .
15	<i>Al-Hijr</i> , except verse		After <i>Yusuf (12)</i> .

87	which was revealed at Madinah.		
16	Al-Nahl , except the last three verses which were revealed at Madinah	After al-Kahf (18) .	
17	Al-'Isra' , except verses 26, 32, 33, 57 and 73-80 which were revealed at Madinah.	After Al-Qasas (28)	
18	Al-Kahf , except verse 28 and verses 83-101 which were revealed at Madinah.	After al-Ghashiyah (88) .	
19	Maryam , except two verses 58 and 71 which were revealed at Madinah.	After Fatir (35)	37 38 39
20	Ta-Ha , except two verses 130 and 131 which were revealed at Madinah.	After Maryam (19) .	40
21	Al-Anbiya'	After Ibrahim (14) .	
22		After al-Nur (24)	
	Al-Hajj , except verses 52,53,54, and 55 which were revealed between Makkah and Madinah.		
23	Al-Mu' minun	After al-'Anbiya' (21) .	
24		After al-Hashr (59) .	
25	Al-Furqan , except verses 68, 69 and 70 which were revealed at Madinah.	After Ya-Sin (36) .	
26	Al-Shu' 'ara' , except verse 197 and verses from 224 till the end of the surah , which were revealed at Madinah.	It was revealed after al-Waqi' ah (56)	
27	Al-Naml	Revealed after al-Shu' ara' (26)	
28	Al-Qasas, except verses 52-55 which were revealed at Madinah, and verse 85 which was revealed at Juhfah at the time of Hijrah.	Was revealed after al-Naml(27) .	
29	Al-'Ankabut , except verses 1-11 which were revealed at Madinah.	After al-Rum (30) .	
30	Al-Rum , except the verse 17 which was revealed at Madinah.	After. al-'Inshiqaq (84) .	
31	Luqman , except verses 27-29 which were	After al-Saffat (37) .	

revealed at Madinah.

32 **Al-Sajdah**, except verses
16-20 which were
revealed at Madinah.

33
34 **Saba'**, except verse **6**
which was revealed at
Madinah.

35 **Fatir**

36 Ya-Sin, except verse 45
which was revealed at
Madinah.

37 **Al-Saffat**

38 **Sad**

39 **Al-Zumar**, except verses
52,53 and 54 which
were revealed at Madinah.
40 **Al-Mu 'min (al-Ghafir)**,
except. two verses **56** and
57, which were revealed
at Madinah.

41 **Fussilat (Ha-Mim al-
Sajdah)**.

42 **Al-Shura**, except verses
23, 24, 25 and 27 which
were revealed at Madinah.

43 **Al-Zukhruf**, except verse
54 which was revealed at
Madinah

44 **Al-Dukhan**

45 **Al-Jathiyah**, except verse
14 which was revealed at
Madinah

46 **Al-'Ahqaf**, except. verses
10,15, 35 revealed at
Madinah.

Al-Ahzab

Muhammad, except
verse 13 which was
revealed during the
Prophet's Hijrah
(migration).

Al-Fath was revealed
while returning from
Hudaybiyyah
Al-Hujurat

After **al-Mu 'minun**
(23).

After **Al 'Imran** (3)
After **Luqman** (31).

After **al-Furqan** (25).
After **al-Jinn** (72).

After **al-'An 'am** (6).
After **al-Qamar** (54).
After **Saba** (34)

After **al-Zumar** (39)

After **al-Mu'min** or **al-
Ghafir** (40)
After **Fussilat** (or **Ha-
Mim al-Sajdah**) (41).

After **al-Shura** (42)

After **al-Zukhruf** (43)
After **al-Dukhan** (44)

After **al-Ja'thiyah** (45).

After **al-Hadid** (57)

After **al-Jumu' ah** (62)

After **al-Mujadalah**
(58).
After **al-Mursalat** (77)

50 **Qaf**, except verse 38
which was revealed
at Madinah.

51 **Al-Dhariyat**

52 **Al-Tur**

53 **Al-Najm**, except verse

After **al-' Ahqaf** (46).

After **al-Sajdah** (32)

After **al-' Ikhlas** (112)

	32 which was revealed at Madinah	
54	Al-Qamar, except verses 44, 45 and 46 which were revealed at Madinah.	After al-Tariq (86)
55		After <i>al-Ra'd</i> (13)
56.	<i>Al-Waqi' ah</i> , except two verses, 81 and 82 which were revealed at Madinah	After Ta-Ha (20)
57	<i>Al-Hadid</i>	After <i>al-Zilzal</i> (99)
58	<i>Al-Mujadalah</i>	After <i>al-Munafiqun</i> (63)
59	<i>Al-Hashr</i>	After <i>al-Bayyinah</i>
60	<i>Al-Mumtahanah</i>	After <i>al-'Ahzab</i> (33)
61	<i>Al-Saff</i>	After <i>al-Taghabun</i> (64)
62	<i>Al-Jumu' ah</i>	After <i>al-Saff</i> (61)
63	<i>Al-Munafiqun</i>	After <i>al-Hajj</i> (22)
64	<i>Al-Taghabun</i>	After <i>al-Tahrim</i> (66)
65	<i>Al-Talaq</i>	After <i>al-' Insan</i> (<i>al-Dahr</i>) (76)
66	<i>Al-Tahrim</i>	After <i>al-Hujurat</i> (49)
67	<i>Al-Mulk</i>	After <i>al-Tur</i> (52)
68	<i>Al-Qalqm</i> , except verses 17-33 and 48-50, which were revealed at Madinah	After <i>al-' Alaq</i> (90)
69	<i>Al-Haqqah</i>	After <i>al-Mulk</i> (67)
70	<i>Al-Ma' arij</i>	After <i>al-Haqqah</i> (69)
71	<i>Nuh</i>	After <i>al-Nahl</i> (16)
72	<i>Al-Jinn</i>	After <i>al-' A' raf</i> (7)
73	<i>Al-Muzzammil</i> , except verses 10, 11 and 20 which were revealed at Madinah.	After <i>al-Qalam</i> (68)
74	<i>Al-Muddaththir</i>	After <i>al-Muzzammil</i> (73)
75	<i>Al-Qiyamah</i>	After <i>al-Qari' ah</i> (101)
76		After <i>al-Rahman</i> (55)
77	<i>Al-Mursalat</i> , except verse 48 which was revealed at Madinah.	After <i>al-Humazah</i> (104)
78	<i>Al-Naba'</i>	After <i>al-Ma' arij</i> (70)
79	<i>Al-Nazi'at</i>	After <i>al-Naba'</i> (78)
80	<i>'Abasa</i>	After <i>al-Najm</i> (53)
81	<i>Al-Takwir</i>	After <i>al-Masad</i> (111)
82	<i>Al-' Infitar</i>	After <i>al-Nazi'at</i> (79)
83	<i>Al-Mutaffifn</i> (it is the last <i>surah</i> to be revealed at Makkah.)	After <i>al-' Ankabut</i> (29)
84	<i>Al- Inshiqaq</i>	After <i>al-' Infitar</i> (82)
85	<i>Al-Buruj</i>	After <i>al-Shams</i> (91)

86	<i>Al-Tariq</i>		After <i>al-Balad</i> (90)
87	<i>Al-'A' la</i>		After <i>al-Takwir</i> (81)
88	<i>Al-Ghashiyah</i>		After <i>al-Dhariyat</i> (51)
89	<i>Al-Fajr</i>		After <i>al-Layl</i> (92)
90	<i>Al-Balad</i>		After <i>Qaf</i> (50)
91	<i>Al-Shams</i>		After <i>al-Qadr</i> (97)
92	<i>Al-Layl</i>		After <i>al-'A' la</i> (87)
93	<i>Al-Duha</i>		After <i>al-Fajr</i> (89)
94	<i>Al-Inshirah</i>		After <i>al-Duha</i> (93)
95	<i>Al-T'in</i>		After <i>al-Buruj</i> (85)
96	<i>Al-'Alaq</i> is the first surah of the Quran that was revealed to the Prophet (S)		
97	<i>Al-Qadr</i>		After 'Abasa (80)
98		<i>Al-Bayyinah</i>	After <i>al-Talaq</i> (65)
99		<i>Al-Zilzal</i>	After <i>al-Nisa'</i> (4)
100	<i>Al-'Adiyat</i>		After <i>al-'Asr</i> (103)
101	<i>Al-Qari'ah</i>		After <i>Quraysh</i>
102	<i>Al-Takathur</i>		After <i>al-Kawthar</i> (108)
103	<i>Al-'Asr</i>		After <i>al-'Inshirah</i> (94)
104	<i>Al-Humazah</i>		After <i>al-Qiyamah</i> (75)
105	<i>Al-Fil</i>		After <i>al-Kafirun</i> (109)
106	<i>Quraysh</i>		After <i>al-Tin</i> (95)
107	<i>Al-Ma'un</i> ; only first three verses are Makkan and the rest of the sbrah was revealed at Madinah.		After <i>al-Takathur</i> (102)
108	<i>Al-Kawthar</i>		After <i>al-'Adiyat</i> (102)
109	<i>Al-Kafirun</i>		After <i>al-Ma'un</i> (107)
110		<i>Al-Nasr</i> , which was revealed at Mina on the occasion of Hijjat al-Wada', is regarded as Madani <i>surah</i> .	This is the last surah that was revealed.
111	<i>Al-Masad (al-Lahab)</i>		After <i>al-Fatihah</i> (1)
112	<i>Al-'Ikhlas</i>		After <i>al-Nas</i> (114)
113	<i>Al-Falaq</i>		After <i>al-Fil</i> (105)
114	<i>Al-Nas</i>		After <i>al-Falaq</i> (113)

X: The Order of Revelation of the Surahs of the Quran at Makkah and Madinah:

Here, we shall adopt the *riwayah* narrated by Ibn al-Nadim (75), through a chain of transmitters from Muhammad ibn Bashir, since it is

an ancient and trustworthy document. Moreover, there is little difference between the order given in it and that given in the works of Ibrahim ibn 'Umar al-Biqā'i and Abu al-Qasim 'Umar ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Kafi, as stated by Noldeke. The verses and *surahs* revealed to the Prophet (S) at Makkah are in the following order:

The Order of Makkan Surahs:

1	<i>Al-'Alaq</i> (96) verses 1-5	40	<i>Al-Mala' ikah</i> (35) [same as <i>Fatir</i>]
2	<i>Al-Qalam</i> (68)	41	<i>Fatir</i> (35)
3	<i>Al-Muzzammil</i> (73): Its last verse was revealed in the way to Makkah	42	<i>Maryam</i> (19)
4	<i>Al-Muddaththir</i> (74)	43	<i>Ta-Ha</i> (20)
5	<i>Al-Lahab</i> (111), according to a tradition from Mujihid, then followed by :	44	<i>Al-Waqi'ah</i> (56)
6	<i>Al-Takwir</i> (81)	45	<i>Al-Shu'ara'</i> (26)
7	<i>Al-'A' la</i> (87)	46	<i>Al-Naml</i> (27)
8	<i>Al-'Inshirah</i> (94)	47	<i>Al-Qasas</i> (28)
9	<i>AZ-'Asr</i> (103)	48	<i>Bunt Isra' il</i> (17)
10	<i>Al-Fajr</i> (89)	49	<i>Hud</i> (11)
11	<i>Al-Duha</i> (93)	50	<i>Yusuf</i> (12)
12	<i>Al-Layl</i> (92)	51	<i>Yunus</i> (10)
13	<i>AZ-'Adiyat</i> (100)	52	<i>Al-Hijr</i> (15)
14	<i>Al-Kawthar</i> (108)	53	<i>Al-Saffat</i> (37)
15	<i>Al-Takathur</i> (102)	54	<i>Luqman</i> (31): Its last part is assigned to Madinah.
16	<i>Al-Ma 'un</i> (107)	55	<i>Al-Mu'minun</i> (23)
17	<i>Al-Kafirun</i> (109)	56	<i>Saba'</i> (34)
18	<i>Al-Fil</i> (105)	57	<i>Al' Anbiya'</i> (21)
19	<i>Al'Ikhlās</i> (112)	58	<i>Al-Zumar</i> (39)
20	<i>Al-Falaq</i> (113), also said to be Madani.	59	<i>Al-Mu'min</i> (40)
21	<i>Al-Nas</i> (114)	60	<i>Ha-Mim al-Sajdah</i> (<i>Fussilat</i>) (41)
22	<i>Al-Najm</i> (53)	61	<i>Al-Shura</i> (42)
23	<i>'Abasa</i> (80)	62	<i>Al-Zukhruf</i> (43)
24	<i>Al-Qadr</i> (97)	63	<i>Al-Dukhan</i> (44)
25	<i>Al-Shams</i> (91)	64	<i>Al-Jathiyah</i> (45)
26	<i>Al-BuruJ</i> (85)	65	<i>Al-' Ahqaf</i> (46): One of its verses was revealed at Madtnah.
27	<i>Al-Tin</i> (95)	66	<i>Al-Dhariyat</i> (51)
28	<i>Quruysh</i> (106)	67	<i>Al-Ghashiyah</i> (88)
29	<i>Al-Qari'ah</i> (101)	68	<i>Al-Kuhf</i> (18): Its last part was revealed at Madinah.
30	<i>Al-Qiyamah</i> (75)	69	<i>Al-'An 'am</i> (6): Some of its verses were revealed at Madinah.
31	<i>Al-Humazah</i> (104)	70	<i>Al-Nahl</i> (16)
32	<i>Al-Mursalat</i> (77)	71	<i>Nuh</i> (71)
33	<i>Qaf</i> (50)	72	<i>Ibrahim</i> (14)
34	<i>Al-Balad</i> (90)	73	<i>Al-Sajdah</i> (32)
35	<i>Al-Rahman</i> (55)	74	<i>Al-Tur</i> (52)
36	<i>Al-Jinn</i> (72)	75	<i>Al-Mulk</i> (67)
37	<i>Ya-Sin</i> (36)	76	<i>Al-Haqqah</i> (69)
38	<i>Al-'A' raf</i> (7)	77	<i>Al-Ma 'arij</i> (70)
39	<i>Al-Furqan</i> (25)	78	<i>Al-Naba'</i> (78)

79 *Al-Nazi' at* (79)
 80 *Al-Infitar* (82)
 81 *Al' Inshiqaq* (84)
 82 *Al-Rum* (30)
 83 *Al-'Ankabut* (29)

84 *Al-Mutaffifin* (83): **It is also**
 assigned to Madinah,
 85 *Al-Qamar* (54)
 86 *Al-Tariq* (86)

Al-Thawri reports from Faras, who reports from al-Sha'bi that he said that al-Nahl was revealed at Makkah, except its last three verses (126 -128).

In *Al-Fihrist*, Ibn Jarir reports from 'Ata' al-Khurasani, who reports Ibn 'Abbas to have said that eighty-five *surahs* of the Quran were revealed at Makkah and twenty-eight at Madinah. The *surahs* revealed at Madinah are as follows:

The Order of Madani Surahs:

1	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2)	15	<i>Al-Nasr</i> (110)
2	<i>AL' Anfal</i> (8)	16	<i>Al-Nur</i> (24)
3	<i>AL' A' raf</i> (7)	17	<i>Al-Hajj</i> (22)
4	<i>Al 'Imran</i> (3)	18	<i>Al-Munafiqun</i> (63)
5	<i>Al-Mumtahanah</i> (60)	19	<i>Al-Mujadalah</i> (5 8)
6	<i>Al-Nisa'</i> (4)	20	<i>Al-Hujurat</i> (49)
7	<i>Al-Zilzal</i> (99)	21	<i>Al-Tahrim</i> (66)
8	<i>Al-Hadid</i> (57)	22	<i>Al-Jumu' ah</i> (62)
9	<i>Muhammad</i> (S) (47)	23	<i>Al-Taghabun</i> (64)
10	<i>Al-Ra'd</i> (13)	24	<i>Al-Hawariyyun</i> (61) (<i>al-Saff</i>)
11	<i>Al-Dahr</i> or <i>al-' Insan</i> (76)	25	<i>Al-Fath</i> (48)
12	<i>Al-Talaq</i> (65)	26	<i>Al-Ma 'idah</i> (5)
13	<i>Al-Bayyinah</i> (98)	27	<i>Al-Bara 'ah</i> (<i>al-Tawbah</i>) (9)
14	<i>Al-Hashr</i> (59)		

It is said that the *Ma' udhatan* were revealed at Madinah (*al-Fihrist*, p. 26).

Conclusion:

From what has been said above, it can be concluded that the Quran used to be written down on different kinds of material during the days of the Prophet (S), such as palm branches, scapulae and silk.

Al-Hakim al-Nishaburi reports on the authority of the Shaykhayn (Muslim and al-Bukhari) a tradition from Zayd ibn Thabit that he said: "We were in the presence of the Prophet (S) and arranged the Quran which was on stone tablets. This arrangement was in accordance with the order of the verses and according to the direction of the Prophet (S). But these written Suhuf were in a disjointed (*mutafarriqah*) state, therefore the Prophet (S) commanded 'Ali 'to collect them (*'bi jam 'iha*), for he was concerned about their loss (*min tadyi' iha*).

Also the *riwayah* narrated by 'Ali ibn Ibrahim al-Qummi indicates

that the Quran was preserved in the bosoms of some men of the Sahabah exactly as they had heard it from the Prophet (S). In the episode of Battle of Bi'r of Ma'unah (Well of Ma'unah) in the fourth year of the Hijrah a group of approximately seventy persons, called al-qurra', were slain.

CHAPTER 2

1. The Quran in the Days of Abu Bakr and 'Umar:

When the Prophet (S) left the world and his immaculate spirit acquired the blissful nearness of the All-Merciful, and Abu Bakr ibn Abi Quhafah took charge of the affairs of Muslims, Musaylamah, in Yamamah, made claims of prophethood in the first year of Abu Bakr's caliphate. Abu Bakr dispatched an army to fight with him, in which, along with others, were a group of *qurra'* and huffaz of the Quran. The Muslims were victorious in this war; Musaylamah was killed and many of the *qurra'* were also slain. At that time, 'Umar ibn al-Khattab brought the need to collect and compile the Quran to the attention of the caliph.

In *al-Itqan*, Ibn Abi Dawud narrates from al-Hasan that 'Umar once inquired about a certain verse of the Quran; he was told that someone who was slain in the Battle of Yamamah remembered it. Thereupon he uttered the words of *istirjā'* **إِنَّا لِلّٰهِ وَأَنَا لِيَهْ رَاجِعُونَ**; then he commanded that the Quran be collected and compiled. He was the first to collect the Quran in a *mushaf*

Al-Bukhari narrates from 'Ubayd ibn al-Sibaq that Zayd ibn Thabit said: "After the Battle of Yamamah, Abu Bakr sent for me. When I went to him, 'Umar ibn al-Khattab was also present there. Abu Bakr said to me, "Umar has brought to me the news that the Battle of Yamamah has played much havoc with the *qurra'* of the Quran. He said: "I am afraid that if such bloody encounters should recur, much of the Quran would be lost. Verily, I see it advisable for you to order the Quran to be collected". I said to 'Umar: "How will you, ("How shall I ..."; according to the narration of Muhammad ibn Ishaq) do something which the Prophet (S) didn't?" He said: "By God, this is a good thing". He kept on coming back to me until God opened my breast to the matter and I saw 'Umar's point. "

Zayd ibn Thabit said: "Abu Bakr said to me: 'You are a young and intelligent man, and I consider you free of any kind of blame, for you used to write the wahy for the Prophet (S). Search for the Quran and collect it.' I said: 'By God, if I had been ordered to carry a mountain from one place to another, it would not be harder upon me than this order which you give me to collect the Quran'. I said, 'How do you do a thing which the Prophet of God did'nt?' He said: 'By God, this

(collecting of the Quran) is a good thing'. And he kept on pressing me, until God opened my heart to do that to which He had opened those of Abu Bakr and 'Umar. Then I sought for the Quran, and collected it from pieces of palm branches, white stones (likhaf) and the breasts of men, till I found the last part of the Surat al-Tawbah with Abu Khuzaymah al-'Ansari and with no other person, from: لَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مِنْ أَنْفُسِكُمْ
عَزْرُ عَلَيْهِ مَا عَنِتُّمْ حَرِيصٌ عَلَيْكُمْ... till the end of al-Bara' ah"...

This tradition apparently refers the initial refusal of Abu Bakr and Zayd to 'collecting of the Quran', though, according to other traditions and statements, which were mentioned previously, the Quran was collected during the lifetime of the Prophet (S). But some reflection, as well as some indications, show that the novelty of 'Umar's suggestion regarding the collecting of the Quran was concerning its collection in a codex....

According to al-'Itqan, it has been reported in al-Maghazi' from Musa ibn 'Uqbah from ibn Shihab that he said: "When the Muslims were faced with the episode of Yamamah, Abu Bakr was afraid lest some part of the Quran should be lost. Thence, the people brought whatever of the Quran they had with them until the Quran was collected on pages (*fi al-waruq*) during the time of Abu Bakr. Thus Abu Bakr was the first to collect and compile the Quran in a codex (*mushaf*). After that, 'Umar made an announcement in Madinah that whosoever had acquired any part of the Quran from the Prophet (S) should bring it. Abu Bakr told 'Umar and Zayd: 'Sit at the door of the mosque and write down the verses of the Quran from anyone who brings two witnesses (to testify it).'" (76)

It is likely that the witnesses were called to testify that whatever was brought had been presented at the last presentation before the Prophet (S) in the year of his demise and was written in front of him (S). Hence the statement of Zayd ibn Thabit that he found the last part of the *Surat al-Bara' ah* with Abu Khuzaymah and with nobody else. Because, if the calling of witnesses had any other meaning, the 'non-availability' of the *Surat al-Bara' ah* for Zayd does not make any sense, as Zayd had collected and memorized the whole Quran, having learnt it from the Prophet (S). Zayd accepted Abu Khuzaymah's word, since the Prophet (S) had considered his testimony to be equivalent to that of two witnesses. But the verse of *al-rajm* (stoning) brought by 'Umar was not written by Zayd as he alone had brought it.

Moreover, according to some traditions, a collection of the Quran written on pieces of palm branches, silk and scapulae was preserved in the Prophet's house. This later 'collecting' of the Quran involved the gathering together of the verses that were written previously on scapulae, on palm branches and white stone tablets and their copying on *adim*, i.e. sheets of tanned sheepskin. Ibn Hajar reports 'Ammarah ibn

Ghaziyah to have stated that Zayd ibn Thabit said: “Abu Bakr ordered me to write the Quran on pieces of adim. These suhuf were with Abu Bakr until God caused him to die. After that they were with ‘Umar during his lifetime, and after that they remained with his daughter, Hafsa.

It is reported that ‘Umar said: “Our codices (masahif) should not be dictated except by the youths of Quraysh and Thaqif”, and ‘Uthman said: “Take those who dictate from the tribe of Hudhayl and the scribes from Thaqif. (77)

II. The Quran During the Reign of ‘Uthman:

It was mentioned earlier that some words of the Quran were read differently by the Sahabah; that is, they substituted different synonyms while reciting – like, *imdi* and *isri*, ‘*ajjil and asri*’, *akhhir* and *amhil*, etc. ‘Umar read: فَامضُوا إِلَىٰ ذِكْرِ اللَّهِ, Anas read: إِنَّ نَاشِئَةَ اللَّيْلِ هِيَ أَسَدٌ وَطَنًا and وَأَصَوَّبٌ قَبْلًا. and this difference in reading did not change the meaning of the Quran in their view, and for this reason the Prophet (S) had also approved of their reading in spite of the change in words. After the Prophet (S), these differences increased during the days of Abu Bakr and assumed such serious dimensions during ‘Uthman’s reign that teachers and pupils quarrelled over them, and *qurra*’ and huffaz of the Quran, in Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Armenia and Azarbayjan differed from one another. These differences also increased as a result of various factors that caused linguistic changes, such as cohabitation of Arabs with non-Arab nations or with non-Mudari Arabs. This situation was a matter for concern and alarm. At that time, an eminent Companion, Hudhayfah ibn al-Yaman (78) expressed his profound concern about its disastrous effects if allowed to continue. In those days, he was engaged with the Iraqis in war against the Syrians for the conquest of Armenia and Azarbayjan. Al-Bukhari has narrated (the author of *al-Fihrist* also confirms this narration (79) from Ibrahim, from ibn Shihab, that Anas ibn Malik told him that Hudhayfah ibn al-Yaman came to ‘Uthman (who according to *al-Fihrist* was in Iraq at that time) when he was fighting along with the people of Iraq against the Syrians for the conquest of Armenia and Azarbayjan. Hudhayfah was frightened at the differences in the people’s reciting of the Quran. He said to ‘Uthman: “Rise to the rescue of this Ummah before they fall into disagreements about the Scripture like the Jews and Christians”. ‘Uthman then sent someone to Hafsa asking her to send the copy that was with her, and it was to be returned to her later on. Hafsa sent it to ‘Uthman, who ordered Zayd ibn Thabit, ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr, Sa‘id ibn al-‘As and ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Harith ibn Hisham to make several codices. ‘Uthman instructed the three Qurayshis that in case of any difference between Zayd ibn Thabit and themselves they should write it in the dialect of the Quraysh, since

the Quran had come down in their dialect (80).

According to some trustworthy narrations, when 'Uthman decided to prepare the codices of the Quran, he gathered twelve individuals from among the Quraysh and Ansar. Ibn Abi Dawud reports from Muhammad ibn Sirin, from Kathir ibn Aflah who said: "When 'Uthman decided on preparing standard codices of the Quran, he gathered twelve individuals from among the Quraysh and Ansar and sent for the chest that was kept in 'Umar's house. When it was brought, 'Uthman told them that if they could not settle upon a certain thing they should wait before taking decision about it." Muhammad says that they would postpone something until they were sure that it was part of the previous presentation before the Prophet (S). In any case, they performed the work of writing according to 'Uthman's advice.

Ibn Hajar says: "The Sahabah unanimously agreed upon it that whatever was presented in the last version presented to the Prophet (S) should be written and the rest should be left out. (81)

This statement of Ibn Hajar is borne out by a tradition reported by al-Bukhari from Kharijah ibn Zayd ibn Thabit that the latter said: "While preparing the codices of the Quran, one verse of the *Surat al-Ahزاب* which I had heard from the Prophet (S) could not be found. When searched, we found it with Khuzaymah ibn Thabit al-'Ansari: مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ رِجَالٌ صَدَقُوا مَا عَاهَدُوا اللَّهَ عَلَيْهِ... We included it in its *surah* in the musaf." As can be gathered from this, it was their inquiry and quest that led them to discover the verse present in the final version recited before the Prophet (S) during his last days.

When the codices of the Quran were prepared, 'Uthman returned the original *mushaf* to Hafsa. Four codices were made, of which one remained with him. Of the three copies, one was sent to Basrah, one to Kufah, and another to Syria. He appointed Zayd ibn Thabit to teach the Quran to the people of Madinah from the Madani codex. 'Amir ibn Qays (82) was sent to Basrah with the copy that was sent there; Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Salami (83) was sent to Kufah with the codex sent to Kufah, and Mughirah ibn Shihab with the one that was sent to Syria.

Hence, the first collecting of the Quran was the recording of the verses as soon as they were revealed to the Prophet (S). They were recorded on materials that were customarily used by the Arabs for writing. This first collection was presented before the Prophet (S). The second 'collecting' of the Quran took place during the reign of Abu Bakr, when the collecting of the Quran involved its writing in a codex, on sheets of tanned leather. The third 'collecting' took place during the reign of 'Uthman, which made the Muslims to come together upon one reading.

In his book *Sa'd al-su'ud*, 'Ali ibn Muhammad al-Tawus al-'Alawi al-Fatimi, while quoting from the book of Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Mansur the *riwayah* narrated by Muhammad ibn Zayd ibn

about variations in the copies (*masahif*) of the Quran, mentions that Zayd ibn Thabit collected the Quran during Abu Bakr 's reign. Zayd was opposed in this matter by Ubayy ibn Ka'b, 'Abd Allah ibn Mas'ud, and Salim, the *mawla* of Abu Hudhayfah. Thereupon, 'Uthman started it all over again and had the Quran compiled according to the advice and approval of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (A). 'Uthman seized the copies of the Quran that were in possession of Ubayy, 'Abd Allah ibn Mas'ud and Salim, and had them washed clean. (84) 'Uthman had one codex of the Quran written for himself, one for the people of Madinah, one for the people of Basrah and one for the people of Syria. The Syrian codex was seen by Ibn Fadl Allah al-'Umari in the middle of the 8th/14th century. Describing the Mosque of Damascus, he says: "To the left side is placed the 'Uthmani codex in the handwriting of Amir al-Mu'minin 'Uthman." (85) Most probably that *mushaf* is the same as the one that was present in the Leningrad library and was later transferred to England.

In Dhu al-Hijjah 1353, I saw a manuscript of the Quran in Kufic script in the 'Alawi Library at al-Najaf, at the end of which was written: *كُتِبَهُ عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ فِي سَنَةِ أَرْبَعِينَ مِنَ الْهَجْرَةِ..* (It was written by 'Ali ibn Abi Talib in the fortieth year of Hijrah). Due to the close similarity between *Abu* and *Abi* in Kufic script, some people unawaring thought that it was written by علي بن أبو طالب

The statement of Ibn Tawus in his book Sa'a' *al-su'ud* that 'Uthman started all over again and compiled the Quran with the approval of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (A) is confirmed by al-Shahristani in the introduction to his tafsir. There he cites a tradition from Suwayd ibn 'Alqamah that he heard 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (A) saying:

O people, for God's sake, abstain from taking an extreme stand in the case of 'Uthman and refrain from calling him 'the burner of the *masahif*' By God, he did not burn them except in the presence of the Companions of the Prophet (S), whom we had gathered. He asked: "What is your advice regarding this reading, on which people differ: one man meets another and tells him that his own reading is superior to his; this situation will lead them to apostasy". We gave our opinion. He said: "I want to gather the people on one *mushaf*; because if you differ today, the difference will be severer among those who come after you." We agreed with him. Then 'Uthman sent for Zayd ibn Thabit and Sa'id ibn al-'As, asking one of them to write and the other to dictate. These two did not disagree regarding anything except for one letter in the *Surat al-Baqarah*; one of them said it should be 'التائوت', while the other said that it ought to be 'التائوة'. Thereupon, the reading of Zayd ibn Thabit was adopted, as he had been a scribe of the *wahy*.

Continued in Part 4

The History of the Qur'an Part 4

by 'Allamah Abu Abd Allah al-Zanjani

Translated from the Persian by Martyr Mahliqa Qara'i

III. The Order of Surahs in 'Ali's Mushaf:

Here we shall mention the order given to the **szirahs** in the copies of the Quran made by some of the eminent Sahabah and Tabi'un, as found in ancient trustworthy sources where they touch upon issues related to the history of the Quran. The different order given to the **surahs** by each one of them was according to his own *ijtihad*.

In *al-Fihrist*, Ibn al-Nadim reports from Ibn Munadi, he from al-Hasan ibn al-'Abbas from 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Abi Hammad, from al-Hakam ibn Zahir al-Sadusi, from 'Abd Khayr, that " 'Ali (A) saw ominous signs in the people at the time of the Prophet's demise. Thereupon he swore that he would not put off his mantle until he had collected the Quran. He sat at home for three days and collected the whole Quran. It was the first mushaf of the Quran, which 'Ali (A) had collected from his memory. That mushaf was with the family of Ja'far (R). In our own time I have seen a mushaf of the Quran with Abu Ya'la Hamzah al-Ijāsani, upon whom be God's mercy, which had some pages missing from it. It was written in the handwriting of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (A). The descendants of al-Hasan(A) had received it as a legacy from their ancestors."

The order of the **surahs** as given by this codex of the Quran was missing from the manuscript of *al-Fihrist* from which the Leipzig edition was printed (1871-72).

However, al-Ya'qubi, (86) in the second part of his history (Brill, 1883, pp. 152-154), cites the order of the **siirahs** in 'Ali's **mushaf**. Al-Ya'qubi states that some people have reported that 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (A) collected the Quran after the demise of the Prophet (S) and, bringing it on the back of a camel, declared, "This is the Quran which I have collected." He had divided it into seven *ajza'*, parts.

PART I
(Juz' al-Baqarah)

1. Al-Baqarah (2)
2. Yusuf (12)
3. Al-' Ankabut (29)
4. Al-Rim (30)
5. Luqman (31)
6. Ha-Mim al-Sajdah (41)
7. Al-Dhariyat (51)
8. Al-'Insan (al-Dahr)(76)
9. Al-Sajdah (32)
10. Al-Nazi'at (79)
11. Al-Takwir (81)
12. Al-' Infitar (82)
13. Al-' Inshiqaq (84)
14. Al-'A'la (87)
15. Al-Bayyinah (98)

PART II
(Juz' Al 'Imran)

1. Al 'Imran (3)
2. Hud (11)
3. Al-Hajj (22)
4. Al-Hijr (15)
5. Al-' Ahzab (33)
6. Al-Dukhan (44)
7. Al-Rahman (55)
8. Al-Haqqah (69)
9. Al-Ma' arij (70)
10. 'Abasa (80)
11. Al-Shams (91)
12. Al-Qadr (97)
13. Al-Zilzal (99)
14. Al-Humazah (104)
15. Al-Fil (105)
16. Quraysh (106)

PART III
(Juz' al-Nisa')

1. Al-Nisa (4)
2. Al-Nahl (16)
3. Al-Mu' minun (23)
4. Ya-Sin (36)
5. Al-Shura (42)
6. Al-Waqi' ah (56)
7. Al-Mulk (67)
8. Al-Muddaththir (74)
9. Al-Ma'un (107)
10. Al-Masad (111)
11. Al-' Ikhlas (112)
12. Al-' Asr (103)
13. Al-Qari' ah (101)
14. Al-Buruj (85)
15. Al-Tin (95)
16. Al-Naml (27)

PART IV
(Juz' al-Ma' idah)

1. Al-Ma' idah (5)
2. Yunus (10)
3. Maryam (19)
4. Al-Qasas (28)
5. Al-Shu' ara' (26)
6. Al-Zukhruf (43)
7. Al-Hujurat (49)
8. Qaf (50)
9. Al-Qamar (54)
10. Al-Mumtahanah (60)
11. Al-Tariq (86)
12. Al-Balad (90)
13. Al-' Inshirah (94)
14. Al-' Adiyat (100)
15. Al-Kawthar (108)
16. Al-Kafirun (109)

PART V
(Juz' al-' An' am)

1. Al-' An' am (6)
2. Al-' Isra (17)
3. Al-' Anbiya' (21)
4. Al-Furqdn (25)
5. Musa wa Fir'awn ()
6. Al-Mu'min (40)
7. Al-Mujadalah (58)
8. Al-Hashr (59)
9. Al-Jumu' ah (62)
10. Al-Munafiqun (63)
11. Al-Qalam (68)
12. Nuh (71)
13. Al-Jinn (72)
14. Al-Mursalat (77)
15. Wal-Duha (93)
16. Al-Takathur (102)

PART VI
(Juz'al-'A 'raf)

1. Al-'A 'raf (7)
2. Ibrahim (14)
3. Al-Kahf (18)
4. Al-Nur (24)
5. Sad (38)
6. Al-Zumar (39)
7. Al-Jathiyah (45)
8. Muhammad (47)
9. Al-Hadid (57)
10. Al-Muzzammil (73)
11. Al-Qiyamah (75)
12. Al-Naba' (78)
13. Al-Ghashiyah (88)
14. Al-Fajr (89)
15. Al-Layl (92)
16. Al-Nasr (110)

PART VII
(Juz' al-'Anfal)

1. Al-' Anfal (8)
2. AZ-Barahh (9)
3. Ta-Ha (20)
4. Al-Mala' ikah (35)
5. Al-Saffat (37)
6. Al-' Ahqaf (46)

7. *Al-Fath* (48)
8. *Al-Tur* (52)
9. *Al-Najm* (53)
10. *Al-Saff* (61)
11. *Al-Taghabun* (64)
12. *Al-Talaq* (65)
13. *Al-Mutaffifin* (83)
14. & 15. *Al-Mu'awwidhatan*
(*Al-Falaq* & *al-Nas*)
(113 & 114) (87)

IV. The Order of Surahs in Ubayy's Mushaf

Ibn al-Nadim (88) reports from al-Fadl ibn Shadhan, who said, "I have been informed by one of our *thiqah* (trustworthy) companions that at the distance of two parasangs from Basrah in a village known as Qaryat al-'Ansar, there was a compilation of the **surahs** in the possession of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-'Ansari, who showed the **mushaf** to us, saying: 'This is the **mushaf** of Ubayy, which we have narrated from our ancestors.' I examined it and copied from it the commencing and ending parts of the **surahs** and the number of the verses." The order of the **surahs** given by Ibn al-Nadim's source is as follows: (89)

- | | | |
|---|--|------------------------------|
| 1. "Al-Fatihah (1) | 27. Al-Mu'min (40) | 51. Q a f (5 0) |
| 2. Al-Baqarah (2) | 28. Al-Ra'd (13) | 52. Al-Rahman (55) |
| 3. Al-Nisa' (4) | 29. Ta-Sin-Mim, Al-Qasas
(28) | 53. Al-Waqi' ah (56) |
| 4. Al 'Imran (3) | 30. Ta-Sin Sulayman (27) | 54. Al-Jinn (72) |
| 5. AL' An' am (6) | 31. Saba' (34) | 55. Al-Najm (53) |
| 6. Al-'A 'raf (7) | 32. Al-Saffat (37) | 56. Al-Qalam (68) |
| 7. Al-Ma' idah (5) | 33. Dawud (38) (Sad) | 57. Al-Haqqah (69) |
| 8. The one about which
I am uncertain .(sic) | 34. Y&Sin (36) | 58. Al-Hashr (59) |
| 9. Yunus (10) | 35. Al-Hijr (15) | 59. Al-Mumtahanah (60) |
| 10. Al-' Anfal (8) | 36. Al-Shura (42) | 60. Al-Mursalat (77) |
| 11. Al-Tawbah (9) | 37. Al-Rum (30) | 61. Al-Naba' (78) |
| 12. Hud (11) | 38. Al-Zukhruf (43) | 62. Al-'Insan (al-Dahr) (76) |
| 13. Maryam (19) | 39. Ha-Mim al-Sajdah (41) | 63. Al-Balad (90) |
| 14. Al-Shu'ard' (26) | 40. Ibrahim (14) | 64. Al-Takwir (81) |
| 15. Al-Hajj (22) | 41. Al-Mala'ikah (35) | 65. Al-Nazi'at (79) |
| 16. Yusuf (12) | 42. Al-Fath (48) | 66. 'Abasa (80) |
| 17. Al-Kahf (18) | 43. Muhammad (S) (47) | 67. Al-Mutaffifin (83) |
| 18. Al-Nahl (16) | 44. Al-Hadid (57) | 68. Al-' Inshiqaq (84) |
| 19. Al-'Alza'b (33) | 45. Al-Zihar, (90) (al-
Mujadalah) (58) | 69. Al-Tin (95) |
| 20. Banu Isra'il (17) | 46. Tabarak (67) | 70. Al-'Alaq (96) |
| 21. Al-Zumar (39) | 47. Al-Furqan (25) | 71. Al-Hujurat (49) |
| 22. Al-Sajdah (32) | 48. Alif-Lam-Mim Tanzil
(32) | 72. Al-Munafiqun (63) |
| 23. Ta-Ha (20) | 49. Nuh (71) | 73. Al-Jumu' ah (62) |
| 24. Al-'Anbiya' (21) | 50. Al-Ahqaf (46) | 74. Al-Nabi |
| 25. Al-Nur (24) | | 75. Al-Fajr (89) |
| 26. Al-Mu' minun (23) | | 76. Al-Mulk (67) |
| | | 77. Al-Layl (92) |

- | | | |
|------------------------|--|-----------------------|
| 78. Al-' Infitar (82) | 88. Al-Qari' ah (101) | 97. Al-Tin (95) |
| 79. Al-Shams (91) | 89. Al-Takathur (102) | 98. Al-Kawthar (108) |
| 80. Al-Burtij (85) | 90. Al-Khal', 3 verses () | 99. Al-Qadr (97) |
| 81. Al-Tariq (86) | 91. Al-Jid (111), 6 verses | 100. Al-Kafirun (109) |
| 82. Al-' A'la (87) | 92. Allahuma iyyaka na'-
budu until bil-kuffar. | 101. Al-Nasr (110) |
| 83. Al-Ghashiyah (88) | 93. Al-Lumazah (104) | 102. Abu Lahab (111) |
| 84. 'Abasa (80) | 94. Al-Zilzal (99) | 103. Qumysh (106) |
| 85. Al-Saff (61) | 95. Al-' Adiyat (100) | 104. Al-Samad (112) |
| 86. Al-Duha (93) | 96. Al-Fil (105) | 105. Al-Falaq (113) |
| 87. Al-' Inshirah (94) | | 106. Al-Nas (114) |

This makes up one hundred and sixteen surahs

V. The Order of Surahs in Ibn Mas'ud' s Mushaf:

Ibn al-Nadim reports al-Fadl ibn Shadhan to have said that he saw the *mushaf* of the Quran made by 'Abd Allah ibn Mas'ud (d.32 or 33/ 652-3 or 653-4) with the **surahs** of the Quran placed in the following order:(91)

- | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. 'Al-Baqarah (2) | 31. Sad (38) | 59. Al-Mumtahanah (60) |
| 2. Al-Nisa' (4) | 32. Alladhina Kafaru (47) | 60. Al-Tahrim (66) |
| 3. Al 'Imran (3) | 33. Al-Qamar (54) | 61. Al-Rahmdn (55) |
| 4. Al-' A' raf (7) | 34. Al-Zumar (39) | 62. Al-Najm (53) |
| 5. Al-'An ' am (6) | 35. Al-Hawamim al-
Musabbihat () | 63. Al-Dhariyat (51) |
| 6. Al-Ma' idah (5) | 36. Al-Mu' mi n (40) | 64. Al-Tur (52) |
| 7. Yun us (10) | 37. Al-Zukhruf (43) | 65. Iqtambat al-Sa' ah (54) |
| 8. Al-Bara'ah (9) | 38. Al-Sajda h(32) | 66. Al-Haqqah (69) |
| 9. Al-Nahl (16) | 39. Al-' Ahqaf (46) | 67. Al-Wtiq'ah (56) |
| 10. Hud (11) | 40. Al-Jathiyah (45) | 68. Al-Qalam (68) |
| 11. Yusuf (12) | 41. Al-Dukhn (44) | 69. Al-Nazi'at (79) |
| 12. Banu Isra'il (17) | 42. Inna Fatahna (48) | 70. Al-Ma' arij (70) |
| 13. Al-'Anbiya' (21) | 43. Al-Hadid (57) | 71. Al-Muddaththir (74) |
| 14. Al-Mu' minun (23) | 44. Sabbaha () | 72. Al-Muzzammil(73) |
| 15. Al-Shu' ara' (26) | 45. Al-Hashr (59) | 73. Al- Muta'ffifin (83) |
| 16. Al-Saffat (37) | 46. Tanzil (39) | 74. 'Abasa (80) |
| 17. Al-' Ahzab (33) | 47. Al-Sajdah (3) | 75. Al-' Insan (76) |
| 18. Al-Qasas (28) | 48. Qaf (50) | 76. Al-Qiyama h (75) |
| 19. Al-Nur (24) | 49. Al-Talaq (65) | 77. Al-Naba (78) |
| 20. Al-' Anfal (8) | 50. Al-Hujurat (49) | 78. Al-Takwir (81) |
| 21. Maryam (19) | 51. Tabarakalladhi,al-Mulk
(67) | 79. Al-' Infitar (82) |
| 22. Al-'Ankabit (29) | 52. Al-Taghdhun (64) | 80. Al-Ghashiyah (88) |
| 23. Al-Rum (30) | 53. Al-Munafiqun (63) | 81. Al-' A' la (87) |
| 24. Ya-Sin (36) | 54. Al-Jumu'ah(64) | 82. Al-Layl (92) |
| 25. Al-Furqan (25) | 55. Al-Saff (61) | 83. Al-Fajr (89) |
| 26. Al-Hajj (22) | 56. Al-Jinn (72) | |
| 27. Al-Ra' d (13) | 57. Nuh (71) | 85. Al-' Inshiqaq (84) |
| 28. Saba' (34) | 58. Al-Mujadalah (58) | 86. Al-'Alaq (96) |
| 29. Mala' ikah (35) | | 87. Al-Balad (90) |
| 30. Ibrahim (14) | | 88. Al-Duha (93) |

- | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 89. Al-' Inshirah (94) | 96. Al-Tin (95) | 103. Al-Nasr (110) |
| 90. Al-Tariq (86) | 97. Al-Humazah (104) | 104. Al-Kawthar (108) |
| 91. Al-' Adiyat (100) | 98. Al-Fil (105) | 105. Al-Kafirun (109) |
| 92. Al-Ma'un (107) | 99. Quraysh (106) | 106. Al-Masad (113) |
| 93. Al-Qari'ah (101) | 100. Al-Takathur (102) | 107. Al-' Ikhlas (112) |
| 94. Al-Bayyinah (98) | 101. Al-Qadr (97) | |
| 95. Al-Shams (91) | 102. Al-' Asr (103) | |

This makes one hundred and ten *surahs*. ”

Ibn al-Nadim goes on to say: “According to another *riwayah*, *al-Tur* is mentioned before *al-Dhariyat*. Al-Fadl ibn Shadhan says that Ibn Sirin said that ‘Abd Allah ibn Mas‘ud would not write *al-Mu‘awwidhatan* (i.e. *al-Falaq* and *al-Nas*), nor *al-Fatihah*. Al-Fadl has also reported with his *isnad* from *al-‘A‘mash* that he said: ‘It is حمص (92) in the reading of ‘Abd Allah.’”

Ibn al-Nadim continues: “Muhammad ibn Ishaq says that he saw several *masahif* of the Quran described by their scribes as belonging to Ibn Mas‘ud; but no two copies tallied with each other and many of them were written on parchment in the *Naskhi* script. He further says that he also saw such a *mushaf* which was more than two centuries old and contained *Fatihah al-Kitab* also. Al-Fadl ibn Shadhan was one of the great scholars of the Quran (*ahad al-‘a‘immah fi al-Qur‘an*) and *riwayat*. It is for this reason that we have quoted him her.” (93)

VI. The Order of Surahs in Ibn ‘Abbas’ s Mushaf:

We find in history and tradition that ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Abbas, (d.68/687), (94) the illustrious Companion of the Prophet (S), had specialty in the exposition of the Quran. He had close contacts with ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib (A), and whatever has been reported from him in regard to the Quran is of immense value.

Ibn Tawus, (95) in his book *Sa‘d al-su‘ud*, states that it is well known among Muslims that Ibn ‘Abbas was a pupil of ‘Ali (A). Muhammad ibn ‘Umar al-Razi writes in his *al-‘Arba‘in* that “Ibn ‘Abbas, the master of exegetes (*ra‘is al-mufussirin*), was a pupil of ‘Ali ibn Abi ‘Talib (A)“. It is for this distinction of his that we quote here the order of *surahs* in his *mushaf*, as mentioned by al-Shahristani in the introduction to his exegesis, and he is a trustworthy source.

- | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Al-‘Alaq (96) | 7. Abu Lahab (111) | 13. Al-Rahman (55) |
| 2. Al-Qalam (68) | 8. Al-Takwir (81) | 14. Al-‘Asr (103) |
| 3. Al-Duha (93) | 9. Al-‘Ala (87) | 15. Al-Kawthar (108) |
| 4. Al-Muzzammil(73) | 10. Al-Layl (92) | 16. AZ-Takdthur (102) |
| 5. Al-Muddaththir (74) | 11. Al-Fa,jr (89) | 17. Al-Din (107) |
| 6. Al-Fatihah (1) | 12. Al-‘ Inshirah (94) | 18. Al-Fil (105) |

19. *Al-Kafirun* (109)
20. *Al-Ikhlās* (112)
21. *Al-Najm* (53)
22. *Al-'A'ma* (80)
23. *Al-Qadr* (97)
24. *Al-Shams* (91)
25. *Al-Burūj* (85)
26. *Al-Tin* (95)
27. *Quraysh* (106)
28. *Al-Qari'ah* (101)
29. *Al-Qiyamah* (75)
30. *Al-Humazah* (104)
31. *Al-Mursakit* (77)
32. *Qaf* (50)
33. *Al-Balad* (90)
34. *Al-Tariq* (86)
35. *Al-Qamar* (54)
36. *Sad* (38)
37. *Al-'A'raf* (7)
38. *Al-Jinn* (72)
39. *Ya-Sin* (36)
40. *Al-Furqan* (25)
41. *Al-Mala'ikah* (35)
42. *Maryam* (19)
43. *Ta-Ha* (20)
44. *Al-Shu'ara'* (20)
45. *Al-Naml* (27)
46. *Al-Qasas* (28)
47. *Banī Isrā'il* (17)
48. *Yunus* (10)
49. *Hud* (11)
50. *Yusuf* (12)
51. *Al-Hijr* (15)
52. *Al-'An'am* (6)
53. *Al-Saffat* (37)
54. *Luqman* (31)
55. *Saba'* (34)
56. *Al-Zumar* (39)
57. *Al-Mu'min* (40)
58. *Ha-Mim al-Sajdah* (41)
59. *Al-Shura* (42)
60. *Al-Zukhruf* (43)
61. *Al-Dukhan* (44)
62. *Al-Jathiyah* (45)
63. *Al-'Ahqaf* (46)
64. *Al-Dhariyat* (51)
65. *Al-Ghashiyah* (88)
66. *Al-Kahf* (18)
67. *Al-Nahl* (16)
68. *Nuh* (71)
69. *Ibrahim* (14)
70. *Al-'Anbiya'* (21)
71. *Al-Mu'minun* (23)
72. *Al-Ra'd* (13)
73. *Al-Tur* (52)
74. *Al-Mulk* (67)
75. *Al-Haqqah* (69)
76. *Al-Ma'arij* (70)
77. *Al-Nisa'* (4)
78. *Al-Naziat* (79)
79. *Al-Infitar* (82)
80. *Al-'Inshiqaq* (84)
81. *Al-Rum* (30)
82. *Al-'Ankabtit* (29)
83. *Al-Mutaffifin* (83)
84. *Al-Baqarah* (2)
85. *Al-'Anfal* (8)
86. *Al-'Imran* (3)
87. *Al-Hashr* (59)
88. *Al-'Ahzab* (33)
89. *Al-Nur* (24)
90. *Al-Mumtahanah* (60)
91. *Al-Fath* (48)
92. *Al-Nisa'* (4)
93. *Al-Zilzal* (99)
94. *Al-Hajj* (22)
95. *Al-Hadid* (57)
96. *Muhammad* (S) (47)
97. *Al-'Insan* (76)
98. *Al-Talaq* (65)
99. *Lam Yakun* (98)
100. *Al-Jumu'ah* (62)
101. *Al-Sajdah* (32)
102. *Al-Munafiqun* (63)
103. *Al-Mujadalah* (58)
104. *Al-Hujurat* (49)
105. *Al-Tahrim* (66)
106. *Al-Taghabun* (64)
107. *Al-Saff* (61)
108. *Al-Ma'idah* (5)
109. *Al-Tawbah* (9)
110. *Al-Nasr* (110)
111. *Al-Waqi'ah* (56)
112. *Al-'Adiyat* (100)
113. *Al-Falaq* (113)
114. *Al-Nas* (114)

VII. The order of Surahs in the Mushaf of al-'Imam al-Sadiq (A):

Al-Shahristani in the introduction to his exegesis gives the following order (96) of *surahs* in the mushaf of al-'Imam Abu 'Abd Allah Ja'far ibn Muhammad al-Sadiq (A):

1. *Al-'Alaq* (96)
2. *Al-Qalam* (68)
3. *Al-Muzzammil* (73)
4. *Al-Muddaththir* (74)
5. *Abu Lahab* (111)
6. *Al-Takwir* (81)
7. *Al-'Ala* (87)
8. *Al-Layl* (92)
9. *Al-Fajr* (89)
10. *Al-Duha* (93)
11. *Al-'Inshirah* (94)
12. *Al-'Asr* (103)
13. *Al-'Adiyat* (100)
14. *Al-Kawthar* (108)
15. *Al-Takathur* (102)
16. *Al-Din* (107)
17. *Al-Kafirun* (109)
18. *Al-Fil* (105)
19. *Al-Falaq* (113)
20. *Al-Nas* (114)
21. *Al-'Ikhlas* (112)
22. *Al-Najm* (53)
23. *Al-'A'ma* (80)
24. *Al-Qadr* (97)
25. *Al-Shams* (91)
26. *Al-Buruj* (85)
27. *AZ-Tin* (95)
28. *Quraysh* (106)
29. *Al-Qari'ah* (101)
30. *Al-Qiyamah* (75)
31. *Al-Humazah* (104)
32. *Al-Mursalat* (77)
33. *Qaf* (50)
34. *Al-Balad* (90)
35. *Al-Tariq* (86)
36. *Al-Qamar* (54)

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 37. <i>Sad</i> (38) | 63. <i>Al-Dukhan</i> (44) | 89. <i>Al-' Ahzab</i> (33) |
| 38. <i>Al-' A' raf</i> (7) | 64. <i>Al-Jathiyah</i> (45) | 90. <i>Al-Mumtahanah</i> (60) |
| 39. <i>Al-Jim</i> (72) | 65. <i>Al-' Ahqaf</i> (46) | 91. <i>Al-Nisa</i> (4) |
| 40. <i>Ya-Sin</i> (36) | 66. <i>Al-Dhariydt</i> (51) | 92. <i>Al-Zilzal</i> (99) |
| 41. <i>Al-Furqdn</i> (25) | 67. <i>Al-Ghashiyah</i> (88) | 93. <i>Al-Hadid</i> (57) |
| 42. <i>Al-Mala'ikah</i> (35) | 68. <i>Al-Kahf</i> (18) | 94. <i>Muhammad</i> (47) |
| 43. <i>Maryam</i> (19) | 69. <i>Al-Nahl</i> (16) | 95. <i>Al-Ra'd</i> (13) |
| 44. <i>Ta-Ha'</i> (20) | 70. <i>Nuh</i> (71) | 96. <i>Al-Rahman</i> (55) |
| 45. <i>Al-Waqi' ah</i> (56) | 71. <i>Ibrahim</i> (14) | 97. <i>Al-'Insan</i> (76) |
| 46. <i>Al-Shu' ara'</i> (26) | 72. <i>Al-'Anbiya'</i> (21) | 98. <i>Al-Talaq</i> (65) |
| 47. <i>Al-Naml</i> (27) | 73. <i>Al-Mu'minin</i> (23) | 99. <i>Lam Yakun</i> (98) |
| 48. <i>Al-Qasas</i> (28) | 74. <i>Al-Sajdah</i> (32) | 100. <i>Al-Hashr</i> (59) |
| 49. <i>Banzi Isra'il</i> (17) | 75. <i>Al-Tur</i> (52) | 101. <i>Al-Nasr</i> (110) |
| 50. <i>Yunus</i> (10) | 76. <i>Al-Mulk</i> (67) | 102. <i>Al-Nur</i> (24) |
| 51. <i>Hud</i> (11) | 77. <i>Al-Haqqah</i> (69) | 103. <i>Al-Hajj</i> (22) |
| 52. <i>Yusuf</i> (12) | 78. <i>Al-Ma'irij</i> (70) | 104. <i>Al-Munafiqun</i> (63) |
| 53. <i>Al-Hijr</i> (15) | 79. <i>Al-Naba'</i> (78) | 105. <i>Al-Mujadhalha</i> (58) |
| 54. <i>Al-'An'am</i> (6) | 80. <i>Al-Nazi'at</i> (79) | 106. <i>Al-Hujurat</i> (49) |
| 55. <i>Al-Saffat</i> (37) | 81. <i>Al-'Infitar</i> (82) | 107. <i>Al-Tahrim</i> (66) |
| 56. <i>Luqman</i> (31) | 82. <i>Al-'Inshiqaq</i> (84) | 108. <i>Al-Saff</i> (61) |
| 57. <i>Saba'</i> (34) | 83. <i>Al-Rum</i> (30) | 109. <i>Al-Jumu'ah</i> (62) |
| 58. <i>Al-Zumar</i> (39) | 84. <i>Al-'Ankabut</i> (29) | 110. <i>Al-Taghabun</i> (64) |
| 59. <i>Al-Mu'min</i> (40) | 85. <i>Al-Mutaffifin</i> (83) | 111. <i>Al-Fath</i> (48) |
| 60. <i>Ha-Mim al-Sajda</i> (41) | 86. <i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2) | 112. <i>Al-Tawbah</i> (9) |
| 61. <i>Al-Shura</i> (42) | 87. <i>Al-'Anfal</i> (8) | 113. <i>Al-Ma'idah</i> (5) |
| 62. <i>Al-Zukhruf</i> (43) | 88. <i>Al-'Imran</i> (3) | |

The different arrangements of surahs in the *masahif* of the *Sahabah* indicate that the order given to them depended on the *ijtihad* of the *Sahabah* and the compilers, as opposed to the order of the verses which were arranged by the command of the Prophet (S). It is apparent from the narrations that the Quran was written on pieces of palm branches, stone tablets and scapulae in the presence of the Prophet (S), and these were separate from one another, unlike the pages of the sheets of parchment of the codices written during the second and the third collecting. It is certain that the collectors and compilers of the Quran should have evolved certain signs for distinguishing the earlier **surahs** from the later ones, in the same way as we today use numerical alphabetical signs for this purpose.

Here it is worth mentioning that Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karim al-Shahristani, quoting from *al-'Istighna'* in the introduction to his exegesis **Mafatih al-'asrar wa masabih al-'abrar**, cites a *riwayah* of Sa'id ibn Jubayr and Yahya ibn al-Harith al-Dhimari that the Quranic verse: **وَلَقَدْ آتَيْنَاكَ سَبْعًا مِّنَ التَّائِبَاتِ** 'And We have given them seven of the oft-repeated' (15:87) alludes to the seven lengthy **surahs** that is: **al-Baqarah, Al-'Imran, al-Nisa, al-Ma'idah, al-'An'am, al-'A'raf** and **Yunus**. The verse, when read in the light of the *riwayah* indicates that the verses of these seven **surahs** were already arranged with the Prophet's (S) direction, so

that the fact was referred to in the verse.

VIII. The Seven Famous Qurra (97)

1. Nafi' al-Madani, ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Abi Nu' aym al-Laythi (c. 70-169/689-785): He learnt the reading of the Quran from approximately seventy individuals from among the **Tabi'un**, among them Abu Ja'far Yazid ibn al-Qa'qa', 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Hurmuz al-'A'raj, Yazid ibn Ruman, Muslim ibn Jundab, and Shaybah ibn Nassah Al-'A'raj was taught by 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abbas and Abu Hurayrah, and Ibn 'Abbas and Abu Hurayrah had learnt the **qira'ah** of the Quran from Ubayy ibn Ka'b, and Ubayy had learnt from the Prophet (S).

... Originally from Isfahan, ...he was an authority in **qira'ah** at Madinah and its leading teacher of **qira'ah**. After the era of the **Tabi'un**, the people gathered around him and he taught **qira'ah** for more than seventy years.

Sa'id ibn Mansur says that he heard Malik ibn Anas say that the **qira'ah** of the people of Madinah was **sunnah**. Asked whether he meant the **qira'ah** of Nafi', he answered in the affirmative.

'Abd Allah ibn Ahmad ibn Hanbal says that when he asked his father as to which **qira'ah** he liked most, he said, "The **qira'ah** of the people of Madinah." When asked about his next choice, he said, "The **qira'ah** of 'Asim." (The sign for Nafi's **qira'ah** is). Qalun and Warsh were the two narrators of his **qira'ah**.

(a) Qalun, Abu Musa Isa ibn Mina (120-220/738-835), studied under Nafi' for fifty years, and was closely attached to him. It is said that he was Nafi's wife's son. He was called 'Qalun' because of his superb **qira'ah**, for **qalun** means 'beautiful' in the Greek language (kalos=beautiful). Qalun was the **qari'** of Madinah and its grammarian, and it is said of him that he was hard of hearing, to the extent that he could not hear the sound of a trumpet; but when the Quran was recited to him he could hear it. He himself states: "I read the Quran several times to Nafi' and wrote his **qira'ah**. Nafi' said to me: 'How long will you be my pupil in **qira'ah**? Sit beside a column and I will send pupils to learn **qira'ah** from you.'" (His **qira'ah** is indicated by the sign ب.)

(b) Warsh, 'Uthman ibn Sa'id al-Misri (110-197/728-812): His **kunyuh** was Abu Sa'id -also said to be Abu 'Amr or Abu al-Qasim- and Warsh was his **laqab** (nickname). He went to Madinah in 155/772 for learning **qira'ah** from Nafi' and completed several rounds of the **qira'ah** before him. After returning to Egypt, he became the accepted authority on **qira'ah** there and his command of the Arabic language and the science of **tajwid** was uncontested. He had a good voice and Yunus ibn 'Abd al-'A'la says of him, "Warsh's **qira'ah** was excellent and his voice was beautiful." He vocalized the **hamzah**, **madd** and **shaddah** and

pronounced the i‘rab (i.e. vowels) with such clarity that the listener was never wearied. (The sign for his *qira‘ah* is ح .)

2. Ibn Kathir al-Makki, Abu Ma‘bad ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn Kathir ibn ‘Umar ibn Zadan (45-120/665-738) learnt the *qira‘ah* from Abu al-Sayib ‘Abd Allah ibn Abi al-Sayib al-Makhzumi and ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Sayib had learnt it from Ubayy ibn Ka‘b, ‘Umar ibn al-Khattab and Ibn ‘Abbas, who had learnt the *qira‘ah* from the Prophet (S) and ‘Ali (A). (The sign for his *qira‘ah* is د .)

Ibn Kathir was the uncontested master of *qira‘ah* at Makkah. A man of eloquence, ...and of dignified demeanour, Ibn Kathir had met some *Sahabah* such as ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr, Abu Ayyub al-‘Ansari and Anas ibn Malik. Of the narrators of his *qira‘ah* are al-Bazzi and Qunbul.

(a) Al-Bazzi, Abu al-Hasan Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Qasim (170-250/786-864) was the *mu‘adhdhin*, imam and teacher of *qira‘ah* at the Masjid al-Haram. He learnt the *qira‘ah* from ‘Ikrimah ibn Sulayman al-Makki, and ‘Ikrimah had learnt it from Shibl and Shibl from Ibn Kathir.

An authority in *qira‘ah*, trustworthy and of safe memory, the chains of Makki tradition of *qira‘ah* end in al-Bazzi. (The sign for his *qira‘ah* is ه .)

(b) Qunbul, Abu ‘Amr Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman Khalid ibn Muhammad ibn al-Makhzumi al-Makki (195-291/810-904) his *kuniyah* was Abu ‘Amr and Qunbul was his *laqab*. He learnt the *qira‘ah* from Abu al-Hasan Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Awn al-Qawwas. Al-Qawwas had learnt the *qira‘ah* from Abu al-‘Akhrif and Abu al-‘Akhrif from al-Qist, who told him that he had learnt it from Shibl and Shibl was among the pupils of Ibn Kathir and had finished the *qira‘ah* in his presence.

Qunbul was an authority on *qira‘ah* and the leader of the Hijazi school of *qurra‘*. People used to come to him from all places. (The sign for his *qira‘ah* is و .)

3. Abu ‘Amr, Zabban ibn al-‘Ala’ ibn ‘Ammar al-Basri (68 or 70-164/687 or 689-771) learnt *qira‘ah* from a group of scholars including Abu Ja‘far Zayd ibn al-Qa‘qa’ and al-Hasan al-Basri. Al-Hasan al-Basri had learnt *qira‘ah* from Hatan and Abd al-‘Aliyah and the latter had learnt it from Ubayy ibn Ka‘b and ‘Umar ibn al-Kattab.

Abu ‘Amr was most able in *qira‘ah* and Arabic usage, in addition to being an honest and truthful narrator and a pious and trustworthy man. Once when al-Hasan happened to pass by him, he saw Abu ‘Amr surrounded by a great circle of devoted pupils. لا إله إلا الله, said al-Hasan, remarking that “Scholars were near to becoming gods (*arbab*)”, and that “Every honour that is not backed by learning reverts to degradation.”

It has been narrated from Sufyan ibn ‘Uyaynah that once he saw the Prophet (S) in his dream and said to him: “O Apostle of God, I find different kinds of reading. Whose **qira’ah** do you command me to follow?” The Prophet (S) said: “Follow the **qira’ah** of Abu ‘Amr ibn al-‘Ala’.” (The sign for his **qira’ah is** ﺝ.) The narrators of his **qira’ah are al-Duri** and al-Susi, who narrate from Abu ‘Amr through Yahya ibn Mubarak al-Yazidi (d.202/817)

(a) Al-Duri, Abu ‘Amr Hafsa ibn ‘Umar al-Muqri’ al-Darir (d.246/860). He belonged to al-Dur, a place to the east of Baghdad. He was an authority (imam) of the **qira’ah** during his own day and the chief of the **qura’** of his time. A highly trustworthy and precise narrator, he was the first to collect the different readings (**qira’at**) of the Quran. (The sign for his **qira’ah is** ﺝ.)

(b) Al-Susi, Abu Shu‘ayb Salih ibn Ziyad (d.261/874, at 90), belonged to Sus, the modern Shush, near Ahwaz. A trustworthy and precise teacher of **qira’ah**, he was one of the most eminent of al-Yazidi’s pupils. (The sign for his **qira’ah is** ﺏ.)

4. Ibn ‘Amir al-Tabi’i, ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Amir al-Yahsabi al-Dimashqi (8 or 21-118/629 or 642-736). Yahsabi was a subdivision of Himyar. His **kunyuh was** Abu Nu‘aym and some report that it was Abu ‘Imran. Ibn ‘Amir was the imam of the Mosque of Damascus and the city’s qadi. He was a **Tabi’i** and had met Wathilah ibn al-‘Asqa’ and al-Nu‘man ibn Bashir. Yahya ibn al-Harith al-Dhamari states that he had learnt the **qira’ah** from ‘Uthman, who had learnt it from the Prophet (S). He served as the imam of the Umayyad grand mosque in the reign of ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, and also before and after that period, and the caliph prayed behind him. It is enough to indicate his eminent position that he simultaneously held the offices of **imamah**, judgeship and authority on **qira’ah** at Damascus. During those days Damascus was the capital of the caliphate and a centre of scholars and **Tabi’un**. (The sign for his **qira’ah is** ﻱ.) The narrators of Ibn ‘Amir’s **qira’ah** were Hisham and Ibn Dhakwan.

(a) Hisham, Abu ‘Ammar ibn Nasir al-Salami (153-245/770-859) served as the **qadi** of Damascus. His **kunyuh was** Abu al-Walid. He had learnt the **qira’ah** of Ibn ‘Amir by oral presentation before ‘Arak ibn Khalid al-Mazzi, he from Yahya ibn al-Harith al-Dhamari, who had learnt it from Ibn ‘Amir. He was mufti, **muhaddith**, muqri’ (teacher of **qira’ah**) and **khatib** (preacher) of the people of Damascus, trustworthy and precise. ‘Abdan says that he heard him say: “I never repeated a sermon in twenty years.” (The sign for his **qira’ah is** ﺩ.)

(b) Ibn Dhakwan, ‘Abd Allah Ahmad ibn Bashir ibn Dhakwan al-Qarashi al-Dimashqi (173-242/789-856) known by his **kunyuh** Abu ‘Amr, had learnt Ibn ‘Amir’s **qira’ah** from Ayyub ibn Tamim, who had learnt it from Yahya ibn al-Harith al-Dhamari, who in turn had learnt

it from Ibn 'Amir himself. The chair of iqra' (teaching of **qira'ah**) reached him after Ayyub ibn Tamim. Abu Zar'ah al-Hafiz al-Dimashqi states that throughout the Iraq, the Hijaz, Syria, Egypt and Khurasan no qari' of the Quran excelled him. (The sign for his **qira'ah** is ل .)

5. Abu Bakr, 'Asim ibn Abi al-Najud ibn Bihdalah al-'Asadi al-Kufi (76-127 or 128/695-744-5 or 745-6) **mawla** of Banu Khuzaymah ibn Malik ibn al-Nadr, had learnt the **qira'ah** under Abd 'Abd al-Rahman 'Abd Allah ibn Habib al-Salami, and Abu 'Abd al-Rahman had learnt under 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (A), Ubayy ibn Ka'b, 'Abd Allah ibn Mas'ud, Zayd ibn Thabit and 'Uthman. Eloquent, well-versed in **tahrir** and tajwid, he recited the Quran in a beautiful voice. 'Abd Allah ibn Ahmad ibn Hanbal says that asked about 'Asim his father told him that 'Asim was a man of right conduct (salih) and reliable (**thiqah**). Ibn 'Ayyash states that when he visited 'Asim at the time of his death, he was repeating the verse: . . . ثُمَّ رُدُّوا إِلَى اللَّهِ فَمَوْلَاهُمُ الْحَقُّ. . . , 'Then they were returned to their real Master! (6:62) (The sign for his **qira'ah** is م). The narrators of his **qira'ah** were Abu Bakr, Shu'bah and Hafs.

(a) Abu Bakr, Shu'bah ibn 'Ayyash ibn Salim al-'Asadi al-Kufi (95-193/713-808), his name is also said to be Muhammad or Mutriq. He was an authority and a great scholar. It is said that when at the time of his death his sister began to weep, he said to her, "Why do you cry? Look at that corner wherein I have read (**khatamtu**) the Quran eighteen thousand times." (The sign of his **qira'ah** is ن .)

(b) Hafs, Abu 'Amr ibn Sulayman ibn al-Mughirah al-Bazzaz al-'Asadi (90-180/709-796). He learnt **qira'ah** from 'Asim, five verses at a time, as a child learns from a teacher. He was the ablest of 'Asim's pupils in the **qira'ah** of the Quran and a scholar of deeds ('**aliman 'amilan**). He was 'Asim's wife's son.

According to Yahya ibn Mu'in, the trustworthy **riwayah** about the **qira'ah** of 'Asim is that of Hafs (The sign for his **qira'ah** is س .)

6. Hamzah ibn Habib ibn 'Umarah al-Zayyat al-Taymi al-Kufi (80-156/699-773). **mawla** of 'Ikrimah ibn Rib'i al-Taymi, Abu 'Umarah was his **kunyah**. He learnt the **qira'ah** under Abu Muhammad Sulayman ibn Mihran al-'A'mash, and al-'A'mash from Abu Muhammad Yahya ibn Waththab al-'Asadi, and Yahya from Abu Shibl 'Alqamah ibn Qays, and 'Alqamah from 'Abd Allah ibn Mas'ud, who had learnt the **qira'ah** from the Prophet (S). He was Kufah's leading authority on **qira'ah** after 'Asim and al-'A'mash. He was trustworthy (as a narrator) and an authority on the Quran, well-versed in **tajwid, fara'id** (precepts), Arabic literary sciences and good at remembering traditions by heart. He was pious and humble, devout, ascetic and obedient to God, a man whose peer could not be found. He used to bring oil from Iraq to Hulwan and exported its cheese and walnuts to Kufah. Abu Hanifah once told him: "You have beaten us in two matters in which we cannot

compete with you: the Quran and the *faraid*" His teacher al-'A'mash used to say when his eyes fell on him: "Here comes the rabbi (**habr**) of the Quran" and Hamzah himself stated: "I have not recited a single word from the Book of God without the help of a tradition". (The sign for his **qira'ah** is ع) The narrators of his **qira'ah** are Khalaf and Khallad, who have narrated from him through Salim.

(a) Khalaf, Abu Muhammad ibn Khalaf ibn Hisham ibn Talib al-Bazzaz al-Kufi (150-229/767--843), had learnt the Quran by heart at the age of twenty, having started his education while he was thirteen. He was a scholar and an authority, a trustworthy narrator and a devout and pious man.(The sign for his qira' ah is ف .)

(b) Khallad, Abu 'Isa ibn Khalid al-Sayrafi al-Kufi (142-220/760-835), was an authority in the **qira'ah**, trustworthy (as a narrator) and had mastery in the science of **tajwid**. Al-Dani says that he was the most precise (adbat) of all the pupils of Salim and the most eminent of them. (The sign for his **qira'ah** is ص .)

7. Al-Kisa'i, Abu al-Hasan 'Ali ibn Hamzah al-Nahwi al-Kufi (119-189/737-805) was of Persian descent and from the Sawad of Iraq. When asked as to why he was given the name Kisa'i, he answered that he was called so because he had used a **kisa'** (a linen sheet) for **ihram**. Al-Kisa'i studied **qira'ah** under Hamzah and was trusted by him. He completed four recitals of the Quran in his presence. He also studied under Muhammad ibn Abi Layla and 'Isa ibn 'Umar, and 'Isa ibn 'Umar had studied under 'Asim. He was the most learned in the Quran among the scholars of his time and an authority on its qira'ah.

Abu Bakr ibn al-'Anbari says of him, "Al-Kisa'i had gathered in himself several merits: mastery in syntax (nahw), unparalleled knowledge of the **gharib** (difficult words and phrases of the Quran), and superb knowledge of the Quran. So many pupils swarmed around him that it became difficult for each to record from him. Thereupon he gathered them in an assembly where he himself sat on a chair and read the Quran aloud from the beginning to the end and the pupils would listen attentively recording every detail, even the beginnings and the endings. Ibn Mu'in says: "My eyes did not fall on any person more truthful in his speech than al-Kisa'i. (The sign for his **qira'ah** is ق .) Abu al-Harith and al-Duri were the narrators of his qira'ah.

(a) Abu al-Harith, al-Layth ibn Khalid al-Maruzi al-Muqri', al-Baghdadi (d.240/854) learnt **qira'ah** under al-Kisa'i. He was reliable and accurate in **qira'ah**.

According to al-Hafiz Abu 'Umar, he was among the most eminent pupils of al-Kisa'i. (The sign for his **qira'ah** is ر .)

Al-Duri has already been mentioned under the account of Abu 'Amr ibn al-'Ala'.

In the above account of the seven **qurra'**, we have relied upon

al-Mukarrar fi ma tawatarā min al-qira'at al-sab' wa taharrar by Siraj al-Din Abu Hafs 'Umar ibn Zayn al-Din Qasim ibn Shams al-Din Muhammad al-'Ansari al-Misri, popularly known as al-Nashshar al-Muqri' in *al-Jami'* of al-'Atabaki. (98)

IX. The Use of I'rab in the Quran:

History tells us that the Companions divested the early codices of all diacritical points (**nuqat**) and vowels (**ashkal**). The script inherited by the Arabs did not contain the diacritical signs to mark vowelised and vowelless consonants (**harakat wa sakanat**) that are used today; rather, it was devoid of even these signs that distinguish the vowels in writing. But out of habit they possessed the capacity, prior to their intermingling with non-Arab peoples, of distinguishing between the consonants and of reading them with proper vowel sounds. Their speech then was secure from ungrammatical usages, and the Arab Beduins used to speak in flawless literary Arabic. They composed lucid poetry, comprehended the eloquence of the Quran, and appreciated the rhetorical excellences of orations, which had a profound effect on their minds.





When Islam spread and the Arabs intermingled with non-Arab nations, the elements of corruption started appearing in the Arabic language. Grammatical errors started occurring even in the speech of Arab men of eloquence. The increasing frequency of such occurrences gave them a jolt and impelled them to take measures to save the Quran, which was the foundation of the faith, and to guard Islam from the profusion of these errors.

Abu al-'Aswad al-Du'ali, who had learnt the principles of Arabic grammar and syntax from Amir al-Mu'minin 'Ali (A), (99) became famous as an expert of the Arabic language. Of many who learnt Arabic grammar and syntax from him were Yahya ibn Ya'mar al-'Adwani, the **qadi** of Khurasan, and Nasr ibn 'Asim al-Laythi, both of whom distinguished themselves in Arabic grammar, the **qira'ah** of the Quran and the literary arts. However, the interest of a group in Arabic grammar and syntax could not prevent the sweeping stream of corruption in the language resulting from the intermingling of the nations.

At that time, Ziyad ibn Sumayyah, who was the governor of Basrah, asked Abu al-'Aswad to devise some method for a linguistic reform. Ziyad told him: "This smut has spread all over and corrupted the Arabic language. If you devise something it would help people to reform their speech and recite the Quran correctly." At first Abu al-'Aswad refused due to certain reasons which appeared valid to him. Ziyad did not give up his idea. He ordered a man to sit on the way where Abu al-'Aswad used to pass and recite the Quran loudly as soon

as he drew near, taking care not to make it evident that it was intended to be heard by him. The man recited: *إِنَّ اللَّهَ بَرُّجٌ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ وَرَسُولِهِ* with a *kasrah* below *ل* (of *رَسُولٍ*). Abu al-‘Aswad, dismayed at ‘the enormity, said: “God is higher in majesty than that He should be disaffected with His Prophet (S)“. Immediately, he returned to Ziyad and told him: “I accept to do what you asked of me. I want to begin with the i‘rab of the Quran; so send the scribes to me.” Ziyad sent him thirty scribes. He selected one of them from ‘Abd al-Qays Then he asked the scribe to take a copy of the Quran and select an ink of a colour other than black. The scribe was to watch Abu al-‘Aswad read the Quran and put a point above the letter when he saw his lips open (*fathah*), a point under it when he parted them (*kasrah*), and a point in the middle of the letter when his lips met (*dammah*), and to put two points whenever he saw these movements accompanied by a nasal sound.

Then he started reading the Quran with a slow speed and the scribe put the points, and whenever a page was completed Abu al-‘Aswad would examine it. This went on until the whole Quran was marked with diacritical signs. Other people also followed his practice. When a guttural consonant followed *tanwin* (marking of the final letters of nouns with nasal vowels), they would put one of the two points above the other to indicate that the *nun* was to be pronounced; otherwise, the two points were put side by side to indicate that the *nun* was either contracted or suppressed.

Thereafter, the people of Madinah devised an arch-shaped sign with both the ends turned upwards for marking the sign of *tashdid*, like this () Later on the followers of Abu al-‘Aswad invented other signs for vowels, making a separate horizontal stroke over the letter to indicate *sukun* (vowelless consonant), regardless of whether it was a hamzah or some other character. They made a stroke over *alif al-wasl* (the *alif* of *al*) adjoined to it if it followed a *fathah* (like this: ) and a stroke under it if there was a sign of *kasrah* before the *alif* (like this: ). They put the stroke in the middle of it if there was a *dammah* before it (like this: )

X. The Use of I‘jam in the Quran:

The purpose of using the *i‘jam* was to distinguish between letters of a similar shape by putting diacritical points in order to avoid error. Thus *hamzah* is one of the *i‘jam*, intended to remove the possibility of incorrect reading, such as in this sentence: *سَكُونٌ إِلَيْهِ فَأَسْكَنِى*

It is generally believed that the *i‘jam* came to be invented during the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan, but investigations prove that their use was common even before the advent of Islam. Books written prior to the caliphate of ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan have been found

with *i'jam* on certain letters like *al-ba'*, *al-ya'*, and the like. Moreover, it is highly improbable that given the close similarity in the shape of several letters, like *al-ba'*, *al-ta'* and *al-tha'*, they should not have been marked with some sign to enable them to be distinguished from one another. Therefore, it is true that the use of diacritical points was common before Islam, but on account of negligence towards them they gradually fell out of use and were almost forgotten by the time of 'Abd al-Malik, who made their use compulsory for the official scribes.

This shows that the people continued to read the Quran from the codices compiled by 'Uthman for more than forty years, and we have already mentioned that the *masahif* of 'Uthman were devoid of diacritical points and signs. (100) For this reason, the readers of the Quran were puzzled at the time of reading, for they were not sure if their *qira'ah* was correct or not. For instance while reading *تَنْشُرْهَا*, one would not know whether it was to be read with a (ز) or if it was to be read with a (ر). In the verse *يَكُونُ آيَةً لِّمَنْ خَلَقَكَ* one would not know whether it was to be read with a (ف) or *لِّمَنْ خَلَقَكَ* with a (ق). On account of this mispronunciation (*tashif*) became common in Iraq. Al-Hajjaj, who was the governor of Iraq during 'Abd al-Malik's reign, became apprehensive of it. He ordered his scribes to devise certain signs in order to distinguish between similar letters. Nasr ibn 'Asim al-Laythi and Yahya ibn Ya'mar, the pupils of Abu al-'Aswad, were called for this work. The common Muslims, for their fear of *bid'ah* (innovation in the faith), detested adding anything to the *mushaf* of 'Uthman, even if it was for the sake of betterment. Most of them had hesitated in accepting the corrections introduced by Abu al-'Aswad. After much deliberation and discussion, Nasr and Yahya, who are very God-fearing men and blameless in their faith and religious commitment, introduced the second reform in the Arabic script. Their work involved the devising of single and double points in order to distinguish similar letters from one another, in the same manner as we have them today. As mentioned before, the marking of vowelless and vowelless consonants (*harakat wa sakanat*) was through putting points; this was also true of the *i'jam*, which was done by the use of points. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion between *harakat* and *sakanat* on the one hand and the *i'jam* on the other, the practice was, for instance, to mark the *harakat* with red ink while the points of *i'jam* were made with an ink of a different colour. Abu 'Amr says: "I do not consider it permissible that the marking of diacritical signs (*nuqat*) be done with black ink, since it will alter the form of the writing of the codex (that is, the writing of the codex of 'Uthman), and I prefer that *hamzah* be written in yellow ink." The people of Madinah followed this practice in their codices.

'Uthman ibn Sa'id al-Dani writes in his book *al-Muqni'*: "I see no

objection to your using green ink for writing *alif al-wasl* in the way the people of our city began to do many years back.” He belonged to Daniyah in Andalus. The Andalusians made use of inks of four colours in writing the codices of the Quran: black for letters, red for the points indicating vowels, yellow for *hamzah*, and green for *‘alif al-wasl*. The method used by Abu al-‘Aswad did not become popular, but it continued to be used for writing the copies of the Quran in order to preserve its structure.

CHAPTER 3: Europeans and the Quran:

I. Translations in European Languages:

In the beginning no one thought of translating the Quran in Europe and until a number of dictionaries were published. Perhaps the first translation of the Quran in Latin, which was the scientific language of Europe, was undertaken by Robert of Ketton in 1143, on the initiative of Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny. Thus, the Quran entered the European continent through Andalusia. In translating the Quran for Peter of Cluny, his intention was to refute it. Subsequently the Latin translation was printed in 1509, but readers were not allowed to circulate its copies as that edition was not accompanied by a refutation.

In 1594 Hinkelmann published his translation of the Quran, followed in 1698 by Marracci’s which included a refutation. Some scholars have come across a copy of Marracci’s translation in the library of American missionaries in Beirut. Thereafter, translations of the Quran began to appear in modern European languages – such as English, French, German, Italian and Russian – so that now there is no language which doesn’t have one or more translations. George Sale’s translation of the Quran in English is one of the early ones; it first appeared in 1734. Although this is an extended paraphrase and not a literal translation, yet it is one of the best and useful translations available.

II. The Views of Some Orientalists on the Chronological Order of Surahs:

The most important work by a European on the history of the Quran is that of Theodor Noldeke’s in German.

There are some valuable analytical studies in this book, and other things for which the researcher can be taken to task for not having met the demands of scientific study. (101)

In his study of the history of the Quran, Noldeke has dealt with its diverse aspects in a way which is proof of his command of the subject and the extent of his learning. He has discussed about the nature of

revelation and prophethood, the personality of the Holy Prophet (S), the revelation of the Quran, the chronological order of the surahs, and whether they were revealed at Makkah or Madinah.

For discovering the date of the revelation of surahs, Noldeke follows a sound method which occasionally leads to right conclusions.

He takes hints from the battles, campaigns and events that took place during the Prophet's (S) time – like the battles of Badr and Khandaq, the truce of Hudaibiyyah and so on, whose dates are known for certain – for dating the Quranic passages related to those events. Similarly, he takes the difference and change in the Quranic tone and style to be another indicator for determining the chronology of the Quranic **surahs** and verses. For instance, Noldeke believes that most of the verses containing the address **“O, mankind”** يا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ, and those of them that have a severe threatening tone were revealed during the early years of the Prophet's mission, when there were fewer Muslims. Likewise, the verses containing the address **“O, ye who believe!”** يا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا and assurances of Divine mercy were revealed after the number of the Muslim believers had increased.

In the course of his analytic study, Noldeke expresses doubts about the **riwayahs** and traditions and the views expressed by the exegetes regarding the chronology of the Quran; however, at the same time, he takes from them whatever suits his ideas and helps him in discovering the chronology of the **surahs** and occasionally their order.

He has chosen the chronological order of the **surahs** given in the work of Abu al-Qasim ‘Umar ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Kafi one of the scholars of the 5th/11th century. We have cited above the chronological order given by him, but Noldeke has divided the **surahs** into two parts belonging to the Makki and the Madani periods. For instance, the **Surat al-‘Alaq**, which according to the **riwayahs** of the traditionalists is the first **surah** to be revealed, has been placed by him at the beginning, and the **Surat al-Qalam**, which was revealed after it according to the muhaddithun, is placed next to it, and so on.

Noldeke's Arrangement of Makki Surahs:

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.

Noldeke's Arrangement of Madani Surahs:

2, 8, 3, 33, 60, 4, 99, 57, 47, 13, 55, 76, 65, 98, 59, 110, 24, 22, 63,

III. On the Openings of the Surahs:

One of the most abstruse problems with which a researcher studying the scientific and historical aspects of the Quran is confronted with is the meaning of the Arabic letters (al-huruf **al-muqatta 'ah**) at the opening of some **surahs** and their specific relevance to the history of the Quran. Though the mufassinin from the times of the **Sahabah** to the present day have offered different interpretations, they have remained incomprehensible and obscure. The abundance of views and diversity of explanations are an indication of the mystery and ambiguity surrounding the matter. Here we shall cite some of the views and interpretations about these letters, mentioning the more plausible ones:

1. It is reported from Mujahid that طسم and حم، ق، ص are the openings of the **surahs**

2. It has been reported from Ibn 'Abbas' (103) that ن and حم الم are the abbreviated Divine Names: for instance, الم means انا الله اعلم

3. 'Ikrimah' (104) is reported to have suggested that الم and حم allude to the conclusion of the preceding **surah**.

In his book **Tahdhib al-' asma' wa al-lughat**, al-Nawawi' (105) mentions five interpretations of حم:

(a) These letters stand for one of God's Names by which He swears, as maintained by Ibn 'Abbas.

(b) They stand for one of the names of the Quran, as narrated from Qatadah.

(c) They are an abbreviation of the Names of the Almighty, that is, **al-Rahman** and **al-Rahim**.

(d) They stand for "**Muhammad**", as stated by Ja'far ibn Muhammad (A).

(e) They represent the opening verse, as narrated from Mujahid.

A tradition says: شِعَارُكُمْ حَم لَا يُنْصَرُونَ. Al-'Azharī reports that Abu al-'Abbas was asked about the utterance of the Prophet (S): حَم لَا يُنْصَرُونَ. He said it meant: 'By God, they shall not be helped.'

As mentioned in *Lisan al-'Arab* (106), O the hadith, إِذَا بَيْتُكُمْ فَقُولُوا حَامِيمٍ لَا يُنْصَرُونَ, is explained by Ibn al-'Athir as meaning: اللَّهُمَّ لَا يُنْصَرُونَ 'O God, may-they not be helped.'

Al-Tabari (107) states that a group believes that the surahs opened with these letters in order to attract the attention of the idolaters, for they advised one another not to listen to the Quran. So when they turned their ears to listen to it, they also had to listen to the verses that followed.

Al-Nawawi reports Qatadah to have said that ق stands for one of the names of the Quran, and that Abu 'Ubaydah and al-Zajjaj have said

that ق at the beginning of the surah is similar to the letters الم، المر at the head of other **surahs**.

According to what al-Wahidi, al-Farri' and al-Zajjaj narrate, a group belonging to Madinah said that ق implies قَضَى اللهُ مَا هُوَ كَائِنٌ, 'God has decreed that which is to be'; they based their argument on the words of the poet:

قَلْتُ لَهَا قِنِي فَقَالَتْ قَافٍ

It means: قَالَتْ قِف . In his book Sa 'd al-su 'ud, Ibn Tawus, quoting from the first part of *Sharh ta' wil al-Qur' anwa tafsir ma'anih* (108) by Abu Muslim Muhammad ibn Bahr al-' Isfahani, regarding **al-huruf al-muqatta' ah**, says: "Says Abu Muslim: 'That which we believe is that these alphabets being the elements of the Arabic language, the challenge of the Quran to bring a **surah** like one of its **surahs** lies in that the Quran is also made up of these isolated letters known to you and over which you have command. Therefore, your inability to bring anything like the Quran or any of its **surahs** is the proof of the fact that the incapacity and failure on your part to do such a thing is indeed from God, and this is the evidence of the prophethood and truthfulness of the Prophet (S)'" He then adds, "Of the things that strengthen this explanation is that in every **surah** that opens with such letters, the letters are followed immediately by an allusion to the Quran, implying that the Quran is composed of these letters which you know very well and have command over them." Later on he asks himself that if it was meant to be so, it would have been sufficient to use these letters in one **surah** alone. Then he answers himself that it is customary for the Arabs to repeat when they want to explain something. From a rational point of view, the last two opinions, reported by al-Tabari and ibn Tawus, appear to be the most plausible.

According to the first, the **surahs** open with such letters in order to attract the attention of the idolaters for making them listen to the verses of the Quran. According to the other reported by Ibn Tawus al-'Alawi from Abu Muslim Muhammad ibn Bahr al-' Isfahani, their purpose is to bring to the notice of the people that the Quran is composed of the common letters of alphabet, but to produce something like the Quran is not possible for anyone, although these alphabets are used by all.

Western writers have also discussed the openings of the **surahs** But my study of their views showed that they have not produced anything sound or of a historical or scientific worth.

In the Encyclopaedia of Islam, F. Buhl, in the article dealing with the Quran, has described the views of H. Bauer and Noldeke, after enumerating the opinions of Muslim scholars, the summary of whose

views we have given above from reliable sources. Here, we shall refrain from mentioning the views of any of these European scholars, for they lack firmness and do not rest on any scientific basis. And God guides to the Truth.

Concluded, wa al-hamdu lillah.

NOTES:

1. G. Bergstraesser is one of the eminent German Orientalists, who rendered valuable services to the Islamic studies, one of which is his effort to compile the main sources and earliest exegeses of the Quran. He died in 1933 A.D., and his name is included in the bibliography of Orientalists compiled by the translator of the Persian version of the present book, Abu al-Qasim Sahab.

2. Abu 'Amr 'Uthman ibn Sa'id al-Dani, the author of *al-Taysir* and *al-Muqni'*, died in 444/1052.

3. Ibn Khalawayh al-Hamadani Abu 'Abd Allah al-Husayn ibn Ahmad ibn Khalawayh, the author of *Kitab al-'ishtiqaq*, *Kitab al-Jumal*, *Kitab al-qira'at* and *Kitab al-'i'rah*, died in 370/980.

4. Ibn Jinni al-Nahwi al-Mawsili, Abu al-Fath ibn 'Uthman (330-393/942-1002), authored *Kitab al-tasrif*, *Kitab al-muhtasib*, *al-Khasa'is* and *Asrar al-balaghah*.

5. Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Ibrahim ibn Abi Bakr al-Jazari was born in 658/1259 and died in 739/1338 at Damascus. (According to *al-Munjid's* section of *al-'a'lam* he was born at Damascus and died in 833/1429 at Shiraz).

6. Al-Farra Abu Zakariyya Yahya ibn Ziyad al-Daylami (d. 207/822) is the author of *Ma'ani al-Quran* and *Kitab al-mudhakkar wa al-mu'annath*.

7. Caussin de Perceval, a famous Orientalist, whose detailed account is given in the bibliography of the Orientalists (*Farhang-e khawarshinasan*), was born in 1759 and died in 1835 A.D.. He published an article on the above-mentioned topic in the *Asian Journal* in the year 1843. Also refer to the book "*Astronomy and Its History in the Medieval Ages Among the Arabs*" by Carlo Nalinu, an Italian scholar (born 1873), p. 94.

8. Abu al-Rayhan Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Biruni born in 362/973 at Khawarizm and died in 430/1038 at Ghaznin, Afghanistan. He is also known as al-Katib. He is one of the greatest scholars of the Muslim world in astronomy and mathematics. Among his many works are *Ta'rikh al-Hind* and *al-'Atharal-baqiyah*.

9. *'Am al-Fil* indicates the year in which Abraham, the Abyssinian ruler of al-Yaman led a campaign against Makkah with a number of elephants, with the purpose of destroying the Ka'bah. He was badly defeated and his army destroyed.

10. Al-Shaykh al-Mufid (d. 413/1022) is one of the eminent Shi'i scholars. Ibn al-Nadim, in *al-Fihrist*, says that he held the leadership of the Shi'ah mutakallimun of his age. He adds that in his expertise of kalam he is superior to all his colleagues, and that he was found to be an expert teacher (al-Mu'allim).

11. Ibn Tawus, Abu al-Qasim al-Sayyid Radi al-Din 'Ali ibn Musa (589-664/1193-1266) is the author of *Kitab al-iqbal*, *al-Misbah* and *Farhat al-nazir*. (Abu al-Qasim Sahab gave an account of his life and works in his book, *Miftah al-'a'lim*).

12. Al-Majlisi, Muhammad Baqir ibn Muhammad Taqi al-Majlisi al-Isfahani (d. 1110/1698) is the author of *Bihar al-'anwar*, the greatest Shi'i compendium of hadith, and a large number of other books.

13. Mahmud Pasha ibn Hamdi al-Misri was an eminent mathematician and astronomer, and a professor of mathematics. He died in 1033/1624. He wrote a treatise in French of the pre-Islamic calendar and the date of the birth of the Prophet (S) that was published from Paris in 1858 A.D., and was translated into Arabic by Professor Zaki Pasha and was printed in the Bulaq Press in 1889.

14. Al-Raha is a city 190 km. away in the north-east of Halab. (*Qamus al-'a'lam*, Turkish).

15. The belief in worshipping the source of good and opposing the source of evil.)

16. Busra was a famous ancient town during the period of Romans, situated 90 km. away from Damascus, and the historically famous Dayr al-Rahib was situated there. (*Qamus al- 'a ' lam*, Turkish)

17. The Egyptians had three kinds of writing: first, Hieroglyphic that was specified to the religious elite; second, Hieratic that was used by clerks of the court and government officials; third, Demotic that was the national and popular script, and was regarded as the simplest of the three.

18. Maspero was an archeologist born in 1846 and died in 1916.

19. Aramaic is related to an ancient Semitic people, Aramaeans, who lived in Palestine and Syria, believed to be the descendants of Aram, son of Sam. They are the ancestors of the Arabs.

20. Al-Musnad script is of four types: first, Safawi, attributed to al-Safa one of the mountains of Hawrin; Thamudean attributed to the tribe of Thamhd living in the villages and towns of Salih; third, al-Lihyani, attributed to Banu Lihyan (Bami Lakhm?) living in the north of the Arabian peninsula; and the fourth Sabaeen or Himyaritic, the script of the inhabitants of south of Arabia.

21. Estrangelo Syriac was written in three characters, one of the most popular of which was attributed to Estrangelo.

22. Nabataea. : the region extending from north to south direction from Damascus to the Valley of al-Qura in the vicinity of al-Madinah east-west direction from Syria to the Gulf of Suez covered the north-west of the Arabian Peninsula and Sinai. Its archives are extant in the towns of Salih, i.e. that of the tribe of Thamud, Hawran, Damascus and Sinai. The Nabataeans ruled over Palestine, Midian, the Gulf of al-Aqabah, al-Hijr and Hawran.

23. Al-Hirah was situated within five, km. of al-Kufah on the site of present city of al-Najaf.

24. Al-'Anbar is a town on the western bank of Euphrates thirty miles away from Baghdad.

25. Kindah is a small tribal group in the Kahlan in the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula.

26. 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Ziyad ibn An'um narrates from his father that he asked Ibn 'Abbas: 'Wherefrom did you, people of the Quraysh learn the Arabic script before God sent Muhammad (S) to you on his Prophetic mission, for, you adopted the script that was already evolved and you spread that which was already spread?' Ibn 'Abbas said that they learnt it from Harb ibn Umayyah. He asked further, 'Wherefrom did Harb learn it?' Ibn 'Abbas said that he learnt it from 'Abd Allah ibn Jad'an. He asked, 'Wherefrom did Ibn Jad'an learn it?' 'From the people of al-'Anbar', said Ibn 'Abbas. Further he asked 'wherefrom did the people of al-'Anbar learn it?' Ibn 'Abbas said that they learnt it from the people of al-Hirah. Then he asked as to from whom the people of al-Hirah learnt it, Ibn 'Abbas said, 'They learnt it from somebody who came to them from Yemen belonging to the tribe of Kindah.' It was further asked, 'wherefrom did this person that came to al-Hirah learn the script?' Ibn 'Abbas replied that he had learnt it from Khafaljan, the scribe of the revelations of the prophet Hud (A).

Al-Mas'udi says that the descendants of al-Muhsan ibn Jandal ibn Ya'sub ibn Madyan are the people who spread the art of scribing, that is the Nabataean kings of Midian, Sinai, Hawran and Palestine.

27. Al-Dhahabi, Muhammad ibn 'Uthman ibn Qayimaz Abu 'Abd Allah Shams al-Din al-Dhahabi, al-Turkumlni, al-Fariqi, imam and hafiz; (of the Quran) was born at Damascus in 673/1274. Since his childhood he was interested in collecting ahadith, and became an expert of hadith in his times. He authored a number of books, among which *Tadhkimt al-huffaz* is one. He died in 748/1347.

28. Kharijah ibn Zayd ibn Thabit al-'Ansari is one of the fuqaha' and eminent scholars, but he narrated a few ahadith only. That is why al-Dhahabi does not mention him among *al-huffaz*. He died in 99/717 at al-Madinah.

29. Sultan 'Abd al-Majid (d. 1278/1861) was the father of Sultan 'Abd al-'Aziz (d. 1293/1876) and Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid (d. 1304/1887).

30. Hira' is a mountain within three miles of Makkah, where the Prophet (S) used to go into retirement for the worship of God before *wahy* was sent to him.

31. Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari was a great teacher and scholar of history and hadith during his times. He was born at Amul in Mazandaran (Tabaristan) in the year 224/839 and died at Baghdad in 310/922.

32. Al-Waqidi Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn 'Umar ibn al-Waqid was a great scholar of hadith and the battles (*maghazi*). He was patronized by Harun al-Rashid and was appointed to the position of the justice (*qadi*) of Baghdad. He died at Baghdad in 207/1822.

33. This account regarding *al-Nasr* is given in *al-'Itqdn fi 'ulum al-Qur'an* by Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti.

34. It is narrated by Ibn Mas'ud in *al-Mustadrak*: "We were in the cave with the Prophet (S) when the *Surat al-Mursalat* was revealed, and we listened to it through the sacred tongue of the Prophet (S). Though it was uttered by the Prophet (S), we could not follow at which verse it ended, whether it ended at the verse:

* فَإِنِّي حَدِيثٌ بَعْدَهُ يُؤْمِنُونَ * or with the verse: * وَإِذَا قِيلَ لَهُمُ اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تُرْحَمُونَ *

35. This is what is popularly believed, but there are two other views in this regard: the first view states that whatever was revealed at Makkah is Makki, and what was revealed at al-Madinah is Madani; the second view is that those verses that are addressed to the people of Makkah is to be considered Makki, while what is addressed to the people of al-Madinah is to be accepted as Madani.

36. Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad ibn al-Qbim ibn Muhammad ibn Bashshar al-'Anbari (d. 328/940) was an expert in the Quran, its exegesis and hadith.

37. It is generally believed that the author of the book *Fada'il al-Qur'an* is Abu 'Ubaydah al-Qasim ibn Salam (d. 334/945), who died at Makkah. Ibn al-Nadim, in *al-Fihrist*, attributed this book to him in the chapter concerning the books compiled in *Fada'il al-Qur'an* (Virtues of the Quran).

38. The matter whether the Prophet (S) could read and write is a controversial one. (Editor)

39. Although the change in meaning may not be very significant for us, it was for the Ansar of Madinah, (Editor).

40. Al-Tabari, *Tafsir al-Qur'an*, vol. 1.

41. 'Abd Allah ibn Mas'ud ibn Ghafil ibn Habib al-Hudhayli (d. 26 or 32/646 or 652), a Companion of the Prophet (S) who is said to have narrated 848 traditions from the Prophet (S).

42. **Editor's Note:** According to Ibn al-'Athir, and al-Shaykh al-Saduq in *al-Khisal*, about thirty-five different opinions have been advanced by Muslim scholars about the meaning of *sab 'at ahruf* in the tradition ascribed to the Prophet (S). A *sahih* tradition of *Usul al-Kafi* ('Ilmiyyah Islamiyyah, Tehran, vol. 4, p. 439) rejects its ascription to the Prophet (S). The hadith is as follows:

عَلَيْهِ بِنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنْ أَبِي عُمَيْرٍ، عَنْ عُمَرَ بْنِ الْأَدْبَةِ، عَنِ الْفَصْلِ بْنِ بَسْرَةَ قَالَ: قُلْتُ لِأَبِي عُبَيْدِ اللَّهِ (ع): إِنَّ النَّاسَ يَقُولُونَ: إِنَّ الْقُرْآنَ نَزَلَ عَلَى سَبْعَةِ أَحْرَافٍ فَقَالَ: كَذَبُوا أَعْدَاءُ اللَّهِ وَلِكَيْتَ نَزَلَ عَلَى حَرْفٍ وَاحِدٍ مِنْ عِنْدِ الْوَاحِدِ.

'All ibn Ibrahim, from his father (Ibrahim ibn Hashim), from Ibn Abi 'Umayr from 'Umar ibn Udhaynah, from al-Fudayl ibn Yasar; who said, "I said to Abu 'Abd Allah (A), 'The people say that the Quran was revealed on seven letters (*sab'at ahruf*).' He replied, 'The enemies of God have lied. It was revealed on one letter (*harf wahid*) by the One (*al-Wahid*, i.e. God).'"

43. Abu 'Amr Jamal al-Din Yusuf ibn 'Umar al-Nimri (368-462/978-1069), known as Ibn 'Abd al-Birr, the author of *al-'Istidrak* and *al-'Isti'ab*.

44. Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah ibn Wahb ibn Muslim al-Qurayshi (125-198/742-813), a Maliki faqih and author of *al-Muwatta'*.

45. Abu al-Fath Muhammad ibn Abi al-Qasim 'Abd al-Karim ibn Ahmad al-Shahristani, (467548/1074-1154), a mutakallim and faqih, he is the author of a tafsir called *Mafatih al-'asrar wa masabih al-'abrar*. A manuscript of it exists in the Majlis Library, Tehran.

46. Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Uthman (d. 748/1348), the author of *Siyar al-nubala' wa tabaqat al-huffaz*, *Duwal al-'Islam*, *al-Mushtabah fi al-'asma' wa al-'ansab wa al-kuna wa al-'alqab*, *Ta'rikh al-'Islam al-kabir*, *Mizan al-'idal fi naqd al-rijal*, and *Tadhkirat al-huffaz*.

47. Al-Dhahabf, *Tadhkirat al-huffaz*.

48. **Sayf al-Din** Abu al-Hasan 'Ali ibn Abi 'Ali Muhammad ibn Salim al-Taghlibi al-'Amidi (d. 617/1220), a faqih, usuli and a mutakallim. Born in Amid, Diyar Bakr, he taught in Cairo, fled to Damascus where he died. First a Hanbali then a Shafi'i, his works include, *Daqa'iq al-haqa'iq*, *Rumuz al-kunuz Lubb al-lubab*, *Abkar al-'afkar (in refutation of the Mu'tazilah)*, and *al-'Ihkam fi usul al-'ahkam*.

49. Al-'Amidi, *Abkar al-'afkar*.

50. Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Sirin (32-110/652-728) a faqih and *rawi* of Basrah.

51. Abu Muhammad al-Husayn ibn Mas'ud ibn Muhammad ibn al-Farra' al-Baghawi al-Shafi'i (d. 516/1122), faqih, traditionist and exegete, the author of *Ma'alim al-tanzil* and *Musabih al-Sunnah*

52. This is mentioned by al-Suyuti, from Ibn Hajar, in hi *al-'Itqan*.

53. The following three are known as 'Abadilah: 'Abd Allah ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khattab (d. 74/693), 'Abd Allah ibn 'Amr ibn al-'As al-Nahmi (d.63/682), and 'Abd Allah ibn al-'Abbas ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib (d. 68/687). Al-Nasa'i, in a *sahih* hadith, reports from 'Abd Allah ibn 'Umar that he said: "Having heard the Quran, I used to recite it in one night. The Prophet (S) heard about it and told me to recite it in one month."

54. Abu Dawud Sulayman ibn al-'Ash'ath ibn Ishaq al-Sijistani (d.275/889), a muhaddith and faqih, he is famous for his *al-Sunan*.

55. Ibn Sa'd, Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Sa'd al-Zuhri (d. 230/845), the author of *Kitab al-Tabaqat al-kabir*.

56. According to Shams al-Din Sami in *Qamus al-'a'lam*, under sin, p. 2575, Sa'id ibn al-'As was eloquent in speech and of good hand. He wrote the *mushaf* during 'Uthman's days and was one of the scribes of the age. He was born in the year of Hijrah.

57. According to al-Tabari, in his history, 'Abd Allah ibn Sa'd ibn Abi al-Sarah was a scribe of the wahy. He apostatized after conversion to Islam and was reconverted on the day of the conquest of Makkah.

58. It has been reported that Ubayy ibn Ka'b was the first to write for the Prophet (S). In his absence Zayd ibn Thabit would take his place.

59. Muhammad ibn Mas'ud ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ayyash, one of the great **Imani** fuqaha' and traditionists and author of a tafsir known as *Tafsir al-'Ayyashi*. Its manuscripts exist. The tafsir has been made defective by some scholars who have deleted its *isnad* for the sake of brevity.

60. 'Ali ibn Ibrahim ibn Hashim al-Qummi (d. C. 307/919), a *thiqah* Imami muhaddith and author of a well-known tafsir.

61. Al-Khata'i says: "The Prophet (S) did not collect the Quran in one place because he expected the revelation of something that might abrogate some of its *ahkam* or *tilawah* (recitation)."

62. Abu 'Ubaydah, in *Kitab al-qira'at*, says that some of them completed their work after the Prophet (S).

63. Sa'd ibn 'Ubayd ibn al-Nu'man ibn Qays ibn 'Amr ibn Zayd al-'Ansari al-'Awsi. He died at the age of 64 in the year 15/636 at the Battle of Qadisiyyah.

64. Abu al-Darda', 'Uwaymir ibn Zayd. He was called the "Hakim of the Ummah". He died in 32/652.

65. Mu'adh ibn Jabal ibn 'Amr ibn Aws. In a tradition, the Prophet is reported to have said: When the scholars will assemble before God, Mu'adh will lead them, (standing) on a height." Mu'adh died of plague at *Ghur* at an age of about 35 in the year 18/639.

66. Abu Zayd Thabit ibn Zayd al-'Ansari. According to Ibn al-'Athir 'Izz al-Din Abu al-Hasan al-Jazari in *Usud al-ghabah*, al-'Abbas al-Dawrf said: "I was listening when Yahya ibn Mu'in was asked about the Abd Zayd said to have collected the Quran during the Prophet's days. He said: Thabit ibn Zayd." Abu 'Umar said: "I know of no other." It has also been said that it was Abu Zayd Sa'd ibn 'Ubayd ibn al-Nu'man But the first name, which agrees with the statement of Ibn al-Nadim is more probable.

67. Other names have also been mentioned, such as 'Ubayd ibn Mu'adh and 'Atik ibn Mu'adh al-Jazari, as in *Usud al-ghabah*.

68. Ubayy ibn Ka'b ibn Qays Abu al-Mundhir al-Khazraji al-'Ansari, who after 'All (A) was the most learned of the Companions about the Quran and the leader of *the qurra*. He learnt the Quran from the Prophet (S) and was a man of knowledge and action. He died at Madinah in 20/641.

69. 'Ubaydah ibn al-Samit ibn Qays al-Khazraji al-'Ansari, who commanded the Muslim army in Egypt. He collected the Quran, and was sent to al-Sham by 'Umar ibn al-Khattab to teach the Quran and Islamic law to the people there. He died at al-Ramlah or al-Bayt al-Muqaddas in 34/654.

70. Zayd ibn Thabit ibn Dahhak ibn Zayd ibn Lawzan. He was one of the scribes of the wahy. He memorized the Quran and learnt the law, in addition he learnt Syriac at the Prophet's instance. According to a tradition from al-Wiqidi reported through a chain of transmitters on the authority of Yahya ibn Bukayr, he died in 45/665. He is also said to have died in 55/675 (al-Dhahabi, *Tadhkirat al-huffaz*)

Al-Tabarani, Al-Bayhaqi, and al-Hakim report from al-Sha'bi that once Zayd ibn Thabit had offered someone's funeral prayers, a mule was brought for him to mount. Ibn 'Abbas came and held the stirrup for him. Zayd said to him: "Leave it, O cousin of the Messenger of God." Ibn 'Abbas replied, "We have been commanded to act thus with scholars and elders." Zayd ibn Thabit kissed his hands and said: "And thus we have been commanded to act with the Prophet's family." According to al-Hakim, the hadith is *sahih al-insad 'ala shart Muslim (Kitab al-'ibda'*, p. 99).

71. Al-Suyuti, *al-'Itqan*.

72. Al-Shaykh al-Mufid, Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn al-Nu'man al-Baghdadi al-Karkhi (336-413/948-1022), the great Imami faqih, mutakallim and muhaddith. He was the teacher of al-Sharif al-Radi and al-Sharif al-Murtada.

73. Ibrahim al-Biqai, Burhan al-Din Abu-Ishaq Ibrahim ibn 'Umar al-Biqai al-Shafi't (d.809/1406), among his books is ***Kitab sirr al-ruh***.

74. T. Noldeke (1836-1931), German orientalist. A scholar of Eastern and Semitic languages, he made important contribution to Islamic and Eastern studies.

75. Ibn ***al-Nadim, al-Fihrist*** (Egypt), p. 37.

76. Ibn Abi Dawud narrates this ***riwayah*** from Hisham ibn 'Urwah.

77. ***Al-Muzhir***, vol. 1, p. 137.

78. His name is Hudhayfah ibn Hisl ibn Jabir; Hamadan, Ray and Dinawar were conquered under his command. Died in the year 36/656 forty days after 'Uthman's assassination.

79. The author of ***al-Fihrist***, while quoting the tradition says, "Narrated by a ***thiqah*** (narrator);" see ***al-Fihrist*** (Egypt), p. 37.

80. This also indicates that "seven letters" (***al-ahruf al-sab'ah***) meant that the difference in the readings pertained to the use of different synonyms for a single meaning.

81. Apparently, that which was left out was something that was not in accord with the dialect of the Quraysh.

82. My investigation indicates that he is Abu Burdah 'Amir ibn Qays al-'Ashari, the brother of Abu Musa al-'Ashari.

83. His name is 'Abd Allah ibn Habib ibn Rabi'ah; he was one of the *qurra'*. See ibn Hajar, ***Tahdhib al-Tahdhib***, vol. 5, p. 185.

84. In some accounts it is mentioned that he burnt them.

85. See ***Masalik al-'absar*** (Egypt), vol. 1, p. 195.

86. Ahmad ibn Abi Ya'qub ibn Wadih (d.287/900), known as al-Ya'qubi. His work on history, known as ***Tafikh al-Ya'qubi***, was published from Leiden by Houtsma.

87. Editor's Note: The number of ***surahs*** given in al-Ya'qubi's list of Imam 'Ali's ***mushafis*** 110. "Musa wa ***fir'wan***" could not be identified with any of the five ***surahs*** missing from the list, i.e. 1, 13, 34, 66 and 96.

88. Ibn al-Nadim, ***al-Fihrist***, p.40.

89. Editor's Note: Four ***surahs*** are repeated in this list (67, 80, 95 & 111). Three Nos. 74, 90 & 92) were not identifiable. The ***Surat al-Khal'***, mentioned by Ibn al-Nadim here, and quoted by al-Suyuti and other Sunni writers elsewhere (see for instance, ***al-'Itqan, II,26***) is not in the Holy Quran. Moreover, the names of a number of ***surahs*** have apparently been dropped by copyists of Ibn al-Nadim's work.

90. "***Al-Tihar***," in Ibn al-Nadim, op. cit. p.37.

91. **Editor's Note:** Three ***surahs*** are repeated in this list (32, 39 & 54). Two are unidentifiable (Nos. 35 & 44) and several others are missing.

92. Without ***'ayn*** after ***mim***.

93. Ibn al-Nadim, ***op. cit.***, p.40.

94. Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani, ***al-'Isabah***, 1,9.

95. 'Ali ibn Musa ibn Ja'far (589-664/1193-1265), known as Ibn Tawus, is one of the greatest of Shi'i scholars.

96. **Editor's Note:** The first ***surah, Fatihat al-Kitdb***, is missing from this list.

97. **Editor's Note:** The accounts of the seven qurra' given here are uncritical and leave out the opinions of other scholars which could put them in a proper perspective. For a balanced account, see, for instance, **al-Bayan fi 'ulum al-Qur'an** by al-Imam al-Khu'i.

98. Manuscript No. 493, Dar al-Kutub al-Migriyyah.

99. When asked about the source of his knowledge of the science of Arabic Syntax (nahw), Abu al-'Aswad replied, "I learnt its principles from 'Ali (A)". See Ibn Khallikan, **Wafayat al-'a'yan** (Egypt), I, 240.

100. The diacritical points indicating vowels and the difference between similarly-written consonants were not in use during 'Uthman's reign. The points used during his times were specific signs used to indicate the dialects in which the Companions recited. In the **suhuf** which were with Hafsa, there were points, laid down by custom, or letters to mark out other dialects and for indicating **al-'imalah. damm mim al-jam', al-'ishmam. al-hamz, al-tashil**, etc., relating to the readings narrated by various tribes from the Prophet (S). 'Uthman ordered the scribes to divest the Quran of these points, choosing to have it written in the dialect of Quraysh, for it had been revealed in their dialect.

101. See the 2nd edition of his work on the history of the Quran, 1, 4, 24.

102. **Ibid., I, 58.**

103. **Al-Tabari, I, 68.**

104. Ibid., I, 67, 69.

105. Al'Allamah Muhyi al-Din ibn Sharaf al-Nawawi (d.678/1279); **Tahdhib al-'asma' wa al-lughat** (Egypt), I, 72.

106. XV, 40.

107. I, 63.

108. Ibn Tawus possessed this tafsir in the year 664/1265.