

A Study of Sunni and Shi Traditions Concerning Tahrif [of Holy Quran] Part 1

In this text, a three-part series written by Rasul Ja'fariyan, the author analyzes traditions from Sunni and Shia sources regarding Tahrif (alterations) [of Holy Quran], also from semantic and textual point of view. Evidences for the absence of Tahrif are presented via historical events and traditions.

Author(s): Rasul Ja'fariyan

Translator(s): Ali Quli Qara'i

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A Study of Sunni and Shii Traditions Concerning Tahrif [of Holy Quran] Part 1

[Introduction]

A1-Raghib al-'Isfahani, in his Mufradat al-Qur'an, defines `tahrif as a way of interpreting a certain speech or writing so that it appears to denote two different meanings.' According to this definition, tahrif is not an alteration of the actual words and phrases of a text but the alteration of its meanings.¹ It is in this sense that tahrif has been used in the following Qur'anic verse:

....مِنَ الَّذِينَ هَادُوا يُحَرِّفُونَ الْكَلِمَ عَنْ مَوَاضِعِهِ

Some of the Jews pervert words (yuharrifuna) from their meanings...(4:46)

The verse indicates that the Jews used to alter the meanings of the scripture while keeping its actual words. Although tahrif literally means semantic alteration (al-tahrif al-ma`nawi), the term has also been in use for textual alteration (al-tahrif al-lafzi). Thus tahrif is of two kinds: semantic and textual.

1. Semantic Alteration

This kind of tahrif has definitely been committed in regard to the Qur'an, particularly in some of its exegeses whose authors have tried to impose meanings on the Qur'anic verses different from their literal sense, in order to justify the doctrines and ideas of certain schools. It is about this kind of tahrif that al-'Imam al-Baqir (a.s.) said:

وكان من نبذهم الكتاب أن أقاموا حروفه وحرفوا حدوده، فهم يروونه ولا يراعونه

*“They have recorded its letter but changed its meaning. They narrate its text without heeding its contents”*²

2. Textual Alteration

One can speak of three possible kinds of alteration in respect to the Qur'an: in letters and vowelization, in words, in verses and surahs.

As to the first kind, it has definitely occurred, and this is borne out by the seven or ten different readings of some of the Qur'anic verses. We believe that this difference did not originate from God Almighty or the Prophet (S); it emerged due to the lack of sufficient precision on the part of the early Muslims in recording the reading taught by the Prophet (S).

It also occurred due to their dispersion in different regions, like Syria and Iraq, which resulted in the divergence of accent, leading in turn to the tahrif in letters and vowels. Possibly, another reason of it was the absence of points and diacritical marks in the early copies of the Qur'an. This led to such different readings as *فَتَبَيَّنُوا* and *فَتَنَبَّهُوا*.

Such differences have been recorded by the Sunnis in their works of tafsir and gira'ah and the Shi'is have also narrated them in their books. Al-Tabrisi, in his exegesis, Majma- al-Bayan, has recorded the differences of readings from Sunni scholars.

As to tahrif in words, it may be said that only a special kind of it has occurred in the Qur'an, and most of such differences have been narrated in the traditions of the Ahl al-Sunnah. The cause of this tahrif is partly a result of tahrif in letters and vowels, and partly the belief in the permissibility of substituting a synonym for a word has been responsible for it. Ibn Masud is on record as having expressly declared his belief in such a permissibility.³

However, it should be pointed out that this kind of tahrif is not important, for, as we shall see later, the isolated traditions (akhbdr ahad) that purport the occurrence of tahrif in words do not deserve any credence. But as to tahrif in words, in the sense that some words be missing from the present Qur'an, it is something which is not accepted by Muslims in general, excepting a few individuals.

As to tahrif in the verses and surahs, most of the related traditions are of a Sunni origin and only some of them come from Shi'i sources. Of course, no credence is attached to such traditions by Muslims in general, excepting some traditionalists (akhbariyyun) among the Shi'ah and the Ahl al-Sunnah. With the succor of God, we will briefly discuss this matter in the following pages.

The Reasons for Believing in the Absence of Tahrif

1. Some exegetes of the Qur'an have based their argument in favour of the absence of tahrif in the Qur'an on the following verse:

إِنَّا نَحْنُ نَزَّلْنَا الذِّكْرَ وَإِنَّا لَهُ لَحَافِظُونَ

Verily, We have sent down the Remembrance (i.e. the Qur'an), and, verily, We are its protector. (15:9)

The late `Allamah Tabatabai says in regard to this verse:

It (the Qur'an) is the everlasting Remembrance, secure from being lost or forgotten. It is secure from any addition or decrease which may deprive it from being the Remembrance. It is secure from any change in its form and text that may alter its quality of being a Divine Reminder expounding the

truths of the Divine teaching. Hence this verse indicates the security of the Divine Scripture from all kinds of tahrif. The verse, together with its context, indicates the security of the Remembrance, that is, the Qur'an, for ever after its revelation.⁴

Al-Zamakhshari, while discussing this verse, says:

He (God) is its protector at all times from every kind of addition or loss, alteration or change, unlike the former scriptures. This is an indication that the Qur'an is a sign sent down by Him. For had it not been a Divine sign or had it been the speech of a mortal, it would have been subject to increase and decrease, as happens in all speech other than it.⁵

Al-Sayyid al-Khui says:

This verse signifies that the Qur'an is secure from tahrif and that it is not possible for the hands of tyrants to make a plaything of it.⁶

Al-Fakhr al-Razi says regarding this verse:

(It means that) We shall protect this Remembrance from tahrif, addition and loss.⁷

Al-Fayd al-Kashani says:

(It means), We shall protect it from tahrif, addition and loss.⁸

Abu `Ali al-Tabarsi says:

`And We are its protector' means that We shall protect it from addition and loss, tahrif and change. And al-Hasan is reported to have said: "Its meaning is that God has taken upon Himself to safeguard it until the end of time and charged the Ummah with transmitting it from generation to generation until the Day of Resurrection, in order to establish God's hujjah upon all those who have accepted the Prophet's invitation."⁹

Answers to objections against this argument:

(a) It may be said that although the verse, undeniably, states the immunity of the Qur'an from textual corruption, it implies the textual security of the Book possessed by some individuals. The answer to this is that the Qur'an has been revealed by God for the purpose of leading man to the ultimate goal of his creation and to guide him on the straight path through different ages. This objective is not served if the Qur'an is preserved only for some individuals. Hence the verse necessarily implies its preservation for mankind in general.

Moreover, what is the use of its preservation for a few persons? Is the purpose of its revelation only its preservation, not its usefulness for mankind? If the purpose were mere preservation, then it was sufficiently served by its preservation in al-Lawh al-Mahfuz. But if the purpose is general guidance, it is not secured by its mere preservation with some persons.

Al-Sayyid al-Khui, rejecting this objection, says: `By 'Remembrance' (in the verse) is meant the same Qur'an either read or written - that was revealed to the Messenger of God (S). By its 'preservation' is meant safeguarding it from loss and corruption, so that it remains accessible to all human beings. For instance, when we say that 'the ode of so and so has been preserved,' we mean that its text, remaining secure from loss and destruction, is accessible to us."¹⁰

(b) It may be said that the various editions of the Qur'an that have been, or still are, published throughout the Muslim World, do contain errors and omissions, leading sometimes to unintentional omission of a word, or a verse, or two. If the above-mentioned verse were taken to imply the immunity of the Qur'an from all kinds of tahrif, to be sure all its prints should have been free of such kind of typographical errors?

The answer to this objection is that these kinds of errors do not cast any doubt on the Book's preservation by God, for they are not of such an extent as to destroy the real text. The available error-free prints of the Qur'an are sufficient to disclose these kinds of errors to anybody.

(c) Some may say that it is not correct to base one's argument about the absence of corruption in the Qur'anic text on that text itself, because it is possible that the verse on which this argument is based

might have itself undergone textual corruption. Thus, if we allow the possibility of interpolation in verse 15:9, we cannot validly base our argument upon it.¹¹

The answer to this objection is that there is consensus among all Muslim scholars as to the absence of corruption in this verse. Moreover, no one has ever claimed that the verse has undergone tahrif or interpolation.

2. Another verse of the Qur'an which is cited to support the immunity of the Qur'an from tahrif is the following one:

لَا يَأْتِيهِ الْبَاطِلُ مِنْ بَيْنِ يَدَيْهِ وَلَا مِنْ خَلْفِهِ تَنْزِيلٌ مِنْ حَكِيمٍ حَمِيدٍ

Falsehood comes not to it from before it nor from behind it; a sending down from One All-wise, All-laudable. (41:42)

This verse states that no kind of falsehood can find way into the Qur'an; tahrif, being clearly a form of falsehood (batil), cannot find way into the sacred text of the Qur'an. `Allamah Tabatabai, while discussing this verse in his tafsir of the Qur'an, says: 'The meaning of the 'coming of falsehood' to it, is the entry of falsehood into it, to invalidate some parts or all of it, by changing its truthful teachings, in part or in entirety, into untruths or by annulling its laws and commands, wholly or partly, so that it is no longer legitimate to act according to them.'¹²

Evidence of the Absence of Tahrif from Tradition

1. There are a great number of traditions, both in Sunni and Shi'i sources, from the Prophet (S) and the Imams of Ahl al-Bayt (A), that prescribe that one should judge the veracity of traditions by collating them with the Qur'an. A tradition should be accepted when confirmed by the Qur'an and rejected if it goes against it. Following are some of these traditions:

قال الرسول صلوات الله عليه واله: تكثر الأحاديث لكم بعدي فإذا روي لكم عني

حديث فاعرضوه على كتاب الله تعالى فما وافقه فاقبلوه واعلموا أنه مني ، وما خالفه فردوه

The Prophet (S) said: "You will be confronted with a multiplying number of traditions after me. Therefore, when a hadith is narrated to you, compare it with the Book of God; accept that which agrees with it and reject that which contradicts it."¹³

وقوله ايضا: إن على كل حق حقيقة وعلى كل صواب نورا. فما وافق كتاب الله فخذوه وما خالف كتاب الله فدعوه.

The Prophet (S) said: *“There is a truthful sign that accompanies every truth, and there is a light which goes with every correct notion. So, take that which agrees with the Book of God and leave that which contradicts it.”*

كُلُّ حَدِيثٍ لَا يُوَافِقُ كِتَابَ اللَّهِ فَهُوَ زُخْرُفٌ

Al-'Imam al-Sadiq (A) said: *“Every hadith that does not agree with the Book of God is a falsehood.”*¹⁴

The Qur'an is a criterion of the veracity of hadith in the light of these traditions. This criterion also holds in the case of those reports which imply the occurrence of tahrif in the Qur'an. Accordingly, it is necessary that we regard the Qur'an as being free from alteration and corruption. There are two points which are mentionable as arguments in support of the purity of the Qur'anic text on the basis of these traditions:

Firstly, the Qur'an has priority over hadith and it is a criterion of its veracity. This shows that the Qur'an is secure from tahrif, otherwise it would have been illogical to make it such a criterion if it is not secure from tahrif.

Secondly, those who argue in favour of the occurrence of tahrif in the Qur'an, their argument contradicts these traditions which agree with the above-mentioned Quranic verses in refuting the possibility of tahrif in the Qur'an. Moreover, in accordance with the traditions quoted above, the Prophet (S) and the Imams have ordered us to give no credence to those traditions which imply the occurrence of tahrif in the Qur'an, for they contradict the explicit declaration of the Qur'an itself that it is secure from tahrif and corruption. Writing in this connection, al-Fayd al-Kashani says:

There are an abundant number of traditions of the Prophet (S) and the Imams (A) which require the comparison of a hadith with the Book of God, in order that its veracity should be known by its agreement with the Book or its falsity be confirmed by its contradiction with it. Now, if the Qur'an that is in our hands today be regarded as having undergone tahrif, what would be the use of comparing any tradition with it? Therefore, it must be said, the traditions which imply the occurrence of tahrif are contrary to the Book of God, and hence it is necessary either to reject them as unauthentic or to reinterpret their meaning.

An objection that may be raised against this argument is that it is possible that such minor interpolations and omissions might have occurred in some parts of the Qur'an as have no significance in that they do not affect its meanings, doctrines and laws (and it will be possible to refute this objection after we have expounded the meaning of the tradition). But, indeed, this extent of tahrif in the Qur'an was of no use to the deviate and the hypocrites who might have caused such tahrif. On the other hand, there has been a great effort on the part of Muslims and their scholars to preserve the Qur'an, and they have exercised meticulous care in guarding its contents, being scrupulous even in regard to a single Law, as will be seen presently.

2. Of the traditions which support the security of the Qur'an from tahrif is the so-called Hadith al-Thaqalayn, which has been widely narrated by

various Islamic sects. Following is one of its versions as given by al-Darimi in his Sunan:

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وآله . (وأنا تارك فيكم الثقلين : أولهما كتاب الله فيه الهدى والنور ، فخذوا بكتاب الله واستمسكوا به ، فحث على كتاب الله ورغب فيه ، ثم قال : وأهل بيتي ، أذكركم الله في أهل بيتي ، أذكركم الله في أهل بيتي)

The Prophet (S) said: "Verily, I leave behind among you two weighty things: The Book of God and in it is guidance and light, so hold on to the Book of God (he encouraged and urged them to follow the Book of God) — and my Ahl al-Bayt. I call upon you to bear God in mind regarding my Ahl al-Bayt" (and the Prophet [S] said this thrice)¹⁵

Holding fast to the Qur'an", as clarified by Amir Al-Muminin 'Ali (A) in the following tradition, means, deriving guidance and light from it:

وصف الامام علي (ع) القرآن مرة فقال : " عليكم بكتاب الله فانه الحبل المتين ، و النور المبين ، و الشفاء النافع ، و الرأي النافع ، و العصمة للمتمسك ، والنجاة للمتعلق ، لا يعوج فيقوم ، ولا يزيغ فيستعتب ، ولا تخلقه كثرة الرد ، و ولوج السمع ، من قاله صدق ومن عمل به سبق "

*It is your duty to follow the Book of God, for it is the strong rope, the manifest light, the beneficial cure and the thirst-quenching spring. It is the protection (against sin) for one who holds on to it and the (means of) deliver-ance for one who attaches himself to it. It does not become crooked, so as to need straightening, and it does not deviate, so as to need corrective action. Frequent recitation and listening do not make it worn out. Whoever speaks in accordance with it speaks the truth, and whoever acts in accordance with its teaching overtakes others)*¹⁶

There are frequent references of this kind in Imam 'All's sermons regard-ing the Qur'an, all of which clearly emphasize that the extant Qur'an guides its follower to the straight path, for there is no doubt that the Qur'an that we possess today is the same as the one possessed by the Muslims in Imam `All's times. Following are some more of his state-ments regarding the Qur'an:

قال (عليه السلام):

إن هذا القرآن هو الناصح الذي لا يغش، والهادي الذي لا يضل، والمحدث الذي لا يكذب، وما جالس هذا القرآن أحد إلا قام عنه بزيادة أو نقصان، وزيادة في هدى، ونقصان من عمى، واعلموا أنه ليس على أحد بعد القرآن من فاقة، ولا لأحد قبل القرآن من غنى، فاستشفوه من أدوائكم، واستعينوا به على لاوائكم، فإن فيه شفاء من أكبر الداء وهو الكفر والنفاق والعمى والضلال

Know that this Qur'an is an adviser that does not deceive, a leader that does not mislead, and a speaker who never lies. No one sits in its company without achieving an addition and a diminishing on rising up -- an addition

*in guidance and a diminishment in blindness. And know that there is no (spiri-tual) poverty for one after association with the Qur'an and there is no plenti-tude for anyone before that. Therefore, seek from it the remedy for your ailments and seek its help in your distress, for, indeed, it contains the cure for the greatest of diseases, which are unbelief, hypocrisy, rebelliousness and misguidance)*¹⁷

وقال (عليه السلام): "إن القرآن ظاهره أنيق، وباطنه عميق، لاتفنى عجائبه، ولا تنقضي غرائبه، ولا تكشف الظلمات إلاّ به."

*Verily, the Qur'an is outwardly beautiful and inwardly profound. Its wonders are imperishable and its marvels are immortal. The darkness (of human life) cannot be penetrated without it*¹⁸

كتاب الله فيه نبأ ما كان قبلكم وخبر ما بعدكم وحكم ما بينكم

*In the Qur'an are the reports of those who lived before you and the tidings of those who will come after you, and in it is the judgment regarding you)*¹⁹

The Prophet (S) said:

مَا لَنْ تَضِلُّوا بَعْدَهُ إِنْ اِعْتَصَمْتُمْ بِهِ ، كِتَابَ اللَّهِ

*You will not go astray if you hold fast to the Book of God.*²⁰

Collection of the Qur'an During Prophet's Time

There is no doubt that the Qur'an was written down and assembled in its entirety during the Prophet's days. Thus there is no room for accepting the view that it was collected after him (S). The evidence in this regard is provided by the traditions narrated in this regard, as well as by the opinions of Muslim scholars.

(a) Following are some traditions narrated by the Ahl al-Sunnah regarding the collection of the Qur'an by some Companions during the Prophet's lifetime.

1. Qatadah is reported to have asked Anas ibn Malik as to who had collected the Qur'an during the Prophet's lifetime. "There were four", replied Anas, "all of them from the Amar: Ubayy ibn Ka`b, Muldh ibn Jabal, Zayd ibn Thabit, and Abu Zayd, and we inherited it (the Qur'an) from them."²¹ It should be pointed out that by 'collecting the Qur'an' here is not meant its memorization; for, there were many besides the above-men-tioned among the Prophet's Companions who remembered the entire Qur'an by heart.

2. Zayd ibn Thabit is reported to have said: "We were with the Prophet (S) compiling the Qur'an on riga' (paper, leaves, skin)."²²

3. Ibn Abi Dawild reports with a hasan sanad from Muhammad ibn K`ab al-Qurazi that he said: "Five persons belonging to the Ansar col-lected the Qur'an during the Prophet's era: Muldh ibn Jabal, 'Ukiah ibn Samit, Ubayy ibn Ka`b, Abu' al-Darda', and Abu Ayyub Al-Ansari"²³

4. Al-Bayhaqi and Ibn Abi Dawild record al-Sha'bi as having said:"Six persons collected the Qur'an during the Prophet's era: Ubayy, Zayd, Muldh, Abu al-Darda', Sa'id ibn `Ubayd and Abil Zayd."²⁴

This tradition of al-Sha'bi is well-known, but some narrators changed his words, to state that 'the qurra' of the Qur'an were six during the Prophet's

era.'²⁵ But it is obvious that the Qur'an was recited by more than six persons during that time, and the six specifically mentioned here were those who had collected the Qur'an in writing.

5. That which has been said above is corroborated by the reports that 'Ali (A) collected the Qur'an in three days after the Prophet's demise. The sources of this report will be mentioned later, but it also points towards the fact that the Qur'an was committed to writing in its entirety during the Prophet's lifetime and 'Ali put it together in three days. Otherwise it is not feasible to say that he (A) wrote it or memo-rized it by heart in three days, as claimed by some.²⁶

6. 'Ali ibn Ibrahim reports that the Prophet (S) ordered that the Qur'an, which was written on leaves of silk (hafir) and paper (qirtas) kept in his house, be collected, lest it should perish like the Torah and the Gospel.²⁷

7. Ibn al-Nadim says: "The collectors of the Qur'an during the Prophet's era were: 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, Sa'd ibn Tbayd, Abi al-Dardg Twaymir ibn Zayd, Muldh ibn Jabal, Abu Zayd Thabit ibn Zayd, Ubayy ibn Ka'b and 'Ubayd ibn Mu'iwiyah ibn Zayd ibn Thabit ibn al- Dahhak."²⁸

8. Ibn Nadim, in the biographical account of Majma' ibn Harithah, reports that he collected the whole Qur'an, except one or two sarahs, during the Prophet's era. Ibn Ishaq also states: "Majma' was a young boy when he collected the Qur'an during the Prophet's era."²⁹

9. Ibn Habbab reports that Ubayy collected the Qur'an during the Prophet's era, and God ordered the Prophet (S) to recite the Qur'an to Ubayy.³⁰

As can be understood from these traditions the collectors of the Qur'an were four or six, otherwise its qurra (الْقُرَاء) and Huffaz (الْحَفَاض) were certainly many. Al-Zarkashi gives the names of seven Companions who read the complete Qur'an before the Prophet (S).³¹

(b) Following are the opinions of some scholars regarding the collection of the Qur'an during the Prophet's lifetime:

1. Al-larith al-Muhasibi says: "The writing of the Qur'an is not a new thing, for the Prophet (S) used to order that it should be written down. However, the Qur'an was scattered on riq'a, scapulae, and palm leaves and so al-Siddiq (Abu Bakr) ordered it to be copied in its entirety in a single place, from the scattered pages found in the Prophet's house. Thus he collected it and had it sewn together with thread in order that nothing of it should be lost."³²

2. Abu Shamah says: "Their purpose (that of Abu Bakr and 'Umar) was that the Qur'an should be written down exactly as it was written during the time of the Prophet."³³

3. Al-Zarkashi says: "Undoubtedly, Ubayy ibn Ka'b, 'Abd Allah ibn Mas'ud, and Mu'adh ibn Jabal collected the Qur'an, and this is confirmed by evidence."³⁴

4. Al-Zurqini says: "The Prophet (S) would point out to them the place where a surah should be written, and they would write it on the available material, such as 'usub (palm leaves), likhaf (whitestone tablets), riga', adim (pieces of sheepskin), bones and scapulae, and put them in the Prophet's

house. In this way passed the Prophet's era and this is how the Qur'an was collected."³⁵

5. Dr. 'Abd Shahin writes: "The Qur'an was recorded orally and in writing during the Prophet's era."³⁶

6. Muhammad al-Ghazali writes: "When the Prophet (S) ascended towards the Sublime Abode, the Qur'an, in entirety, had been preserved in breasts (sudur) and in writing (sudur):"³⁷

7. Al-Baillani says: "No man on the earth is more ignorant than the one who imagines that the Prophet (S) treated the Qur'an with negligence, whereas he had appointed the most learned and well-known scribes of the Muhajiran and the Ansar for that purpose."³⁸

We affirm what al-Baillani has said, for it is sheer ignorance to imagine such a thing when the Prophet (S), as mentioned by various narrators, had about forty scribes among the Companions who wrote the Qur'an, and of whom some were especially appointed by him for the task.³⁹

Moreover, the Prophet (S), aside from the writing of the revelation, is known to have greatly emphasized the writing of hadith: بالكتابة العلم قيدا (arrest 'knowledge by writing').⁴⁰ He is on record as having asked different persons — of whom one is 'Abd Allah ibn 'Amr ibn — to commit hadith (ilm) to writing.⁴¹

With the kind of conditions that prevailed in the Arabia of the time, together with the possibility of the loss of the Qur'an, and the warnings of the Book regarding the corruption of the scriptures of the Jews and Christians (2:79, for instance), was it possible that the Prophet (S) should have been neglectful about its writing and that it should have remained unwritten until Zayd ibn Thabit "was forced to collect it from the breasts of men"? Can anyone entertain such a possibility when we have the additional evidence of its collection by the Prophet in the form of the following reports?

It is reported that "Whenever a revelation came to the Prophet (S) he would order one of the scribes, such as Zayd ibn Thabit or someone else, to write the revelation down."⁴²

'Uthman ibn Abi al-'as is reported to have said: "I was sitting with the Prophet (S) when his eyes became fixed on a point for a while, then he said, "Gabriel came to me, and he commanded me to put this verse in this place in this surah."⁴³

Ibn 'Abbas is reported to have said: "When a surah was revealed to the Prophet (S), he would call some scribe and tell him to put the surah in such and such a place."⁴⁴

It is reported that Gabriel would present the Qur'an to the Prophet (S) every year, and in the last year of his life the Qur'an was presented twice to him by Gabriel.⁴⁵

In the light of these reports, it can be stated with assurance that the Qur'an was collected in its entirety during the Prophet's lifetime and the 'collection' done by Abi Bakr and others was in fact the copy-ing of what had been written down, in one codex. These traditions also allow us to refute which has been reported by some writers about the occurrence of

tahrif, who also admit the tawatur of the Qur'an after its collection. Now if the Qur'an was collected during the Prophet's life-time, its tawatur also goes back to that period, and it is not admissible to imagine that tahrif could have occurred after that time.

Evidence from History

There is evidence in the early history of Islam in support of the absence of any intentional tahrif in the Qur'an by the Companions of the Prophet (S).

1. Of these is the tradition according to which `Umar is reported to have said: "Had it not been for (the fear of) the people saying that `Umar added something to the Book of God, I would have written the ayat al-rajm with my own hand (into the Quran)."⁴⁶

It is also reported that `Uthman insisted on the deletion of the letter 'waw' from the ayat al-kanz while the codices were being written وَالَّذِينَ يَكْنُزُونَ in the Surat al-Bard'ah), but he had to desist due to the resistance of other Companions. 'Alba' ibn Ahmad reports that when `Uthman intended the deletion of the waw, Ubayy said to him: "You will have to write it, otherwise I will take up my sword." Uthman had to give in.⁴⁷

2. A similar incident is related of the Second Caliph in regard to the Surat al-Bar'ah. Abu `Ubayd, Ibn Jarir, Ibn al-Mundhir, and Ibn Mardawayh have recorded a tradition from Habib al-Shahid, from 'Amr ibn 'Amir al-'Ansari that `Umar recited the verse 9:100, deleting a waw and read it as follows:

وَالسَّابِقُونَ الْأَوَّلُونَ مِنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَالْأَنْصَارِ الَّذِينَ اتَّبَعُوهُمْ بِإِحْسَانٍ

Zayd ibn Thabit corrected him, saying: الَّذِينَ, and repeated `Umar, insisting that his reading is correct. On this Zayd said: "Amir al- Mu'ninin knows better." However, `Umar asked for Ubayy ibn Kaab to be brought. When he came, 'Omar asked him about the correct reading. "It is وَالَّذِينَ" said Ubayy.⁴⁸

3. In another tradition cited by al-Suyati from Abu al-Shaykh and narrated by Abu Usamah and

Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Tamimi, the two are reported to have said: "Umar ibn al-Khattab once happened to pass by a man reciting

وَالسَّابِقُونَ الْأَوَّلُونَ مِنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَالْأَنْصَارِ الَّذِينَ اتَّبَعُوهُمْ بِإِحْسَانٍ

And the first forerunners [in the faith] among the Muhajireen and the Ansar and those who followed them with good conduct (9:12)

`Umar stopped, and when the man had finished reciting asked him as to who had taught him to read it (as he did). `Ubayy ibn Ka'b, replied the man. 'Let us go to him', said 'Omar. When they went to Ubayy, `Umar said to him, 'O Abir al-Mundhir, tell me, did you teach him to read this verse like this?' He is right,' said Ubayy, 'I heard it from the Prophet's mouth.' You heard it from the Prophet's mouth?' asked `Umar again. 'Yes', said Ubayy, for the third time, getting angry, 'By God, God has revealed it to Gabriel without ever consulting either al-Kattab or his son!' On this, `Umar went away, raising his hands and crying, 'Allah-u akbar! Allah-u akbar!'"⁴⁹

Tahrif in Sunni and Shii Traditions

The purpose of this study about the issue of tahrif in the Qur'an is to examine the doubts raised by some traditionalists on the basis of some traditions which apparently indicate the presence of tahrif in the Qur'an. By the way, our aim is also to refute the allegations of those who ascribe the belief in tahrif of the Qur'an to the Shi'ah in general, on the meager basis that a few of them have believed in it on the basis of an uncritical reliance on the traditions and without a careful examination of their texts and asnad.

Moreover, it is obvious that the sole presence in Shi'i collections of hadith of traditions implying tahrif in the Qur'an cannot be a valid ground for imputing such a belief to the Shi'ah, for we see that the number of such traditions implying the presence of defects in the Quranic text — and those that pertain to the purported exclusion of some verses, or to the deletion of bismillah from the Quranic text and so on — to be found in the Sunni works is much greater than those in the Shii collections of hadith.

Having argued in favor of the absence of tahrif in the Qur'an on the basis of the Qur'an and hadith, we shall examine the asnad and import of the traditions recorded by Sunni and Shii sources that appear to throw doubt on the authenticity and purity of the Quranic text.

Sunni Traditions About Tahrif

Variant Readings Amongst the Companions: Following are some traditions that relate to varying readings of the Qur'an by the Companions:

Umar's Reading

1. Aban ibn 'Imran says: ⁵⁰ "I said to 'Abd al-Rahman ibn al-'Aswad: 'You read

صِرَاطٍ مِّنْ أُنْعَمَ عَلَيْهِمْ غَيْرِ الْمَغْضُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَغَيْرِ الضَّالِّينَ

instead of

صِرَاطِ الَّذِينَ أُنْعَمَتْ عَلَيْهِمْ غَيْرِ الْمَغْضُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا الضَّالِّينَ

According to another tradition, Ibn 'al-'Aswad and 'Alqamah had prayed behind 'Umar, who recited this verse in this fashion.⁵¹ There are five other traditions, each with a different chain (tariq) of transmission, that state that Umar recited this verse in the above-mentioned form.⁵²

2. According to another tradition⁵³, narrated through seven different turuq, 'Umar used to recite verse 3:1,2 in this form:

الم الله لا إله إلا هو الحي القيّام

3. Sufyin ibn 'Amr is reported 'to have said that he heard Ibn al-Zubayr read the verse 74:40

42 in this form:

فِي جَنَاتٍ يَتَسَاءَلُونَ عَنِ الْمُجْرِمِينَ مَا سَلَكَكَ فِي سَقَرٍ

Sufyan ibn 'Amr adds that he heard from Laqit that he had heard ibn al-Zubayr say that he had heard 'Umar recite it in this way.⁵⁴

Ubayy's Reading

4. According to another tradition Said ibn al-Zubayr used to read verse 4:24 in this form

فَمَا اسْتَمْتَعْتُمْ بِهِ مِنْهُنَّ إِلَى أَجَلٍ مُّسَمًّى

adding that such was the reading of Ubayy ibn Ka`b".⁵⁵

5. Hammad reports that he had read لِلَّذِينَ يُفْسِدُونَ in the mushaf of Ubayy ibn Ka`b⁵⁶ (with الَّذِينَ instead of الذين).

6. Again Hammad reports that he saw verse 2:158 written in this form in Ubayy's mushaf (with أُنْ instead of أَنْ).⁵⁷ فَلَا جُنَاحَ عَلَيْهِ إِلَّا يَطُوفَ بِهِمَا

7. Al-Rabi` reports having read verse 5:89 written in this form in Ubayy's mushaf.⁵⁸

أَمِنْ كَفَّارَةٍ فِي مَتَابَعَاتٍ ثَلَاثَةِ فَصِيَامٍ

Ibn Masud's Mushaf

8. Yasir ibn `Amr reports from `Abd Allah ibn Mas'ud that the latter read verse 4:40 in this form ذَرَّةٌ (with نَمْلَةٌ instead of ذَرَّةٌ).⁵⁹ ذَرَّةٌ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَظْلِمُ مِثْقَالَ نَمْلَةٍ

9. Also, 'al-Nazal reports Ibn Mas'ud to have recited the verse 3:43 like this: وَأَسْجُدِي وَارْكَعِي مَعَ الرَّاكِعِينَ).⁶⁰ (instead of وَأَسْجُدِي فِي السَّاجِدِينَ

10. According to 'Al Ha, in the reading of Ib'n Mas'ud verse 2:197 فِي الْحَجِّ (instead of فِي الْحَجِّ).⁶¹ (instead of فِي الْحَجِّ) مواسم الحج

11. According to 'Al-Hakam it is بل يدها بسطان in the reading of Ibn Masud (with بسوطتان).⁶² (instead of بسطان) مبسوطتان

12. According to Sufyan it was وتزودوا وخير الزاد التقوى, in Ibn Masud reading of verse 2:197 (without فَإِنَّ).⁶³ (without فَإِنَّ)

13. According to Harun it was من بقلها وقتلها وثومها وعدسها وبصلها in Ibn Mas'ud's reading of verse 2:61 (with ثومها instead of فومها) He says that Ibn 'Abbas also followed this reading.⁶⁴

14. According to Maymun ibn Mihran, Surah 103 was read as follows in Ibn Masud's reading:⁶⁵

والعصر

إن الإنسان لفي خسر

وانه فيه الى آخر الدهر

إِلَّا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ وَتَوَّصُوا بِالصَّبْرِ

15. According to Sufyan, the followers of Ibn Masud's reading read verse 2:202 in this fashion:

مَّمَّا).⁶⁶ (with ما instead of مَّا) اولئك لهم نصيب ما اكتسبوا

Some similar other peculiarities of Ibn Mas'ud's reading are the following:

16. لينك قبله instead of وَلِكُلِّ جَعَلْنَا قَبْلَةَ يَرْضُونَهَا perhaps in verse 2:144 (instead of تَرْضَاهَا فُلْنُو) ⁶⁷
17. وَاَتَمَّوْا الْحَجَّ وَالْعُمْرَةَ لِلَّهِ, in verse 2:196 (instead of ⁶⁸ وَاَتَمَّوْا الْحَجَّ وَالْعُمْرَةَ لِلَّهِ)
18. وَحَيْثُ مَا كُنْتُمْ فَوَلُّوا وُجُوهَكُمْ قِبَلَهِ instead of قِبَلِهِ in verses 2:144, 150 (with شَطْرَهُ) ⁶⁹
19. Perhaps in verse 31:19. ⁷⁰ بِهْ وَلَا تُخَافُتْ بِصَوْتِكَ وَلَا تَطَالُ
20. كَذَلِكَ أَخَذَ رَبُّكَ إِذَا أَخَذَ الْقُرَى in verse 11:102 (without waw). ⁷¹
21. وَزُلْزِلُوا فَزُلْزِلُوا يَقُولُ حَقِيقَةُ الرَّسُولِ وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا. ⁷² in verse 2:214.

After citing the above-mentioned differences of readings, the author of Ibn Masahif (pp.57 - 73) goes on to compare the reading of Ibn Masud with that of others. Similarly Ibn Abi Dawud also cites more than 130 instances, other than those cited above, of such instances of variant readings.

Ibn `Abbass Reading

After citing the above instances from the reading of Ibn Mas'ud, the author of al-Masahif goes on to cite the peculiarities of the reading of Ibn 'Abbas. Some of them are the following:

22. لَا in verse 2:158 (with the addition of ⁷³ لَا) وَلَا جُنَاحَ عَلَيْهِ أَنْ لَا يَطُوفَ بِهِمَا
 23. لَيْسَ عَلَيْكُمْ جُنَاحٌ أَنْ تَبْتَغُوا فَضْلًا مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ فِي مَوَاسِمِ الْحَج in verse 2:198 (with the addition of ⁷⁴ فِي مَوَاسِمِ الْحَج)
 24. إِنَّمَا ذَلِكُمُ الشَّيْطَانُ يُخَوِّفُكُمْ أَوْلِيَاءَهُ in verse 3:175 (with ⁷⁵ يُخَوِّفُكُمْ instead of يُخَوِّفُكُمْ)
 25. (كَسَبُوا instead of اِكْتَسَبُوا) أُولَئِكَ لَهُمْ نَصِيبٌ مِمَّا اِكْتَسَبُوا in verse 2:202
- According to Abu Ya`lam, al-'A'mash also read the verse in this way. ⁷⁶
26. وَأَقِيمُوا الْحَجَّ وَالْعُمْرَةَ لِلَّهِ in verse 2:196. ⁷⁷
 27. بَعْضُ in verse 3:159 (with the addition of ⁷⁸ بَعْضُ) وَشَاوَرَهُمْ فِي بَعْضِ الْأَمْرِ
 28. وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَا مِنْ قَبْلِكَ مِنْ رَسُولٍ وَلَا نَبِيٍّ مُخَدِّثٍ in verse 22:52 (with the addition of ⁷⁹ مُخَدِّثٍ)
 29. يَا حَسْرَةً عَلَى الْعِبَادِ in verse 36:30 (instead of ⁸⁰ يَا حَسْرَةً عَلَى الْعِبَادِ)
 30. عَنْهَا in verse 7:187 (with ⁸¹ عَنْهَا instead of كَأَنَّكَ حَفِيٌّ بِهَا)

Variant Readings amongst the Tabiun

42. Ubayd ibn Umayr is reported to have said that the first verse to be revealed was اقرا باسم ربك الذي خلق, (instead of سبّح اسمك ربك الذي خلقك), 93. (196:1)

43. Ata read 3:17 in this way: 94. يَخْوَفُكُمْ اُولِيَاءَهُ

44. Ikrimah read 2:184 in this way: 95. وعلى الذين يطوفونه

45. Mujahid read 2:158 in this way: 96. فلا جناح ان يطوف بهما

46. Said ibn Jubayr read 5:5 in this way. 97. اُحلّ لكم الطيبات وطعام الذين اوتوا من قبلكم with the addition of الكتاب من قبلكم

47. S'a'id also read 7:117 in this way: 98. فاذا هي تلقم ما يأفكون with it instead of تلقف .

48. `Alqamah and al-'Aswad used to read 1:7 in this manner: 99. صراط من انعمت عليهم غير المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالّين

49. Muhammad ibn Abi Musa read 5:103 in this way: 100. ولكن الذين كفروا يعقلون instead of يفقهون, with يفقهون على الله الكذب واكثرهم لا يفقهون

50. Hattan ibn `Abd Allah used to swear that 3:144 was like this وما محمد الرسل . 101. instead of رسل with الا رسول قد خلت من قبله رسل

51. Sālil ibn kaysan read وجاءهم البينات instead of وجاءتهم البينات and يكاد تكاد . 102. instead

52. Al A`mash is reported to have read القيام with الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيّام instead of القيوم. 103.

53. Al A`mash read انعام وجرث جرث instead of جرث 104.

Tahrif in the Sihah and other Works

There are many traditions in the six Sihah, as well as in other compilations, which imply the occurrence of tahrif in the Qur'anic text. If one were to regard these traditions as authentic, one will have to admit the occurrence of tahrif. Following are some of these:

حدثنا قبصة بن عقبة...عن ابراهيم بن علقمة قال:"دخلت في نفر من اصحاب عبد الله الشام فسمع بنا ابو الدرداء فاتانا فقال: افيكم من يقرأ؟ فقلنا: نعم. قال: فايكم؟ فاشاروا الي, فقال: اقرا, فقرات:"والليل اذا يغشى و النهار اذا تجلى و الذكر و الانثى" قال: انت سمعتها من في صاحبك قلت نعم, قال: وانا سمعتها من في رسول الله (ص) وهؤلاء يابون علينا.

1. Ibrahim ibn `Alqamah says: "I entered al-Sham with a group of `Ubayd Allah's companions. Abu al-Darda' heard of our coming. He came to us and asked, "Is there any one among you who is a qari?" Yes', said we. "Which one of you?" asked he. They pointed towards me. He asked me to recite. I recited (instead of *وما* *والليل اذا يغشى و النهار اذا تجلى و الذكر و الانثى*) He said, 'Did you hear it from Your teacher's mouth?' "Yes', I said, 'I heard it from the Prophet's mouth, and yet they reject (our assertion).'"¹⁰⁵

2. Anas ibn Malik¹⁰⁶ reports that Ra`l, Dhakwan, `Asyah and Bami Kiyan asked the Prophet's help against their enemies. He aided them with seventy men of the Ansar whom we called the reciters' (qurrie). They collected wood by day and prayed by night, until they were killed treacherously by the Well of Maunah. When the news reached the Prophet (S) he would, for a month, curse the Arab tribes of Rai, Dhakwan, `Asyah and Banu Kiyan in the qunat of the morning prayer. Anas says: "We recited a verse of the Qur'an regard-ing them which was omitted afterwards:

بلغوا عنا قومنا انا لقينا رينا فرضي عنا وارضانا

حدثني الاعلى...عن انس بن مالك ان رجلا و ذكوان وعصية وبني كيان استمدوا رسول الله على عدوهم فامدهم بسبعين من الانصار كنا نسميهم القراء في زمانهم كانوا يحتطبون بالنهار و يصلون بالليل حتى اذا كانوا بيئر معونة قتلوهم و غدروا بهم فبلغ النبي (ص) ذلك ففقت شهرا يدعو في الصبح على احياء من احياء العرب على رعل و ذكوان و عصية و بني كيان. قال انس: فقرانا فيهم قرانا ثم ان ذلك رفع.."بلغوا عنا قومنا انا لقينا رينا فرضي عنا و ارضانا."

3. `Umar said: "Had it not been for (the fear of) the people saying that `Umar added something to the Book of God, I would have written the ayat al-raim with my own hand (into the Qur'an)."¹⁰⁷

عن عمر: لولا ان يقول الناس ان عمر زاد في كتاب الله لكتبت اية الرجم بيدي.

According to this riwayat, it appears that `Umar believed in the tahrif of the Qur'an and that it was incomplete, for the said 'verse' is absent from the extant Qur'an. He says that the verse was a part of the Qur'an not that its reading (tiletwah) had been abolished. Hence al-Suyuti quotes al-Zarkashi, in al-Burk-in, as stating: "The statement apparently means that it was

permissible for Umar to have written it, but that he was deterred on account of public opinion. However, a thing which is permissible always remains such, although sometimes it may be prevented by some external hindrance.¹⁰⁸

4. It has been reported from Ibn Mas`ud that he had omitted the Surat al-Falaq and Surat al-Nos from his mushaf and he did not consider these two surahs as part of the Qur'an)¹⁰⁹

5. Al-Bukhari in his Ta'rikh records Hudhayfah as having said: "I had learnt the reading of the Surat al-Ahzab from the Prophet (S), but I forgot seventy of its verses, which I could not find (anywhere)."¹¹⁰ Also, Abu Ubayd, in al-Fadd'il, as well as Ibn al Anbari and Ibn Mardawayh, report `A'ishah as having said:

كانت سورة الاحزاب تقرا في زمان رسول الله (ص) مائتي اية فلما كتب عثمان المصاحف لم يقدر منها الا على ما هو الان.

The Surat al-'Ahzab as read during the Prophet's days contained two hundred verses. But when 'Uthman wrote the mushaf, he could not find more of it than what it is now.¹¹¹

Following is another related riwayat about the surah

عن عبد الرزاق عن الثوري...عن زر بن حبیش قال: قال لي أبي بن كعب كأيّن تقرأون سورة الاحزاب؟ قال: قلت ثلاثا وسبعين و إما ارباً وسبعين. قال قط: ان كانت لتقارب سورة البقرة او هي اطول منها وان كانت فيها اية الرجم قال قلت: ابا المنذر ما اية الرجم؟ قال: "اذا زنيا الشيخ او الشيخة فارجموها البتة نكالا من الله والله عزيز حكيم."

Zirr ibn 'Hubaysh says: "Ubayy ibn Kab asked me, "How many verses do you recite in the Surat al-'Ahzab?" Seventy-three or seventy-four, " I replied. 'Never!', he said. "It is about the length of the Surat al-Baqarah or lengthier, and in it is the ayat al-rajm." I asked him, 'Abu Mundhir, what is ayat al-rajm? He said: "It is: "When an old man and an old woman fornicate, stone the two of them; definitely, a punishment from God, and God is All-powerful, All-wise."¹¹²

اخبرنا عبد الرزاق عن ابن جريح عن عمرو بن دينار قال: سمعت بجالة التميمي قال: وجد عمر بن الخطاب مصحفا في حجر غلام في المسجد, فيه: "النبي اولى بالمؤمنين من انفسهم وهو ابوهم". فقال: حكها يا غلام. فقال: لا احكها وهي في مصحف ابي بن كعب. فانطلق الى ابي فقال له: "اني شغلني القرآن وشغلك الصنفق بالاسواق."

6. Amr ibn Mir says: "I heard Bajitlah al-Tamimi state: 'Umar ibn al-Khattab found a mushaf with a youth in the mosque. In it was written: 'Erase it, boy', said `Umar. 'I will not erase it, for it -is so in the of Ubayy ibn Ka`b,' said the youth. `Umar went to Ubayy, who told him: The Quran has kept me busy, and you have been busy making transactions in the bazaar."¹¹³

7. Abu Waqid al-Laythi says: "Whenever a revelation came to the Apostle of God, he would come to us and teach us that which had been revealed to him. One day he came and said: 'Verily, God says.'¹¹⁴

حدثنا عبد الله بن صالح عن هشام بن سعيد عن زيد بن اسلم عن عطاء عن يسار عن ابي واقد الليثي قال: "كان رسول الله اذا اوحى اليه اتيناه فعلمنا مما اوحى اليه قال: فجئت ذات يوم فقال ان الله يقول:

"انا انزلنا المال لاقام الصلاة وايتاء الزكاة ولو ان لابن ادم واديا لاحب ان يكون له الثاني ولو كان له الثاني لاحب ان يكون اليهما الثالث ولا يملا جوف ابن ادم الا التراب ويتوب الله على من تاب."

روى ابو حرب بن ابي الاسود عن ابيه قال: بعث ابو موسى الاشعري الى قراء اهل البصرة فدخل عليه ثلاثمائة رجل قد قراوا القرآن، فقال: انتم خيار اهل البصرة وقراءهم فاتلوه ولا يطولن عليكم الامل فتقسوا قلوبكم كما قست قلوب من كان قبلكم وانا كنا نقرأ سورة نشبهها في الطول والشدة ببراءة فانسيتهما، غير اني قد حفظت منها، "...لو كان لابن ادم واديان من مال لا يتغى واديا ثالثا ولا يملا جوف ابن ادم الا التراب". وكنا نقرأ سورة كنا نشبهها باحدى المسبحات فانسيتهما غير اني حفظت منها: "يا ايها الذين امنوا لم تقولون ما لا تفعلون فتكتب شهادة في اعناقكم فتسألون يوم القيامة."

8. Abu Harb ibn Abi al-Aswad narrates from his father that he said: "Abu Musa AlAshari sent for the qurra of Basrah. Three hundred qurra of the Qur'an came to him. He told them. 'You are the elect of the people of Basrah.' He asked them to recite, which they did. (He told them), "Do not remain long without reciting the Quran, lest your hearts, like those who went before you, should harden. Indeed, we used to recite a surah similar in length and power to the Surat al-Bara'ah, which I forgot except for a single verse:

لو كان لابن ادم واديان من مال لا يتغى واديا ثالثا ولا يملا جوف ابن ادم الا التراب

We would also read a surah like one or the al-Musabbihat,¹¹⁵ which I forgot all except this:

يا ايها الذين امنوا لم تقولون ما لا تفعلون فتكتب شهادة في اعناقكم فتسألون يوم القيامة

9. `Abd Allah ibn Salamah reports Hudhayfah as having said: "What you read is a fourth of what it was". He meant the Surat al-Barah.¹¹⁶

10. Ibn 'Abbas is reported to have said that verse 26:214 was re-vealed like this¹¹⁷:

وأندر عشيرتك الاقربين ورهطك منهم المخلصين

11. `Umayrah ibn Farwah is reported to have said: "Umar ibn al-Khattib said to Ubayy: 'Didn't we use to recite in our reading of the Book of God:

'Ali is the Mawla of the believers. For if thou do it not, thou will not have conveyed His message. Allah will protect thee from the people." ¹²⁶

اخرج ابن مردويه عن ابن مسعود، قال: كنا نقرأ على عهد رسول الله (ص): يا ايها الرسول بلغ ما أنزل اليك من ربك ان علياً مولى المؤمنين و ان لم تفعل فما بلغت رسالته والله يعصمك من الناس.

19. Ibn Majah records `Aishah as having said: "The verses of raim and ridaah (the latter referred to in 16 above) were revealed, and they were in a sahfah kept under my pillow. When the Messenger of God died and we were busy with his funeral, domestic animals entered (my room) and ate it up." ¹²⁷

اخرج ابن ماجه عن عائشة قالت: لقد نزلت اية الرجم ورضاعة الكبير عشراً ولقد كانت في صحيفة تحت سريري قلما مات رسول الله وتشاغلنا بموته دخل الداجن فأكلها وروى أبو سفيان الكلاعي أن مسلمة بن مخلد الانصاري قال لهم ذات يوم: " أخبروني بآيتين في القرآن لم يكتبتا في المصحف ، فلم يخبروه ، وعندهم أبو الكنود سعد بن مالك ، فقال مسلمة: إن الذين آمنوا وهاجروا وجاهدوا في سبيل الله بأموالهم وأنفسهم ألا أبشروا أنتم المفلحون والذين آوهم ونصروهم وجادلوا عنهم القوم الذين غضب الله عليهم أولئك لا تعلم نفس ما أخفي لهم من قرة أعين جزاء بما كانوا يعملون.

20. Abu Sufyan narrates that one day Maslamah ibn Mukhallad al-Ansari, addressing a group in which was Abu al-Kannud Sa'd ibn Malik, said: "Tell me, what are the two verses of the Qur'an which were never written in the mushaf." When no one answered, Maslamah said: (They are) ¹²⁸

إِنَّ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَهَاجَرُوا وَجَاهَدُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ بِأَمْوَالِهِمْ وَأَنْفُسِهِمْ أَلَا أَبْشُرُوا أَنْتُمُ الْمَفْلُحُونَ وَالَّذِينَ آوَوْهُمْ وَنَصَرُوهُمْ وَجَادَلُوا عَنْهُمْ الْقَوْمَ الَّذِينَ غَضِبَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمْ أُولَئِكَ لَا تَعْلَمُ نَفْسٌ مَا أَخْفَى لَهُمْ مِنْ قُرَّةِ أَعْيُنٍ جَزَاءُ بِمَا كَانُوا يَعْمَلُونَ

روى الميسور بن مخزومة قال: "قال عمر لعبد الرحمن بن عوف: ألم تجد فيما أنزل علينا: ((جاهدوا كما جاهدتم أول مرة)) فإننا لا نجدها؟ قال: أُسْقِطَتْ فيما أُسْقِطَ من القرآن."

21. Al-Misawwar ibn Makhramah reports that `Umar asked `Abd al-Rahman ibn `Awf: "Didn't you come across مرة أول in that which was revealed to us? For we don't find it." `Abd al-Rahman replied, "It is of those (verses) which have dropped from the Quran. ¹²⁹

رُوي عن أبي بن كعب أنه كتب في مصحفه سورتي الحنفد و الخلع: ((اللهم إنا نستعينك و نستغفرك و نثني عليك ولا نُكفرك و نخلع و نترك من يَفْجُرُك. اللهم إياك نعبد ولك نصلي

و نسجد و اليك نسعى و نخفد نرجو رحمتك ونخشى عذابك إن عذابك بالكافرين ملحق .

22. Ubayy ibn Kaab is reported to have written two surahs, al- Hafd and al-Khar, in his mushaf.(The alleged surahs are):¹³⁰

اللهم إنا نستعينك و نستغفرك ونثني عليك ولا نُكْفِرُكَ و نخلع و نترك من يفجرُكَ. اللهم إياك نعبد ولك نصلي و نسجد و اليك نسعى و نخفد نرجو رحمتك ونخشى عذابك إن عذابك بالكافرين ملحق

An Evaluation of the Sunni Traditions Regarding Tahrif

1. The tawatur of the Quranic text is regarded as a confirmed fact by all Muslims. Hence any tradition that explicitly or implicitly throws doubt on the tawatur of the Qur'an, or a part of it, is unacceptable. Also, on this basis, we have to reject all those traditions which state the abolishment (naskh) of the reading (tilawah) of some verses. Moreover, each of these traditions falls in the category of Odd, and as such they cannot contest the established tawatur of the Qur'an. They do not deserve any credence whatsoever, even if they have been transmitted through a technically Sahi chain of transmission, because they contra-dict the confirmed tawatur of the Qur'an as unanimously accepted by all Muslims.

2. We shall discuss later the divergent readings narrated from the Companions of some of the Quranic verses. But it should be pointed out here that these different readings emerged amongst the Companions after the Prophet (S), due to several factors. The Companions came from different tribes, each with its own characteristic accent. Most of them had not heard the entire Qur'an from the Prophet (S) himself. Some of them forgot the exact words of some verse or its correct read-ing, imagining that the correct reading was as they had remembered it, as is shown by many of the traditions mentioned above.

Later on when they dispersed throughout the various cities and towns, different readings became current in different places. Such was the situation when Hudhayfah, who was dismayed on observing the difference of reading between the people of Iraq, Syria and Azerbaijan, brought the matter to the notice of `Uthman. `Uthman, by preparing standard copies of the Qur'an and sending them to the various regions, brought about homo-geneity amongst the people in regard to the reading of the Qur'an. This action saved the Qur'an from tahrif and loss, and `Uthman was sup-ported in this step by Imam 'Ali (A).

Accordingly, it may be said that the divergent readings narrated by the various qurra' and exegetes were not all correct. Rather, only that reading whose tawatur is confirmed can be regarded as correct, and in a case where more than a single reading is mutawatir, it may be said that all of them can be regarded as acceptable.

3. As to the purported denial of Ibn Mas`ud that the Mu`awwid-hatan (surahs 113 & 114) are part of the Qur'an, some, like Fakhr al- Din al-Razi, do not believe that Ibn Mas'ud ever said such a thing. Even if he did, it

cannot be accepted, for, as al-Nawawi points out, there is consensus amongst Muslims in regarding the al-Fatihah and the Mu`aw-widhatan as part of the Qur'an, and there is confirmed tawatur in this regard. Hence Ibn Mas`ud's statement cannot be given any credence.

Also, Ibn Hazm and al-Baqillani¹³¹ do not consider the ascription of this denial to Ibn Masud as authentic. Moreover, it has been reported that 'Asim took his qira'ah from Ibn Mas'ud and the presence of al-Fatihah as well as the two other surahs in Asim's mushaf is a confirmed fact. The author of Manahil al-`Irfan remarks that given the tawatur of their being part of the Quran¹³² Ibn Mas'ud's denial is of no consequence.

Al-Qastallani, however, tries to explain away the traditions about Ibn Masud's denial, by suggesting that what Ibn Mas'ud meant is that he had not written the two surahs in his mushaf.¹³³ This explanation of al-Qastallani is untenable because if Ibn Mas'ud's denial did not pertain to their being part of the Qur'an, why should he have failed to write them in his mushaf?

As to the so-called surahs of al-Khar and al-Hafd and their ascription to Ubayy's mushaf, al-Qadi remarks:

It is not permissible to say of `Abd Allah, Ubayy ibn Kai, Zayd, `Uthman, or 'Ali (A) or any of his sons and descendants, that they contested the authenticity of some verse or deleted or altered the Book of God or advocated some reading contrary to the conventional mode. The prayer narrated from Ubayy ibn Ka`b, which he had recorded in his mushaf, cannot be said to be a part of the Quran rather, it is a kind of prayer. It is reported that Ubayy had recorded it in his mushaf, and he would record in his mushaf other things beside the Quran, such as prayers and interpretations.¹³⁴

Al-Baqillani also supports this view and adds that had it been a part of the Qur'an it would have been transmitted to us as such.¹³⁵

As to the so-called ayat al-rajm narrated from Umar, it must be said that he is the sole person to have narrated it; hence the riwayat is a khabar wahid. Also, his contemporary Muslims did not accept it despite his great insistence. Moreover, the word, which occurs in it, has not been used in any literary Arabic writing of the period.

Accordingly, the traditions found in Sunni works which imply the occurrence of tahrif in the Qur'an, whether they are found in the or some other work, do not deserve any credence. The Quranic text enjoys the tawatur of transmission, while these traditions lack it. They pertain either to some confusion or error of the Companions, or are basically unauthentic.

The Bismalah and Tahrif

Another issue that relates to the matter of tahrif in the Qur'an is the claim of some that the Basmalah at the beginning of each Quranic surah is not part of the Quranic text. Al-Zamakhshari states that the jurists and qurra' of Madinah, Basrah, and al-Sham are of the opinion that the Basmalah is not part of the Surat al-Hamd and other surahs.¹³⁶

There is also a riwayat according to which it was revealed in parts.¹³⁷ Al-Baqillani devotes several pages to this issue, trying to prove that the Bismalah is part of no Quranic surah except al-Naml.¹³⁸ Fakhr al -Razi,

sensing that such a view amounts to belief in tahrif of the Qur'an, has advanced an argument to refute it. He says:

If the Bismalah is not part of the Quran, it means that the Quran has not been secure from reduction, addition and alteration. If it be permissible to think that the Companions have added something to the Quran, then it would also be permissible to hold that they have deleted things from it. In such a case, the Qur'an loses its credibility and authority:¹³⁹

Al-Sayyid Ibn Tawus, in *Sad al-masud*, refuting the allegation of some Sunni scholar that the Shiah believe in tahrif of the Qur'an, writes:

We find in your tafsir that you claim that the Bismalah is not part of the Holy Quran, although `Uthman had it written in the Qur'an. And such as the creed of your ancestors, who do not narrate it as a verse of the Quran. Although it constitutes one hundred and thirteen verses of the Holy Book, you claim that they are additional and are not part of the Quran. Then, O Abu 'Ali isn't this a confession of yours that you have added something to the Quran which is not a part of it?'¹⁴⁰

Al-Huruf al-Muqatta'ah and Tahrif

Al-Huruf al-Muqattaah are the disjointed letters (like **الم**) occurring at the beginning of some surahs. Some Sunni scholars are on record (among them `Abd al-Rahman ibn Aslam)¹⁴¹ as claiming that these letters are the names of the surahs. Now it has been said that the names of the surahs were adopted by the Companions, and if it is claimed that these letters are the names of the surahs in whose beginning they appear, the claim amounts to the belief that additions have been made to the Quranic text. Al-Sayyid Ibn Tawus, in the same book, answering a Sunni opponent, writes.

In your exegesis you state that the huruf muqatta'ah that occur in the beginning of the Quranic surahs are the names of the surahs. However, we see that this holy mushaf on which, as you say, your sire, `Uthman ibn `Affan, brought the people together, also contains other names at the beginning of the surahs which have the huruf muqatta'ah in addition to these huruf (let-ters).¹⁴²

Abolishment of Tilawah

The traditions which imply the loss of parts of some surahs — such as al-Baqarah and al-'Ahzab, etc. — were explained by some as referring to the naskh (abolishment or abrogation) of the tilawah (reading) of those parts by God. However, we cannot accept this explanation, for the conception of naskh al-tilawah emerged in later times, in order to justify the traditions narrated by Sunni traditionalists implying the loss or the deletion of some surahs, verses or their parts. Moreover, a group of Sunni scholars also reject the notion of naskh al-tilawah. Al-Sarakhsi, discussing this issue, writes:

The Muslims do not consider this kind of abrogation in the Quran as permissible. Some heretics, who hide their unbelief under a profession of Islam and desire to corrupt it, say that it is permissible, even after the demise of the Prophet (S). They argue on the basis of some traditions, such as the narration from Abu Bakr that **لا ترغبوا عن آبائكم فإنه كفر بكم** (is a part

of the Qur'an), or the one from Anas that بلغوا عنا قومنا أنَّا لقينا ربنا فرضي عنا و (used to be a Quranic verse), or the statement of `Umar that "we used to read the Ayat al-rajm in the Book of God, and we used to act upon it," or the statement of Ubayy that "the Surat al-Ahzab was equal to or longer than the Surat al-Baqarah."

And al-Shafii, although presumably he does not agree with the statements of these, has argued on the basis of something close to it in regard to the number of radaat, for he considers as sahih the riwayat from 'Aishah that:

ان مما انزل في القرآن: "عشر رضعات معلومات يحرم" فنسخن بخمس رضعات معلومات، وكان ذلك مما يتلى في القرآن بعد وفاة رسول الله.

Al-Sarakhai rejects all such statements implying the occurrence of tahrif in the Qur'an on the basis of verse 15:9. Then he adds:

It is obvious that the meaning of the verse is not that the Quran shall be pre-served near God, for God does not forget or lose anything; what the verse means is that the Qur'an would be preserved in our midst. It is certain that there can be no abrogation in the Shari'ah through some revelation occurring after the Prophet's demise, because if such a thing be admissible in regard to a part of that which was revealed to the Prophet (S), we shall have to admit that such a thing will be allowable in regard to the whole of it. Hence, such a thing amounts to stating that none of the duties, which for the people rest upon the revelation, will remain obligatory. And what can be unseemingly than such a statement?

•Dr. Subbi al-Salih also writes:

Abrogation has been divided by them into three kinds:

- (1) the abrogation of a command without that of the tilawah (of its related verse);
- (2) the abrogation of tilawah without that of the command;
- (3) the abrogation of a verse's tilawah together with its command.

They display an amazing intrepidity regarding the second and the third kinds, in which, they claim, the reading of specific verses has been abolished with or without the abrogation of the command. However, one who notices the artificiality of these classifications will soon discover their compound error; for a classification of issues is valid when there are many, or at least sufficient, instances of each kind so as to permit the formulation of a rule.

But the lovers of naskh have no more than one or two instances of these two kinds, and all the traditions that they mention in this regard are akhbar ahad, which as such neither carry any weight nor produce any certainty regarding the Quranic revelation and its abrogation. This correct viewpoint has been espoused by Ibn zafar¹⁴³ in his book al-Yanbue, where he has declined to admit that they are instances of the naskh altilawah, saying, "This is because a khabar wahid does not establish (anything regarding) the Qurio.,¹⁴⁴

Dr. Subhi al-Sahi also mentions the instances of such naskh as (ayat al-rajm, `ashr rada'at, etc. However, he makes no comment regarding the presence of such traditions in the Sihah including the works of Muslim and al-Bukhari, as well as other Sunni compilations. Although he points out that the ayat al-rajm is spurious, he does not say who is responsible for having fabricated it.

Similarly, what are we to say about the traditions narrated from Abu Musa Al Ashari, Ibn `Umar, Ubayy ibn Ka`b and others? Are they to be considered as sahih traditions or spurious fabrications? Do not those traditions of the which being khabar wahid fail to establish anything regarding the Qur'an, amount nevertheless to statements declaring the occurrence of tahrif in the Qur'an? Al-Sayyid says in this regard:

The claim of the occurrence of naskh al-tilawah amounts to claiming the occurrence of tahrif and loss. To explain, naskh al-tilawah could either be done by the Messenger of God (S) or by someone who succeeded him to the office of leadership. When what the believers in such a naskh mean is that it was done by the Prophet (S), it is something which requires conclusive proof. All the Muslim scholars agree that naskh of the Book by khabar wahid is not permissible, and a group of them have stated this expressly in their books on jurisprudence and other subjects.¹⁴⁵

Rather, al-Shifi'i, and most of his followers, as well as majority of the Ahl al-Zahir (the ' Literalists), regard the abrogation of the Book even by mutawitir sunnah as impermissible. This is also the stand of Ahmed ibn Hanbal in one of the two traditions narrated from him. Moreover, a group of those who admit the permissibility of the naskh of the Quran by mutawitir sunnah, deny that such a thing has actually occurred.¹⁴⁶ On the basis of this, is it correct to ascribe such a naskh to the Prophet (S) on the grounds of the reports of these narrators?

Moreover, the ascription of the naskh to the Prophet (S) contradicts a group of traditions according to which the deletion occurred after him (as mentioned in the preceding discussion).

But if what they mean is that the naskh was carried out by those who ruled after the Prophet (S), such a claim amounts to belief in tahrif. Accordingly, it may be said that belief in tahrif is the creed of the majority of the scholars of the Ahl al-Sunnah, for they believe in the permissibility of naskh al-tilawah, with or without the abrogation of the A group of the Mulazdah,¹⁴⁷ it is true, believed in the impermissibility of naskh¹⁴⁸

Among those who have rejected naskh al-tilawah are al-Jaziri in his work al-Fiqh al-madhahib al arba`ah, iii, 257, and al-'Ustadh Sayis in Fath al-Mannan ala husn al arid, 216-217.¹⁴⁹

Endnotes

1. Al-Mufradat, 112.
2. Rawdat al-Kafi, 128; al-Wafi, v, 274.
3. Gharib, al-hadith, ii, 65
4. Al-Mizan, xii, 103, 104.
5. Al-Kashshaf, iii, 572
6. Al-Bayan, 226
7. Al-Tafsir al-kabir, xix, 160L-161
8. Tafsir Al-Safi, 898
9. Majma' al-baycin, v & vi, 331; commenting on the verse, Qatidah says, "Iblis cannot add a falsehood (Batil) to it, nor can he banish a truth from it;" al-Durr al-manthur, iv, 94
10. Al-Bayan fi tafsir al-Qur'an, 227-228
11. Al-Tafsir al-kabir, v, 258
12. Al-Mizan, xvii, 424
13. For all the three, see al-Sahih min sirat i, 30 from Ufa' al-Hanafiyyah, 43; see also Wasa'il xviii, 78-79, from al-Kafi, al-Mahaisin and al-'Amal; see also Abd al-Razzaq's Musannaf, xi, 156, x, 313, vi, 112, Tahib Ta'rikh Dimashq, xv, 134, Tafsir al-tabayin, 1, 28, al-Bayan wa al-tabayin, ii, 28.
14. Tafsir i-51
15. Sunan Al-Darhimi ii, 431, 432, for the large number of the sources of this hadith see Allamah AlAmini's al-Ghadir, the section on Hadith al-Thaqalayn. See also the related part of al-Sayyid Hamid Husayn al-Hindi's `Abaqat al Anwar
16. Nahj ul Balagah Khutba no 156
17. Ibid, Khutba No 176
18. Ibid, Khutba No 18 Rabi al-abrar ii 80
19. Ruwad Al Akhbar I, 7
20. Musannaf Ibn Abu Shaybah, x, 505 on its margin from Sunan Ibn Majah, 228
21. Sahih al-Bukhari, vi, 230; al-Tabaqat al-kubra, ii, 355, 356, states that they were five; Buhut hawl 'ulum al-Quran, 215; al-Burhan fi 'Ulam al-Qur'an, 241; Ibn Kathir's Tafsir, 1, 28
22. Al-Hakim, al-Mustadrak, cited by al-Burhcin, i, 237; Musannaf Ibn Abi Shaybah, xii, 191.
23. Al-Itqan i-72
24. Al-Tabaqat ii, 355, 356; al-Itqan, 1, 72; Bulhut hawl 'ulam al-Quran 214; Mir al-qabas, 105, 245; al-Burhan, i, 241.
25. Musannaf ibnAbi Shaybah, x, 500
26. `Abd Al Sabur Shihin, Ta'rikh al-Qur'an, 71
27. Al-Sijistani, al-Masaihif, 10; Umdat Al-Qari xx, 16
28. Ibn al-Nadim, al-Fihrist, 30
29. Al-Taratib al-idariyyah, i, 46, from al-Tabaqat, i, 34
30. Mashahir Ulama al-amsar, 12
31. Al-Burhan fi 'ulum al-Quran, i, 243
32. Al-Itqan, i, 58, from Fahm al-sunan
33. Al-Itqan I, 58
34. Al-Burhan fi `Ulam al-Qur'an
35. Manahil Al-Irfan I, 240
36. Ta'rikh al-Qur'an, 57
37. Nazarat fi al-Qur'an, 35
38. Al-'Intisar, 99.
39. Dr. Ramiyar's Ta'rik-e Qur'an, 96; Subah Al Asha i, 92; Dr. Shahin's Ta'rikh al-Qur'an, 54
40. Al-Taratib Al-Idariyaah 244, 247, 248; Akhbar Isfahan, ii, 228
41. Taqyid al-Ilm, 33
42. Dala'il al-nubuwwah, 241
43. Al- Itqan, i, 104; Sahih al-Bukhari, kitab al-tafsir, bab 18, kitab ahkam, bab 7; Musnad Ahmad, iii, 120, iv, 381
44. Manazil al Irfan, 1, 240
45. Irshad al-sari, vii, 449; Tafsir Ibn Kathir, iv, 26

46. The sources of ayat al-rajm to be cited later
47. Al-Durr al-manthur, iii, 233
48. Al-Durr al-manthur, iii, 269. This kind of traditions are many and from various turuq
49. Ibid
50. Al-Masahif, 50
51. Ibid, 51
52. Ibid, 51
53. Ibid
54. Ibid
55. Ibid., 53; there are innumerable other sources of this riwayat, for which see al-Sayyid 'Jafar Murtada al-Zawaj al-muwaqqat
56. Ibid
57. Ibid
58. Ibid, 53, 54
59. Ibid 53,54
60. Ibid, 53,54
61. Ibid, 54,55
62. Ibid
63. Ibid
64. Ibid, 54,55
65. Ibid, 55
66. Ibid
67. Ibid
68. Ibid
69. Ibid
70. Ibid, 56
71. Ibid, 56
72. Ibid, 57
73. Ibid, 73
74. Ibid, 74
75. Ibid, 74
76. Ibid, 75
77. Ibid,75
78. Ibid, 75
79. Ibid, 75
80. Ibid, 75
81. Ibid 75
82. Ibid, 75
83. Ibid, 76,77
84. Ibid, 82. Both Nos 33 and 34
85. Ibid, 82
86. Ibid, 82
87. Ibid, 83
88. Ibid, 83
89. Ibid, 83, 85
90. Ibid., 85; al-Itqan, ii, 25; al-Durr al-manthar, v, 320
91. Al-Masahif 85-87
92. Ibid, 87,88
93. Ibid, 88
94. Ibid, 88
95. Ibid, 89
96. Ibid, 89
97. Ibid, 89
98. Ibid, 90
99. Ibid, 90
100. Ibid, 90
101. Ibid, 91

102. Ibid, 91
103. Ibid, 91
104. Ibid, 92
105. Sahih al-Bukhari, iii, 139, vi, 211, v, 35; Jami` al-'usul, iii, 49; Musnad Ahmad, vi, 449; al-Durr al-manthur, vi, 358, from Sa'id ibn Mansur, Ahmad, `Abd ibn al-Hamid, al-Bukhari, Al- Muslim, al-Tirmidhi, Ibn Jarir, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Mardawah, from `Alqamah
106. Sahih al-Bukhari, iii, 19; ii, 26, from al-Bukhari and Muslim; Musnad Abi `Awwanah, ii, 311, 312; Hayat al-Sahabah, 1, 545; Ibn Habban's Thiqat, 1, 239; al-Tabaqat al-kubra, ii, 54
107. Sahih al-Bukhari, bab al-shahadah `ind al-Hakim; ii, 25, 26, from many turuq; al-Durr al-mansur, v, 179 from Malik, al-Bukhari, Muslim and Ibn al-Daris, on v, 180 from al-Nasal, Ahmad, Ibn 'Awf and others; Nay! With al-awtar, ayat al-rajm; Tafsir Ibn Kathir, iii, 261; al-Burhan fi ulum al-Qur'an, 11, 25; Musnad Ahmad, i, 23, 29, 36, 40, 43, 47. 50, 55, v, 132, 183; Musannaf Ibn Abi Shaybah, iv, 564, x, 76; Manahil al irfan, ii, 111; Akhbar Isfahan, i, 292; al-Tabaqat al-kubra, iii, 224; al-Furqan, 36; Hayat al-Sahabah, ii, 12, iii, 449; Abd al-Razzaq's Musannaf, vii, 315, v, 441; Kashf al-astar ii, 294
108. Al-Itqaan ii, 26
109. Majma`al-zawaid vii, 149, 150, from Ahmad, the author considers the chain of transmitters of this riwayah as Sahih, al-Tabarimi in al-Kabir and al-Awsat; Irshad Al-Sari vii, 442; Musannaf Ibn Abi Shaybah, x, 538; al-Itqan, i, 65, 251; al- Durr al-manthur, vi, 416; Mushkil Al-Athar, 23; Ruh al-ma'ani. i, 24; Fath Al- Bari viii, 571; al-Mutasair min al-mukhtasar, ii, 251
110. Al Durr Al-Manthur v 180
111. Al-Itqa n, ii, 25; al-Dunn al-manthur, v, 180
112. Al-Itqan, ii, 25; Akhbar Isfahan, ii, 328; Mufannaf `Abd al-Razzaq, vii, 320; manahil ii, 111; al-Durr al-manthur, v, 179, from `Abd al-Razzaq, Said ibn Mansur, `Al Tayalisi, Said Ibn Mansur, Abdullah, Al-Nasai, ibn Al Mundhir, Ibn Mani, Al-Nasai, Ibn al-Mundhir, al-Daralqutni in al-Ifrad, Ibn al-'Anbitri in al-Masahif, Ibn Mardawayh, al-piya' in al-Mukhtar, all of whom narrate the riwayah from Zirr
113. `Abd al-Razzaq's Musannaf, x, 181; al-Durr al-manthur, v, 138, from `Abd al-Razzaq, ibn Mansur, Ishaq ibn Rahawayh, Ibn al-Mundhir, and al-Bayhaqi, from Bajalah; al-Suyuti also narrates it from al-Farryabi, Ibn Mardawayh and al-Bayhaqi from Ibn `Abbas, that he read the verse in this way; also from al-Faryibi, Ibn Abi Shaybah, Ibn Jarir, Ibn al-Mundhir, and Ibn Abi Hatim from Mujahid: narated also from `Ikrimah
114. Majma` vii, 140, from Ahmad, the author judges the chain of transmission as Sahih; see also: in al-Tabarini al-'Awsat; al-Tirmidhi; Ibn Majah Al-Itqan ii, 25; Musnad Ahmad, v, 131, 132; Jaimi`Ul Usul iii, 52; al-Durr al-manthar, i, 105, 106, from several turuq; Manahil al-irfan, ii, 111; Sahih Muslim, ii, 726, iii, 100; Musnad Ahmad, vi, 55; `Abd al-Razzaq's Musannaf, x, 432, from 12 tariq; Akhbar Isfahan, ii, 183; al-Burhart fi Ulum Quran ii, 36, 37
115. Sahih! Muslim, iii, 100; al-Itqan, ii, 25, al-Burhan, ii, 27.
116. Majma`Al Zawahid vii, 28, 29, from al-Tabarini's al-'Awsat, al-Bayhaqi considers its rijal as thiqat; see also Musannaf Ibn Abi Shaybah, x, 509; al-Durr al-manthur, iii, 258, from Ibn Abi Shaybah, Abu Shaykh, al-Hakim and Ibn Mardawayh; see also Rah al-ma`aini, i, 24
117. Sahib al-Bukhari, vi, 221
118. Musannaf Ibn Abi Shaybah, xiv, 564; al-Durr al-manthur, i, 106; `Abd al-Razzaq's Musannaf, ix, 50, 52, the complete riwayah has been cited on the margin, from Ahmad
119. Al-Durr al-manthar, v, 179; 'Abd al-Razzaq's Musannaf, viii, 230
120. 'Abd al-Razzaq's Musannaf, viii, 379, 380
121. Al-Itqan, i, 50; Kanz al Ummal, i, 517, 541
122. Al-Shi`ah wa al-Sunnah, 80
123. Al-Itqan, ii, 40, 41
124. Sahlih Muslim, iv, 167, 168; 'Abd al-Razzaq's Musannaf, vii, 457, 469, 470; al-Itqan, ii, 22; Bidayat al-mujtahid, ii, 36; al-Durr al-manthur, ii, 135, from Ibn Abi Shaybah and 'Abd al-Razzaq; Manahil al-Irfan ii, 10
125. Al-Itqan, i, 65
126. Al-Durr al-manthur, ii, 298; al-Tamhid fi Ulum al-Qur'an, i, 261

127. Ta'wal mukhtalaf al-hadith, 310; see also Musnad Ahmad, vi, 269
128. Al-Itqan, ii, 21
129. Ibid., 24, from al-Bayan fi tafsir al-Qur'an, 223
130. Majma' al-zawa'id, vii, 157; al-Itqan, ii, 26, from al-Mustadrak aid al Saihihayn, Ruh al maani i, 25, and al-Burhan, ii, 37; al-Itqan, i, 65, from Abu 'Ubayd, al-Tabarini (with a sahi sanad), al-Bayhaqi, Ibn Jurayj and Muhammad ibn Nasr al-Marusi in Kitab al-salat
131. Al-Intisar li naql al-Qur'an, 90
132. See Manahil al Irfan, i, 268, 269, and al-Burharn fi 'Ulum al-Qur'an, ii, 128
133. Irshad al-sari, vii, 442
134. Al-Burhan fi Ulum al Quran ii, 128
135. Al-Intisar li naql al-Quran, 80, and Manahil al irfan, i, 264
136. Al-Kashshaf, i, 1; see also al-Murinat al-kubra, i, 64, Fiqh al-sunnah; 136; Ibn 'Arabi's Ahkam al-Qur'an, i, 2; Ruh al maani i, 37
137. Al-Tanbih wa al- 'ishraf, 225; al-Sirat al-Halabiyyah, iii, 23; Kanz al- `ummal, v, 244; al-Tabaqat al-kubra i, 263, 264; Ruh al-ma 'ani, i, 37; al-Iqd al -farid, iii, 4
138. Al-Intisar, 71-74
139. Al-Tafsir al-kabir, xix, 160
140. Sad al-suud, 145.
141. Tafsir Ibn Kathir, i, 36; al-Manar, i, 122
142. Sad al-su'ud, 145
143. He is Abu 'Abd Allah ibn Zafar (d.568/1172); parts of his al-Yanbu exist in the Dar al-Kutub, Cairo (Mans. No. 310)
144. Mabahith fi 'Ulum al-Quran, 265, 266
145. Abu Ishaq al-Muwafaqat, iii, 106
146. Al Amidi al-Ihkam fl usal al ahkam, iii, 217
147. Ibid., iii, 201, 203
148. Al-Bayan fi tafsir al-Qur'an, 224, 225
149. See al-Tamhid fi Ulum al-Quran, ii, 281