A Study Of Sunni And Shi'i Traditions Concerning Tahrif Part 1

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Rasul Ja'fariyan

Translated by
Ali Quli Qara'i

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

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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 يرعونه

"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 **فَتَثَبَّتُوا** and **فَتَبَيَّنُوا**.

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 a1-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:

لا يَأْتِيهِ الْبَاطِلُ مِنْ بَيْنِ يَدَيْهِ وَلا مِنْ خَلْفِهِ تَنزِيلٌ 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 حَديثٍ لا يُوافِقُ كتابَ اللهِ فهُوَ زُخرُف

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 الناقع ، و الرأي النافع ، و العصمة للمتمسك ، والنجاة للمتعلق ، لا يعوج فيقوم ، ولا يزيغ فيستعتب ، ولا تخلقه كثرة الرد ، و ولوج السمع ، من قالبه 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) deliverance 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 regarding 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 statements 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 إلاّ قام عنه بزيادة أو نقصان، زيادة 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 (spiritual) poverty for one after association with the Qur'an and there is no plenitude 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 إِنِ اعْتَصَمْتُمْ 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-mentioned 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 collected 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 durin[9] 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 memorized 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 (*qirtds*) kept in his house, be collected, lest it should perish

like the Torah and the Gospe1.[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, Abit 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 Habban 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* (القُرَّاء) *and Huffaz* (الحُفَّاظ) 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-liarith al-Muhasibi says: "The writing of the Qur'an is not a new thing, for the Prophet (5) used to order that it should be written down. However, the Qur'an was scattered on riqa', 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`Cid, 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 (sutur):' [37]

7. Al-Baqillani says: "No man on the earth is more ignorant than the one who imagines that the Prophet (5) 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-Baqillani 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: *قيدوا العلم بالكتابة* (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 Gabrie1.[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 copying 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 lifetime, 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 يَكْنِزُونَ 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 الأَوَّلُونَ مِنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَالأَنصَارِ الَّذِينَ اتَّبَعُوهُمْ بِإِحْسَانٍ

Zayd ibn Thabit corrected him, saying:وَالَّذِينَ , الَّذِينَ repeated `Umar, insisting that his reading is correct. On this Zayd said: "Amir al-Mu'minin 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 الأَوَّلُونَ مِنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَالأَنصَارِ وَالَّذِينَ 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 Shi'i 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 Shi'i 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 Shi'i 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

صراط من أنعمت عليهم غير المغضوب عليهم وغير الضالين

instead of

صِرَاطَ الَّذِينَ أَنعَمتَ عَلَيهِمْ غَيرِ المَغضُوبِ عَلَيهِمْ وَلاَ 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 الحيُّ القَيَّامُ

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 جَنَّات يَتَسَاءَلُونَ عَنِ الْمُجْرِمِينَ مَا سَلَكَكُ فِي سَقَر

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 اِسْتَمْتَعْتُمْ بِهِ مِنْهُنَّ إِلَى أَجَل مُسَمًّى

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

5. Hammad reports that he had read *لِلَّذِينَ يُقْسِمُونَ* in the *mushaf* of Ubayy ibn Ka`bb[56] (with *لِلَّذِينَ* instead of *الذين*).

6. Again Hammad reports that he saw verse 2:158 written in this form in Ubayy's *mushaf فلا جناح عليه ألا يطوف بهما* (with الا instead of أَنْ).[57]

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

اليمين كفارة في متتابعات ثلاثة فصيام

Ibn Masud's Mushaf

1. Yasir ibn `Amr reports from ‘Abd Allah ibn Mas'ud that the latter read verse 4:40 in this form إن الله لا يظلم مثقال نملة with نملة instead of ذَرَّةٍ).[59]

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

3. According to 'Al Ha, in the reading of Ib'n Mas`ud verse 2:197 في مواسم الحج (instead of في الحج).[61]

4. According to ‘Al-Hakam it is بل يداه بسطان in the reading of Ibn Masud (with بسطان instead of مبسوطتان) 62.

5. According to Sufyan it was وتزودوا وخيرالزادالتقوى , in Ibn Masud reading of verse 2:197 (without فإنَّ) 63

6. According to Harun it was من بقلهاوقثَّائهاوثومهاوعدسهاوبصلها in Ibn Mas'ild's reading of verse 2:61 (with ثومها instead of فومها) He says that Ibn 'Abbas also followed this reading. 64

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

[والعصر 10]

إن [10] الإنسان لفي خسر

وانه فيه الى آخر الدهر

إلا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ وَتَوَاصَوْا بِالصَّبْرِ

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

اولائك لهم نصيب ماكتسبوا (with **ما** instead of **ممّا**). 66

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

9. **ولكل جعلناقبلةيرضونها** perhaps in verse 2:144 (instead of **لينك قبلة ترضاهافلنو**) 67

10. **واتمّواالحجَّ والعمرة للبيت** ,in verse 2:196 (instead of **واتمّواالحجَّ والعمرة لله**,) 68

11. وحيث ماكنتم فولّوا وجوهكم قِبَلَه in verses 2:144, 150 (with قِبَلَه instead of شَطْرَه).[69]

12. بِه ولا تُخافِت بِصَوْتِك ولا تطالُ,Perhaps in verse 31:19.[70]

13. كذلك أخَذَ ربُّك إذا أخذ القُرى,in verse 11:102 (without waw).[71]

14. وزُلْزِلوا فَزُلْزِلوا يقولُ حَقيقَةُ الرَّسولِ والذين آمنوا in verse 2:214.[72]

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:

15. ولا جُناحَ عَليهِ أنْ لا يطَّوفَ بِهما in verse 2:158 (with the addition of لا).[73]

16. ليس عليكُم جُناحٌ أنْ تَبْتَغوا فَضلًا مِن رَبِّكُم في مواسم الحج in verse 2:198 (with the addition في مواسم الحج).[74]

17. إنَّما ذلكم الشيطانُ يُخَوّفُكم أولِياءه in verse 3:175 (with يُخَوّفُكم instead of يُخَوّفُ).[75]

18. أولئِك لهم نصيب ممّا اكتسبوا in verse 2:202 (with اكتسبوا instead of كسبوا). According to Abu Ya`lam, al-'A'mash also read the verse in this way.[76]

19. وأقيموا الحج والعُمرة للبيت in verse 2:196.[77]

20. وشاورهم في بعض الامر in verse 3:159 (with the addition of بعْضِ).[78]

21. وما أرسلنا مِن قَبْلِكَ مِنْ رَسولٍ ولا نبي مُحدَثٍ in verse 22:52 (with the addition of 79.(مُحدَثٍ

22. يا حسرةَ العِبادِ in verse 36:30 (instead of 80.(يا حسرةً على العِبادِ

23. كأنَّك حفِيٌّ بِها in verse 7:187 (with بِها instead of 81.(عنها

24. وإن عزموا السَّراح in verse 2:227 (with السَّراح instead of 82 (الطَّلاق There are nine more instances of this kind cited by *a1-Masahif.* 83

Ibn al-Zubayr's Mushaf

25. سم الحجفي موا لا جُناحَ عَليكم أن تبتغوا فضلاً مِن ربّكم such was Ibn al-Zubayr'. reading of verse 2:198.

26. 'Amr reports having heard Ibn al-Zubayr say that وحرَّم in 21: 95 should be read ,وحرامٌ دارَسْت in 6:105 should be read دَرَسْتَ and حَمِيَةٌ in 88:4 and 101:11 should be read 84.(حَامِيَةٌ

27. Ibn A1-Zubayr used to read 74:40 in this way: 85في جنَّاتٍ يتساءلون يا فُلانٌ ما سلكك في سقَر

28. He read verse 5:52 in this way: 86 فَيَصْبَحُ الفُسَّاقُ على ما أسرُّوا في أنْفُسِهِم نادِمين

29. He read verse 3:104 in this way: 87ولتكن منكم امة يدعون الى الخير ويستعينون بالله على ما اصابهم

The Mushaf Of `Abd Allah Ibn Amr Ibn Al-'As

30. *Al-Masahif* records a *riwayah of* Abu Bakr ibn `Ayaash in which he states that Shu'ayb ibn Shu'ayb ibn Muhammad ibn Amr ibn As showed him the mushaf written by `Abd Allah ibn `Amr ibn al- `As, which read differently from the common reading of the Qur'an.88

'A 'ishah 's Mushaf

31. `Urwah says that he found verse 2:238 written thus in the mushaf of `A'ishah: **حافِظوا على الصَّلوات والصَّلوة الوسطى وصلاة العصر**[89]

32. Ibn Abi al-Hamid reports from Hamidah that she said that she found the verse 33:56 written thus in the *mushaf* of `A'ishah:

ان الله وملائكته يصلون على النبي وعلى الذين يصلون في الصفوف الاولى

Hamidah is reported to have added that "this was before" Uthman changed the *mushaf.*[90]

Hafsah's Mushaf:

33. Salim ibn `Abd Allah reports that Hafsah asked Anas to write the Qur'an for her. She told him that when he reached verse 2:238 he should write: **حافِظوا على الصَّلوات والصَّلوة الوسطى وصلاة العصر** . This *riwayah* has been transmitted through several different *turuq.*[91]

Umm Salamah's Mushaf

34. `Abd Allah ibn Abi Rafi` reports that Umm Salamah asked him to write the Qur'an for her, telling him to inform her when he reached verse 2:238. She told him to write:[92]

حافظوا على الصلوات و الصلاة الوسطى وصلاة العصر

Variant Readings Amongst The Tabiun

35. Ubayd ibn Umayr is reported to have said that the first verse to be revealed was **سبّح اسمك ربّك الذي خلق**, (instead of **اقرا باسم ربّك الذي خلق** 96:1).[93]

36. Ata read 3:17 in this way: **يخوّفكُم اولِياءه**[94]

37. Ikrimah read 2:184 in this way:[95] وعلى الذين يَطوفونه

38. Mujahid read 2:158 in this way:[96] فلا جُناح ان يطَوف بهما

39. Said ibn Jubayr read 5:5 in this way:[97] أُحلّ لكم الطيّبات وطعام الذين اوتوا الكتاب من قبلكم with the addition of من قبلكم.

47. Sa`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] ولكنّ الذين كفروا يفترون على الله الكذب واكثرهم لا يفقهون,with يفقهون instead of يعقلون.

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

51. Sālil ibn kaysan read وجاءهم البيّنات instead of وجاءتهم البيّنات and يكاد instead [102]. تكاد

52. Al A`mash is reported to have read الله لا اله الا هو الحيّ القيّام with القيّام instead of [103]القيّوم

53. Al A`mash read انعامٌ وحِرثٌ حِرْجٌ in 6:138, with حِرْجٌ instead of [104] حِجْر

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 يقرا؟ فقلنا:نعم. قال: فايكم؟ فاشاروا الي, فقال: اقرا, فقرات:"والليل اذا يغشى و النهار اذا تجلى و الذكر و الانثى" قال:انت سمعتها من فيّ صاحبك قلت نعم, قال: وانا سمعتها من فيّ 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 **والليل اذا يغشى و النهار اذا تجلى و الذكر و الانثى** (instead of **وما خلق الذكر و الانثى** , in 92:3). 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 Malik [106]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 regarding them which was omitted afterwards:

بلغوا عنا قومنا انا لقينا ربنا فرضي عنا وارضانا

حدثني الاعلى ...عن انس بن مالك ان رعلا 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 ببئر معونة قتلوهم و غدروا بهم فبلغ النبي(ص)ذلك فقنت 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 ربنا 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 *riwayah,* 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. AI-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 **1bn** 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 *riwayah* about the *surah*

عن عبد الرزاق عن الثوري...عن زر بن حبيش قال: قال لي أُبي بن كعب كأين 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:اباالمنذر ما اية الرجم؟ قال:"اذا زنيا الشيخ او الشيخة فارجموهما 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 القران وشغلك الصفق بالاسواق".

6. Amr ibn Mir says: “I heard Bajitlah al-Tamimi state: ‘Umar ibn alKhattab found *a mushaf* with a youth in the mosque. In it was written: **النبي اولى بالمؤمنين من انفسهم وهو ابوهم** ‘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 اوحي اليه اتيناه فعلمنا مما اوحي اليه قال: فجئت ذات يوم فقال ان الله يقول:

"انا انزلناالمال لاقام الصلاة وايتاء الزكاةولو ان لابن ادم واديالاحب ان يكون له الثاني ولو كان له الثاني لاحب ان يكون اليهماالثالث ولا يملا جوف ابن ادم الا التراب ويتوب الله على من تاب".

روى ابوحرب بن ابي الاسود عن ابيه قال:بعث ابو موسى الاشعري الى قراء اهل البصرة فدخل عليه ثلاثمائة رجل قد قراوا القران,فقال:انتم خيار اهل البصرة وقراؤهم فاتلوه ولا يطولن عليكم الامل فتقسوا قلوبكم كما قست قلوب من كان قبلكم وانا كنا نقرا سورة نشبهها في الطول والشدة ببراءة فانسيتها, غير اني قد حفظت منها," ...لو كان لابن ادم واديان من مال لابتغى واديا ثالثا ولا يملا جوف ابن ادم الا التراب". وكنا نقرا سورة كنا نشبهها باحدى المسبحات فانسيتها غير اني حفظت منها:"اايها الذين امنوا لم تقولون ما لا تفعلون فتكتب شهادة في اعناقكم فتسالون 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 لابتغى 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:

يايها الذين امنوا لم تقولون ما لا تفعلون فتكتب شهادة في اعناقكم فتسالون 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 alBarah.* 116

10. 1bn 'Abbas is reported to have said that verse 26:214 was revealed like this117:

وأنذر 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: **بكم كفر ابائكم من انتفاءكم ان** ? ‘Yes,' said Ubayy, adding 'And didn't we use to recite:**الولد للفراش وللعاهر الحجر** in what we have lost of the Book of God?118

اخرج ابن عبدالبر في التمهيد من طريق عدي بن عمرة بن فروة عن ابيه عن جده عميره بن فروة ان عمر بن الخطاب قال لابي: او ليس كنا نقرأ فيما نقرأ من كتاب الله "ان انتفاءكم من آبائكم كفرٌ بكم"؟ فقال: بلى، ثم قال اوليس كنا نقرأ الولد للفراش و للعاهر الحجر فيما فقدنا من كتاب الله؟"".

12. Al-Thawri is reported to have said, "We have been told that when the *qurra* among the Prophet's Companions were killed during the episode of Musaylamah, a part (*huruf*) of the Qur'anic scripture was lost (*dhahabat*)*."*119

عبدالرزاق عن عيينة عن عمرو بن عُبيد عن الحسن قال"هَمَّ عمر بن الخطاب أن يكتب في المصاحف: إنَّ رسول الله ضرب في الخمر ثمانين".

13. Al-Hasan is reported to have said, " `Umar ibn al-Kattab intended to write this sentence in the mashaf: [120]

إنَّ رسول الله ضرب في الخمر ثمانين

14. Al-Tabari records a *marfu* tradition with a *muwaththaq sanad* from `Umar, that he said that the Qur'an consisted of one million and twenty-seven letters. However, the Qur'an that we possess does not contain more than a third of this number.[121] With plenty of such examples in the books of Sunni scholars, it is strange that the Shiah should have been singled out by persons of dubious aims *as* believing in the *tahrif* of the Qur'an) [122]

15. Ibn `Urnar said: "Someone of you may claim that the whole of the Qur' n is in his possession. But what does he know about the whole of it? Much of the Qur'an has been lost (*gad dhahab*). Rather, he should say that he possesses that mach of it as is known (to be such)."[123]

عن نافع عن ابن عمر قال: ليقولن احدكم قد اَخَذتُ القران كله ومايدريه ماكله قد ذهب منه قرآن كبير، ولكن ليقل قد أَخَذتُ منه ماظهر.

16. `A'ishah said: "In that which was revealed in the Quran was: [124]**عشر رضعات معلومات يحرمن**

17. Malik said: "When the beginning part was dropped from it (*Surat AlBarah*), the *bismillah* was also dropped. It is definite that it used to be equal in length to the Surat ***al-Baqarah***. [125]

عن مالك:ان اولها (سورة البراءة) لما سقطّ، سقط معه البسملة فقد ثبت انها كانت تعدل سورة البقرة

18. Ibn Mardawayh reports 1bn Masud as having said: "During the Prophet's lifetime, we used to read (**verse** 5:67) as follows: “O’Messenger! Make known that which hath been revealed unto thee from thy Lord, that '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 مردوية عن ابن مسعود، قال: كنا نقرأ على عهد رسول الله (صً): يا ايها الرسول بلّغ ما أُنزل 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 sahifah 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 ماجة عن عائشة قالت: لقد نزلت اية الرجم ورضاعة الكبير عشراً ولقد كانت في صحيفةٍ 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 يكتبا 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 آووهم 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 وَهاجَرُوا وَجاهَدُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ بِأَمْوالِهِمْ وَأَنْفُسِهِمْ ألا أبشروا أنتم المفلحون والذين آووهم ونصروهم وجادلوا عنهم القوم الذين غضب الله عليهم أولئك لا تعلم نفس ما أخفي لهم من قرة أعين جزاء بما كانوا يعملون

روى المِسَوّر بن مخرمة قال: "قال عمر لعبد الرحمن بن عوف: الم تجد فيما أُنزل علينا: ((جاهدوا كما جاهدتم أول مرَّة)) فإنَّا لا نجدها؟ قال: أُسْقِطَتْ فيما أُسْقِط من القرآن".

21. Al-Misawwar ibn Makhramah reports that `Umar asked `Abd al Rahman ibn `Awf: "Didn't you come across **أن جاهِدوا كما جاهدتم أوَّل مرَّة** 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

رُوِيَ عن أُبي بن كعب أنه كتب في مصحفه سورتي الحَفد و الخلع: ((اللهم إنا نستعينك و نستغفرك ونثني عليك ولا نُكَفِّرُك و نخلعُ و نترك من يَفجُرك. اللهم إياك نعبد ولك نصلي و نسجد و اليك نسعى و نحفد 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 نُكَفِّرُك و نخلعُ و نترك من يَفجُرك. اللهم إياك نعبد ولك نصلي و نسجد و اليك نسعى و نحفد 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 contradict 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 reading, 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 homogeneity 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 supported 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`awwidhatan* (*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-Fatih ah* and the *Mu `awwidhatan* 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-Baqillani[131] 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 Quran[132] 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 *riwayah 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 *tahrlf* 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 riwayah* 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 Tawas, 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 (letters).[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 كفرٌ بكم** (is a part of the Qur'an), or the one from Anas that **بلِّغوا عنا قومنا أنَّا لقينا ربنا فرضي عنا و ارضانا** (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 *riwayah*** from 'Aishah that:

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

Al-Sarakhai rejects all such statements implying the occurrence of ***tahrlf*** *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 preserved 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 unseeming 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 zafar[143] in his book al-Yanbue, where he has declined to admit that they are instances **of the *naskh altiliwah,* 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 *naskh* [148]

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]

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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;" alDurr 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-tabyin, 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 'Ulum 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. A1-Itqan, i, 58, from Fahm al-sunan.
33. Al-Itqan I, 58.
34. Al-Burhan fi `Ulum 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. Ramyar'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 riwayah, 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; alTabaqat al-kubra, iii, 224; al-Furqan, 36; Hayat al-Sahabah, ii, 12, iii, 449; Abd alRazzaq'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 riwityah 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 alMasahif, 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, 1bn al-Mundhir, and alBayhaqi, 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 alFaryibi, 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 almanthar, 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 almanthur, 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 alRazzaq'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-1tqan, 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; 1bn `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.

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