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**TANWĪR AL-MIQBĀS MIN TAFSĪR IBN 'ABBĀS :
ITS PRINCIPLES OF INTERPRETATION**

By

Inna Muthmainnah

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts

Institute of Islamic Studies
McGill University
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**Dedicated to my parents
for their endless love and encouragement**

ABSTRACT

Author : Inna Muthmainnah.

Title : *Tanwīr al-Miqbās min Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās* : Its Principles of Interpretation.

Department : Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University.

Degree : Master of Arts.

This study investigates the principles of interpretation in *Tanwīr al-Miqbās min Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās*, focusing on its approach and method, sources and points of view. To accomplish this purpose, both historical and literary analysis are employed. Nevertheless, this study does not attempt to resolve the well-known dispute over its authenticity or ascription.

Like other Qur'ānic commentaries produced in the classical period, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* relies heavily on philological analysis in the sense that it provides an interpretation of Qur'ānic verses based on their literal meaning and in very simple terms. Similarly, it employs sources that were commonly used in classical *tafsīr*, namely, Qur'ānic cross-reference, *ḥadīth*, Arabic poetry and *isrā'īliyyāt*. However, due to its simplistic approach, it is difficult to extract any guiding principles behind its interpretation. In fact, there is little to indicate that this Qur'ānic exegesis represents the views of any particular Islamic sect, let alone of any individual person.

Nevertheless, with its simple presentation, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* brings up many interesting and challenging issues which deserve greater scholarly attention. Further and deeper research into these issues may help us to situate the work within the broader exegetical tradition in Islam.

RÉSUMÉ

Auteur : Inna Muthmainnah

Titre : Le *Tanwīr al-Miqbās min Tafsīr Ibn ‘Abbās*: Ses principes d’interprétation.

Département : Institut des Études Islamiques, Université McGill.

Diplôme : Maîtrise ès Arts.

Cette étude explore les principes de l’interprétation dans le *Tanwīr al-Miqbās min Tafsīr Ibn ‘Abbās*, en se concentrant sur son approche et sa méthode, ses sources et ses points de vue. Afin d’atteindre cet objectif, les analyses historiques et littéraire seront employées. Cependant, cette recherche ne tentera pas de résoudre la dispute bien connue concernant l’authenticité et l’attribution du texte.

Tout comme bien d’autres commentaires qur’āniques produits durant la période classique, le *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* dépend étroitement de l’analyse philologique en ce sens qu’il apporte une interprétation des versets qur’āniques fondée sur leur signification littérale et ce, dans des termes très simples. De la même manière, le texte emploie les sources communément utilisées dans le *tafsīr* classique tels que les références qur’āniques, les *hadīth*, la poésie arabe et l’*isrā’īlīyāt*. Toutefois, étant donné son approche simpliste, il est difficile d’extraire les principes conducteurs de cette interprétation. En effet, très peu d’indices peuvent indiquer que cette exégèse qur’ānique représente les vues d’une quelconque secte islamique, de même que celles d’une personne en particulier.

Cependant, malgré sa présentation simple, le *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* soulève plusieurs questions intéressantes et qui méritent une plus grande attention académique. Des recherches plus poussées et approfondies de ces questions pourraient peut-être nous aider à situer l'ouvrage à l'intérieur d'un cadre plus large de la tradition exégète de l'Islam.

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NOTES ON transliteration, ABBREVIATIONS AND DATING

1. The system of transliteration of Arabic words and names applied in this thesis is that used by the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, with only slight modifications.

ب = b	ذ = dh	ط = ṭ	ل = l
ت = t	ر = r	ظ = ṣ	م = m
ث = th	ز = z	ع = ' (ayn)	ن = n
ج = j	س = s	غ = gh	و = w
ح = ḥ	ش = sh	ف = f	ه = h
خ = kh	ص = ṣ	ق = q	ء = ' (hamza)
د = d	ض = ḍ	ك = k	ي = y

Short: ا = a; إ = i; أ = u.

Long: آ = ā; إى = ī; و = ū

Diphthongs: أى = ay; أو = aw.

Long vowel with *tashdīd*: for إى and أو, īya and ūwa are employed, instead of iyya and uwwa, respectively.

In the case of *ta' marbuṭah* (ة) *h* is written, unless it occurs within an *idāfah*, where it is transliterated *at*.

The *hamzah* (ء) occurring in the initial position is omitted.

2. Some of the abbreviations used in this thesis are:

GAS : Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums

GAL : Geschichte des arabischen Litteratur

GALS : Geschichte des arabischen Litteratur, Supplement

BSOAS : Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies

3. In citing dates in this thesis, the following conventions have been employed:

- a. If both the Hijrī and Christian dates are expressed, the first is Hijrī (Anno Hegirae) and the second is Christian (Anno Domini).
- b. If only one system is mentioned, the system will be identified as A.D. for Christian (Anno Domini), or A.H. (Anno Hegirae) for Hijrī.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The development of Qur'ānic exegesis dates back to the Prophet's lifetime. At that time, the only source for understanding the Qur'ān was direct questioning of the Prophet himself. If a Muslim did not understand something in the Qur'ān, he could approach the Prophet and ask for further explanation. In *ṣūrat al-Nahl* (Q. 16: 44), it is adduced that one duty of the Prophet is to explain and convey the meaning of the Qur'ān to human beings. After the death of the Prophet, Muslims continued to ask questions of his Companions and their Successors, who thus became an alternative source of exegesis.

Qur'ānic exegesis developed rapidly thereafter. Each generation produced exegetes whose *tafsīrs* extended over many volumes. The study of the Qur'ān also benefited from the fact that each exegete often emphasized a single aspect of the Qur'ān, for example, sufism, theology or linguistics. Moreover, the development of Qur'ānic exegesis also incorporated, deliberately or unconsciously, the specific principles of a number of different religious perspectives. For example, the understanding of the Qur'ān from a Mu'tazilite viewpoint is different from that of an Ash'arite. To achieve their various aims,

those works employed different approaches in interpreting the verses of the Qur'ān.¹

One such work is *Tanwīr al-Miqbās min Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās*, supposedly compiled by Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb al-Fīrūzābādī (729/1329-817/1415) to judge by the title pages of modern editions of this work. Within the work we find the *isnād* of each report traced back ultimately to Ibn 'Abbās (d. 68/686), a cousin of the Prophet and one of his Companions. Ibn 'Abbās was said to have been first of the Companions to interpret the Qur'ān, and some scholars consider him to be "the father of Qur'ānic exegesis." Many exegetes use prophetic traditions (*ḥadīth*) that he reported in their analysis of the Qur'ān. The reports themselves are for the most part related on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Sā'ib al-Kalbī (d. 146/763) from Abū Ṣāliḥ (d. 719 A.D.).

There exist many accounts of Ibn 'Abbās's life,² method³ and sources of interpretation.⁴ There is also a considerable body of research surrounding this so-

¹ Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921) wrote a comprehensive work on the development of the Qur'ān exegesis entitled *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1952). His work covers Qur'ānic interpretation ranging from the Companions' time to the modern period. See Ignaz Goldziher, *Madhāhib al-Tafsīr al-Islamī*, 2nd edition, translated by 'Abd al-Ḥalīm al-Najjār (Beirut: Dār Iqra', 1983). See also E. D. Hirsch, Jr., *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1967), 6-10; Rashid Ahmad Jullandri, "Qur'ānic Exegesis and Classical Tafsīr," *Islamic Quarterly* 12 (1968), 71-119; M. O. A. Abdul, "The Historical Development of Tafsīr," *Islamic Culture* 50 (1976), 141-153.

² Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Muṣ'ab ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, *Kitāb Nasab Quraysh*, edited by E. Lévi-Provençal (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif li al-Ṭibā'ah wa al-Nashr, 1953), 27-28; Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, edited by 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dūrī, vol. 3 (Beirut: al-Maṭba'ah al-Kāthūlikiyah, 1978), 27-70; 'Izz al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah fī Ma'rifa al-Ṣaḥābah*, edited by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, Muḥammad Aḥmad 'Ashūr and Maḥmūd 'Abd Wahhāb Fāyid, vol. 3 ([Cairo]: al-Sha'b, 1970), 290-294; Abū 'Abd Allāh Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Kitāb Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, 4th edition, vol. 1 (Hyderabad: Maṭba'at Majlis Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyah, 1928), 40-41; Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Al-Iṣābah fī Tamayiz al-Ṣaḥābah*,

called *Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās* by both classical and modern scholars. However, their research is primarily directed towards investigating the authenticity of the manuscripts and the variant reports and chains of transmitters used in the work. In classical work, *ḥadīth* scholars maintain that almost all of the transmitters of *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* are weak and untrustworthy, as is shown in the biographical accounts of authorities. On the other hand, despite the abundance of biographical reports of al-Fīrūzābādī, only a few of them discuss this exegetical work.⁵ Most limit themselves to stating that *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* is one of his works.⁶

vol. 2 (Cairo: Maṭba'at Muṣṭafā Muḥammad, 1939), 322-326; Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 12 vols. (Hyderabad: Majlis Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-Nizāmiyah, 1907-1909), 5: 276-279; Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 9 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967-), 8: 21-22; Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssīrūn*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthah, 1961), 65-83; L. Veccia Vaglieri, "'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, edited by H. A. R. Gibb, et al., vol. 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill; London: Luzac & Co., 1960), 40-41. See also Abdul Wahid Hamid, *Companions of the Prophet* (London: MELS, 1985), 66-74.

³ For example, see Muḥammad ibn Sa'd, *Al-Tabaqāt al-Kubrā*, 8 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, Dār Bayrūt, 1957-1958), 2: 367; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, 34; Yeshayahu Goldfeld, "The Development of Theory on Qur'ānic Exegesis in Islamic Scholarship," *Studia Islamica* 67-68 (1988), 5-27.

⁴ Goldziher, *Madhūhib al-Tafsīr al-Islamī*, 85-90; Aḥmad Amīn, *Fajr al-Islām*, 10th edition (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍah al-Miṣriyah, 1965), 201-202; Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssīrūn*, 71-74; W. Montgomery Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'ān* (Edinburgh: The University Press, 1970), 168, quoting from Goldziher, *Koranauslegung*, 65-81; Mannā' al-Qaṭṭān, *Mabāliṭh fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān* (n.p.: Manshūrāt al-'Aṣr al-Ḥadīth, 1971), 312; Ilse Lichtenstadter, "Quran and Quran Exegesis," *Humaniora Islamica* 2 (1974), 11; Helmut Gätje, *The Qur'ān and Its Exegesis*, translated and edited by Alford T. Welch (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), 32-33; Issa J. Boullata, "Poetry Citation as Interpretative Illustration in Qur'ānic Exegesis: *Masā'il Nāfi' Ibn al-Azraq*," in *Islamic Studies Presented to Charles J. Adams*, edited by Wael B. Hallaq and Donald P. Little (Leiden, New York: E. J. Brill, 1991), 27-40; Alan Jones, "Narrative Technique in the Qur'ān and in Early Poetry," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 25 (1994), 185.

⁵ The reason for this perhaps is that al-Fīrūzābādī was more famous for his dictionary, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīf*.

⁶ Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Dāwūdī, *Tabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn*, edited by 'Alī Muḥammad 'Umar, vol. 2 (Cairo: Maktabat Wahbah, [1972]), 276; Abū al-Falāḥ 'Abd al-Ḥayy ibn al-'Imād al-

Furthermore, modern scholars, for example Rippin and Goldfeld, doubt the authenticity of the ascription of this work to Ibn 'Abbās based on their research on the manuscripts, while Jeffery finds some interesting differences between Ibn 'Abbās's codex of the Qur'ān and the 'Uthmānic text.⁷ Unfortunately, no one has yet paid much attention to the work itself in terms of its content.

This phenomenon reflects some of Charles Adams's concerns about the study of the Qur'ān.⁸ As with the study of Muḥammad, Western scholars, Adams observes, have principally been concerned with what may be called the critical problems that surround their subject, in this case for example, the

Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār man Dhahab*, vol. 7 (Cairo: Maktabat al-Qudsi, [1931-1932]), 127; Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs min Jawāhir al-Qāmūs*, edited by 'Abd al-Sattār Muḥammad Farrāj, vol. 1 (Kuwait: Maṭba'at Ḥukūmat al-Kuwayt, 1965), 43; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Supplement, 3 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1938), 2: 235; Jamīl Bek al-'Azm, *Uqūd al-Jawhar*, vol. 4 (Beirut: al-Maṭba'ah al-Ahliyah, [1908]), 303; Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssīrūn*, 81-82; Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb al-Fīrūzābādī, *Al-Durar al-Mubaththathah fī al-Ghurur al-Muthallathah*, edited by 'Alī Ḥusayn al-Bawwāb (Riyad: Dār al-Siwā', 1981), 21; al-Qaṭṭān, *Mabāliṭh fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 312; H. Fleisch, "Al-Fīrūzābādī," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, edited by B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat and J. Schacht, vol. 2 (Leiden: E. J. Brill; London: Luzac & Co., 1965), 926; Abū al-Yaqzān 'Aṭīyah al-Jubūrī, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tafsīr wa Rijālīh* (Cairo: al-Maṭba'ah al-'Arabīyah al-Jadīdah, [1971]), 63; Goldfeld, "The Development of Theory," 15.

⁷ Andrew Rippin, "Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās and Criteria for Dating Early Tafsīr Texts," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 18 (1994), 38-83; Isaiah Goldfeld, "The Tafsīr or [sic, read of] Abdallah b. 'Abbās," *Der Islam* 58 (1981), 125-135; Arthur Jeffery (ed.), *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937), 193-208. See also Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Tha'labī, *Qur'anic Commentary in the Eastern Islamic Tradition of the First Four Centuries of the Hijra: An Annotated Edition of the Preface to al-Tha'labī's "Kitāb al-Kashf wa'l Bayān 'an Tafsīr al-Qur'ān,"* edited by Isaiah Goldfeld (Acre: Sruḡy-Printers and Publisher, 1984), 20-27 and 52-53; Andrew Rippin, "Ibn 'Abbās's al-Lughāt fī'l-Qur'ān," *BSOAS* 44 (1981), 15-25; Andrew Rippin, "Notes and Communications: Ibn 'Abbās's *Gharīb al-Qur'ān*," *BSOAS* 46 (1983), 332-333.

⁸ Charles J. Adams, "Islamic Religious Tradition," in *The Study of the Middle East*, edited by Leonard Binder (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1976), 61. See also Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation*, 10-14; John Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977); Andrew Rippin, "The Present Status of Tafsīr Studies," *Muslim World* 72 (1982), 224-238; Andrew Rippin, "Studying Early Tafsīr Texts," *Der Islam* 72 (1995), 310-323.

Qur'ān's historical development, its variant readings and its relation to prior literature. Given the fact that the interpretation of the Qur'ān has often determined what it says or is perceived to say, I believe that it is vital to understand the development of Qur'ānic exegesis as a body of study,⁹ and especially the principles that its practitioners observe. In an attempt to achieve such an understanding, I have chosen to examine this one work from the classical period. Even though scholars doubt the authenticity of its transmission for a number of reasons, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* is nevertheless important because it illustrates how the exegetical techniques of the Companions, especially Ibn 'Abbās, are perceived. It may also shed light on the early development of Qur'ānic exegesis. Therefore, regardless of its authenticity, it is interesting as well as challenging to explore *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*'s principles of interpretation.

This thesis will examine the principles that *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* uses in interpreting the Qur'ān in terms of its approach, method, sources and views; it will also investigate the possible roles that Ibn 'Abbās and al-Fīrūzābādī had in its production, although it will leave aside the question of the authenticity of the reports that *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* raises. This thesis will therefore take a historical as well as a literary approach. In the second chapter, a historical approach will be more in evidence, whereas in the third chapter a literary approach will be applied in view of its relevance to the topic under study.

⁹ Adams, "Islamic Religious Tradition," 62-64.

The sources for this study, both primary and secondary, include works in Arabic, English and German. The main source will of course be the book under discussion, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās min Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās*. Due to the limited time available for this research, only three modern editions have been consulted.¹⁰ Secondary sources include biographies written by authors ranging from the classical period to the present, works on Qur'ānic exegesis and recent scholarly articles that are closely related to the topic. Some background information will be drawn from works discussing Qur'ānic studies in general; these sources will provide a framework of principles of interpretation, enabling me to examine how they may be applied to *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*.

To accomplish the aims of this study, the thesis will be arranged in three chapters and a conclusion. After an introductory first chapter, the second chapter will describe the work *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* and some of the issues surrounding it, and will offer biographies of Ibn 'Abbās and al-Fīrūzābādī as well. The third chapter will discuss principles of interpretation in *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, covering its approach to the Qur'ān, its methodology, its sources and some of the views that can be detected in the work. A conclusion based on the results of this investigation will be presented at the end of the thesis.

¹⁰ They are: 1. the text with *Lubāb al-Nuqūl fī Asbāb al-Nuzūl* of al-Suyūṭī and *Fī Ma'rifat al-Nāsikh wa al-Mansūkh of Ibn Ḥazm*, published by two different publishers, the first in Multan by Fārūqī Kutub Khānah in 1975 or 1976, and the second in Cairo by Sharikat Maktabat wa Maṭba'at Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa Awlādih without mention of the date of publication; 2. the text in an edition by itself published in Beirut by Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah. The date of the latter publication, however, is not stated.

CHAPTER TWO

TEXTUAL ISSUES OF

TANWĪR AL-MIQBĀS MIN TAFSĪR IBN 'ABBĀS

A. Tanwīr al-Miqbās min Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās

Scholars refer to *Tanwīr al-Miqbās min Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās* by a variety of titles. The majority, however, such as al-Dāwūdī (d. 945/1538), Ḥājjī Khalīfah (1609-1657 A.D.), Ibn al-'Imād (d. 1089/1679), al-'Aẓm and al-Bawwāb call it *Tanwīr al-Miqbās fī Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās*.¹ Al-Zabīdī (d. 1791 A.D.) and al-Jubūrī cite it as *Tanwīr al-Miqyās fī Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās*, while al-Qaṭṭān calls it *Tanwīr al-Miqyās min Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās*.² Al-Dhahabī as well as most Western scholars such as Brockelmann and Goldfeld follow the majority in referring to it as *Tanwīr al-Miqbās min Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās*.³ There is no clear explanation for this variety of titles, or for the choice of the latter version in the modern editions at my disposal.

Tanwīr al-Miqbās has been published in many different editions, either on the margins of other works or on its own. Rippin has compiled a list of editions

¹ Al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn*, 276; Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zunūn 'an Asāmi al-Kutub wa al-Funūn*, edited by Muḥammad Sharīf al-Dīn Yāltiqāyā, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Wakālat al-Ma'ārif, 1941), 502; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 127; al-'Aẓm, *Uqūd al-Jawhar*, 303; al-Fīrūzābādī, *Al-Durar al-Mubaththathah*, 21. However, in another edition edited by Gustav Flügel (henceforth this edition will be used), Ḥājjī Khalīfah calls it *Tanwīr al-Miqyās fī Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās*. See Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zunūn 'an Asāmi al-Kutub wa al-Funūn: Lexicon Bibliographicum et Encyclopaedicum*, edited by Gustav Flügel, 7 vols. (New York: Johnson Reprint, 1964), 2: 456; Fleisch, "Al-Fīrūzābādī," 926. Rippin speculates that this may well be an error. See Rippin, "*Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās*," 41.

² Al-Zabīdī, *Taḳ al-'Arūs*, 43; al-Jubūrī, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tafsīr*, 63; al-Qaṭṭān, *Mabāḥith fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 312.

of this work.⁴ In spite of the work's uncertain attribution and some differences in the text due to misprints, Rippin finds that they are all much the same.⁵ This conclusion seems to be accurate, as the three editions that have been accessed for this research bear it out; they are the same even though in some places a few differences are found, due, it seems, to misprints.

The work is the subject of scholarly debate in at least two respects: its ascription/authorship and its bibliographic identity. Al-Jubūrī and al-'Akk report that some people were convinced that Ibn 'Abbās was the writer of the *tafsīr* even though the *tafsīr* was only written down for the first time seven and a half centuries after the death of Ibn 'Abbās. The compiler, who never refers to himself by name, nevertheless asserts that all of his chains of transmission are valid from Ibn 'Abbās. However, both scholars assert that if we go to the *tafsīr* we will find that not all of the interpretations are from Ibn 'Abbās. Al-Jubūrī also notes that scholars have found various weaknesses in it, some of which stem from 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak (118/736-181/797) and not from Ibn 'Abbās.⁶ Two scholars who believe that *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* may safely be attributed to Ibn

³ Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssirūn*, 81-82; Brockelmann, *GALS*, vol. 2, 235; Goldfeld, "The Development of Theory," 15.

⁴ Rippin, "*Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās*," 75 and 41-42. See also Fleisch, "*Al-Firūzābādī*," 926. His list includes the three editions that I have consulted as mentioned in chapter one.

⁵ Rippin, "*Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās*," 40.

⁶ Al-Jubūrī, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tafsīr*, 63-64; Khālīd 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Akk, *Uṣūl al-Tafsīr li Kitāb Allāh al-Munīr* [Damascus: Maktabat al-Fārābī, 1968], 227. It is a fact that one transmitter of *isnāds* in *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, in particular in *ṣūrat al-Baqarah*, is Ibn al-Mubārak, but this chain ends, like others, with Ibn 'Abbās. Perhaps what al-Jubūrī means is that the interpretation stems from

'Abbās are Mannā' al-Qaṭṭān and Maḥmūd Shalabī. The latter states this in his biography of Ibn 'Abbās and though he does not state his belief explicitly by quoting the interpretation of *sūrat Muḥammad* from the *tafsīr*,⁷ he seems satisfied that the *tafsīr* is based on Ibn 'Abbās's reports. Al-Qaṭṭān says explicitly that the work is based on reports attributed to Ibn 'Abbās and collected by al-Fīrūzābādī.

Furthermore, concerning *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*'s bibliographic identity, Rippin argues that this is questionable for two reasons. The work is mentioned three times under different names in the same reference works, i.e., Brockelmann and Sezgin. Both scholars assign it to Ibn 'Abbās, al-Kalbī and al-Fīrūzābādī.⁸ Moreover, Rippin's research shows that this work is also totally identical to *al-Wāḍiḥ fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* of al-Dīnawarī (d. 308/930),⁹ accepting Wansbrough's assertion that al-Dīnawarī's work is "a nearly verbatim reproduction" of al-Kalbī's.¹⁰ In addition, the manuscripts entitled *Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās*, not *Tafsīr al-Kalbī*, preserved in the library of Istanbul University and bearing nos. 752 A, 4560 A, 5039 A and 6904 A, are identical to *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, according to Goldfeld's

Ibn al-Mubārak, while in *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* the *isnād* is extended to Ibn 'Abbās in order to authenticate the *isnād*.

⁷ Al-Qaṭṭān, *Mabāḥith fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 312; Maḥmūd Shalabī, *Ḥayāt Ibn 'Abbās: Ḥabr al-Ummah* (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1990), 441-462.

⁸ Rippin, "*Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās*," 39.

⁹ Andrew Rippin, "Al-Zuhri, *Naskh al-Qur'ān* and the Problem of Early *Tafsīr* Texts," *BSOAS* 47 (1984), 23-24. Rippin comes to this conclusion after examining the work and the manuscripts Aya Sofia 221 and Leiden 1651.

¹⁰ Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies*, 146.

research. For this reason, Goldfeld concludes that the list of al-Kalbī's manuscripts given by Sezgin represents the said transmission of al-Fīrūzābādī.¹¹

Rippin suspects that the editor of the first printed edition tried to provide a full title for the work he had in manuscript copy, perhaps simply the title *Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās*, while biographical and bibliographical references would have provided him with a report that al-Fīrūzābādī had compiled a work entitled *Tanwīr al-Miqbās min Tafsīr Ibn Abbās*. Then the editor identified the two works as one and the same without any thought as to the accuracy of the supposition. This ascription became accepted fact in later printings. Rippin considers this case to be similar in nature to that surrounding the so-called Ibn 'Abbās's text, *al-Lughāt fī al-Qur'ān*, which is ascribed to Abū 'Ubayd (d. 224/838). He maintains that the ascription of the *tafsīr* to al-Fīrūzābādī was a result of ignorance, because the *isnād* of the text ends sometime in the fourth century A.H., just as it does in the case of *al-Lughāt fī al-Qur'ān*.¹² This argument sounds stronger than the one suggesting that al-Fīrūzābādī simply took al-Dīnawarī's work and foisted it upon an unsuspecting public as his own.

Rippin's second argument is that he, like Brockelmann, doubts the existence of manuscript copies bearing the title *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*. Rippin says, "Manuscript copies of this text with the title *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* and with (or even

¹¹ Goldfeld, "The *Tafsīr* of Abdallah b. 'Abbās," 129. See also Sezgin, GAS, vol. 1, 27 and 34-35.

¹² Rippin, "*Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās*," 43-44.

without) the name al-Fīrūzābādī do not appear to exist.” For this reason, Rippin doubts whether this text is really al-Fīrūzābādī’s *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, therefore he prefers to call it *Tafsīr Ibn ‘Abbās*.¹³ Because of this, it sounds reasonable to hold the opinion that this work was not written by Ibn ‘Abbās himself, but that it contains interpretations of the Qur’ān based on reports from Ibn ‘Abbās.¹⁴ We will investigate the transmitters of these reports later in the next chapter.

Another issue of concern is the number of volumes in which the work was supposed to have been composed. Al-Dāwūdī, Ḥājī Khalīfah, Ibn al-‘Imād and al-Zabīdī report that the work was originally in four volumes.¹⁵ Rippin reports that in the various editions he has consulted, the work has always consisted of one large volume consisting of 300 folios.¹⁶ Unfortunately, it is not clear why this difference exists. One possible explanation may be that all four original volumes were printed together in one large volume, since the work which we have in one volume covers the whole of the Qur’ān.¹⁷ On this point, it is worth noting what Goldfeld asserts:

¹³ Rippin, “*Tafsīr Ibn ‘Abbās*,” 42.

¹⁴ Al-‘Akk, *Uṣūl al-Tafsīr*, 227.

¹⁵ Al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn*, 276; Ḥājī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vol. 2, 456; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 127; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-‘Arūs*, 43.

¹⁶ Similarly each of the three modern editions that I have consulted consists of about 400-500 pages.

¹⁷ Rippin holds the opposite opinion, because according to him al-Fīrūzābādī’s *Baṣā’ir Dhawī al-Tamyīz fī Laṭā’if al-Kitāb al-Azīz*, which is reported in the sources as a two-volume work, appears in six volumes. Therefore, it is more likely for a work to be longer, not the opposite. See also Muḥammad ibn Ya’qūb al-Fīrūzābādī, *Baṣā’ir Dhawī al-Tamyīz fī Laṭā’if al-Kitāb al-Azīz*,

Consequently a high degree of accuracy was achieved in the transmission of texts, on the one hand, however interpolation was not prevented but only controlled, on the other. As a result *Tafsīr* works contain the edited, augmented or abbreviated versions of their respective original authors. The *Isnād* of a piece of information or of a book guarantees the authenticity of the information of the author, however it does not pretend to exclude editing or interpolation. ... The *Tafsīr* of Ibn 'Abbās (d. 687) seems to be a perfect instance of augmented books.¹⁸

Given these problems, Rippin suggests that only a thorough study of this work will bring a satisfactory conclusion.¹⁹

The available modern editions contain the text of *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* without introduction or commentary. None of them has been critically edited, nor is there any mention of an editor responsible for the edition. Only two of these versions list al-Fīrūzābādī as the author/compiler on the title page. Therefore, it is difficult to ascertain the approach, sources, and points of view of the author/compiler. This is very different from what one finds in other commentaries. In the introduction to *al-Kashshāf* of al-Zamakhsharī (1075-1144 A.D.), for example, the author's theological point of view is clearly enunciated. By virtue of his statement that the Qur'ān was created,²⁰ the reader immediately knows that al-

edited by Muḥammad 'Alī al-Najjār, 6 vols. (Cairo: Lajnat Ihyā' al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1964-1973). However, it is worth recalling that in Islamic tradition there are works which are abridgment (*ikhtisār*) of larger works.

¹⁸ Goldfeld, "The *Tafsīr* of Abdallah b. 'Abbās," 126.

¹⁹ Rippin, "Al-Zuhri," 24. See also Fred Leemhuis, "Origins and Early Development of the *tafsīr* Tradition," in *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'ān*, edited by Andrew Rippin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 27-28.

²⁰ Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī, *Al-Kashshāf 'an Ḥaqā'iq al-Tanzīl wa 'Uyūn al-Aqāwīl fī Wuḥūd al-Ta'wīl*, 4 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, n.d.), 1: 2.

knows that al-Zamakhsharī was a Mu'tazilite. However, with *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* the only means of gleaning such information is from a thorough analysis of the text of the interpretation itself.

B. A Biography of 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās

Ibn 'Abbās's biography is recorded in a number of works, owing to his great reputation in Islamic tradition. In spite of the fact that he lived at such an early period, accounts of his life are surprisingly consistent.²¹ For our purposes, however, the scope of the discussion will be limited to Ibn 'Abbās's family background, his role in the transmission of *ḥadīth* and his Qur'ānic exegesis. His involvement in political and military life will be touched on only briefly. As Qur'ānic exegesis was little more than a branch of *ḥadīth* during Ibn 'Abbās's lifetime, the two subjects will be discussed simultaneously.

1. Family Background

'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim ibn 'Abd

²¹ For more information on his life and writings, see the following modern biographies: Shalabī, *Ḥayāt Ibn 'Abbās*; Abū al-Makārim Ḥasan Zaydān, *Madhhab Ibn 'Abbās fī al-Ribā bayna Madhāhib Fuqahā' al-Sunnah wa al-Shi'ah* (Cairo: Dār al-Ittiḥād al-'Arabī li al-Ṭibā'ah, 1972); 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Salqīnī, *Ḥabr al-Ummah 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās wa Madrasatuh fī al-Tafsīr bi Makkah al-Mukarramah* (Beirut: Dār al-Salām, 1986); Ismā'īl Sālim, *Rukhṣ Ibn 'Abbās wa Mufradātuh Dirāsah Fiqhiyah Muqāranah* (Cairo: Dār al-Naṣr li al-Tawzī' wa al-Nashr, 1993); Muḥammad Aḥmad Abū al-Naṣr, *'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās: Ḥabr al-Ummah wa Tarjumān al-Qur'ān* (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1992).

Manāf²² was most often referred to as 'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās. He was one of the Prophet's cousins, the eldest son of Muḥammad's uncle 'Abbās,²³ while his mother, Lubābah bint al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥazn ibn Bujayr ibn al-Huzam ibn Ruwaybah ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Hilāl ibn 'Āmir,²⁴ of the Banī 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'sa'ah, was the sister of Maymūnah bint al-Ḥārith, the Prophet's wife.²⁵ The date of Ibn 'Abbās's birth is generally held to have preceded the Hijra by three years.²⁶ At the time of his birth, most scholars agree, the Hāshimite family was shut up in the Ravine (*al-Shi'b*).²⁷

²² Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, 290; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 322; al-Jubūrī, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tafsīr*, 58. However it seems that there is a misprint in Ibn Ḥajar's work, where the name is written as "(Abd Allāh) ibn al-'Ahhās ..."

²³ Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, 290.

²⁴ Al-Zubayrī, *Kitāb Nasab Quraysh*, 27. In addition, Ibn al-Athīr and Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī refer to her as Lubābah al-Kubrā bint al-Ḥārith ibn Hazn al-Hilālīyah, while Ibn Ḥajar cites her name as Lubābah bint al-Ḥārith al-Hilālīyah. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, 290; Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssirūn*, 65; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 322.

²⁵ Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Ikhtiyār Ma'rifat al-Rijāl: al-Ma'rūf bi Rijāl al-Kashshī*, edited by Mahdī al-Rajā'ī (Qum: Mu'assasat Āl al-Bayt, [1984]), 271.

²⁶ Al-Zubayrī, Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, Vaglieri, al-Balādhurī (quoting from al-Zubayrī), Ibn Ḥajar and al-Jubūrī are among those scholars, even though the last three add that it may actually have occurred five years prior to the Hijra. See al-Zubayrī, *Kitāb Nasab Quraysh*, 26; Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssirūn*, 65; Vaglieri, "'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās," 40; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, 27; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 322; al-Jubūrī, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tafsīr*, 58.

Ibn al-Athīr and Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī hold the same view and state that when the Prophet died, Ibn 'Abbās was a boy of thirteen, but it is also said that he was fifteen. Al-Ṭūsī adds that he was fifteen and ten months, while Watt reports that in the year 632 A.D. Ibn 'Abbās would have been anywhere from ten to fifteen years old. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, 294; Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Kitāb Tadlikirat al-Huffāz*, 40; al-Ṭūsī, *Ikhtiyār Ma'rifat al-Rijāl*, 271; Watt, *Bell's Introduction*, 168, quoting from Goldziher, *Koranauslegung*, 65-81. See also Hamid, *Companions of the Prophet*, 66.

²⁷ Al-Zubayrī, *Kitāb Nasab Quraysh*, 26; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, 27; al-Ṭūsī, *Ikhtiyār Ma'rifat al-Rijāl*, 271; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, 291; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 322; Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssirūn*, 65; al-Jubūrī, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tafsīr*, 58; Vaglieri, "'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās," 40.

Ibn 'Abbās's close and intimate relationship with the Prophet began in childhood, when he was brought to the Prophet by his father shortly after he was born.²⁸ Some *ḥadīths*, with various *isnāds*, record that the Prophet prayed to God to endow Ibn 'Abbās with *ta'wīl* and wisdom.²⁹ His proximity to Muḥammad is also attested to in reports which confirm his devotion to the service of the Prophet and which depict him preparing the latter's *wuḍu'*, standing behind him in prayer, and accompanying him on expeditions and journeys.³⁰

Ibn Sa'd (ca 168/784-230/845), al-Balādhurī (d. 892 A.D.), Ibn al-Athīr (555/1160-630/1233), Ibn Ḥajar (773/1372-852/1449), Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī and al-Jubūrī relate that Ibn 'Abbās was given the titles *Ḥabr al-Ummah* (the learned man of the *ummah*)³¹ and *al-Baḥr* (the sea) as tributes to his great

²⁸ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, 27. However Hamid reports that it was not his father but his mother who was the one who brought him to the Prophet, who then proceeded to put some of his saliva on the baby's tongue before his first feeding. See Hamid, *Companions of the Prophet*, 66.

²⁹ Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, 365 and 370; al-Zubayrī, *Kitāb Nasab Quraysh*, 26; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, 28-29 and 37; al-Ṭūsī, *Ikhtiyār Ma'rifat al-Rijāl*, 272-273; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, 291; Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Kitāb Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, 40; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Isābah*, 322-323; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 5, 278-279; Ḥājji Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vol. 2, 333. See also Hamid, *Companions of the Prophet*, 67. This prayer is used by some scholars to argue that the Prophet did not explain all verses of the Qur'ān. See Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssīrūn*, 51.

³⁰ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, 27-29; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Isābah*, 322-323. See also Hamid, *Companions of the Prophet*, 66. In addition, it is reported that he saw Gabriel standing behind the Prophet on two occasions. See Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, 370; al-Zubayrī, *Kitāb Nasab Quraysh*, 26; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, 28-29; al-Ṭūsī, *Ikhtiyār Ma'rifat al-Rijāl*, 272; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, 291; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Isābah*, 322-323.

³¹ Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Isābah*, 325; Ḥājji Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vol. 2, 333; al-Jubūrī, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tafsīr*, 58. However Ibn Ḥajar also cites it as *Ḥabr al-'Arab*, instead of *Ḥabr al-Ummah*. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Isābah*, 322.

knowledge.³² Vaglieri, however, is more specific in insisting that Ibn 'Abbās's reputation is dependent on his doctrine.³³ A number of *ḥadīths* laud Ibn 'Abbās's ability to refute detractors by appealing to the Qur'ān, *ḥadīth* and reason.³⁴ Furthermore, some reports suggest that Companions, such as 'Umar (d. 23/644), 'Alī (d. 40/ 660), Ḥassān ibn Thābit (d. 40/659), Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ (d. between 50/670 and 58/677) and 'Ā'ishah (d. 58/678) declared their respect and admiration for Ibn 'Abbās.³⁵

From his youth, Vaglieri writes, Ibn 'Abbās demonstrated an interest in scholarly research. He undertook long and arduous journeys to interview Companions of the Prophet,³⁶ becoming a master of many disciplines at a young age. His expertise extended to the fields of *tafsīr*, *siyar*, *maghāzī*, *ḥadīth*, *ayyām*, *ansāb* (genealogies), poetry, *isrā'īliyyāt*, and the traditions of the Arabs.³⁷ Ibn 'Abbās served as an important resource for his community and gave public

³² Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, 366; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, 30-33; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, 291; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 325; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 5, 276; Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssirūn*, 65; al-Jubūrī, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tafsīr*, 58. Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī gives five situations that prove Ibn 'Abbās to have been knowledgeable. See Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssirūn*, 67-68.

³³ Vaglieri, "'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās," 40. However, Vaglieri writes it wrongly, "al-Ḥibr."

³⁴ Hamid, *Companions of the Prophet*, 69 and 70-73.

³⁵ Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, 365 and 369; al-Zubayrī, *Kitāb Nasab Quraysh*, 26-27; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, 30 and 35; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 322. See also Hamid, *Companions of the Prophet*, 69 and 70-73; al-Jubūrī, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tafsīr*, 58-59 and 63.

³⁶ Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, 367-368; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, 34-35; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 323; Vaglieri, "'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās," 40; Hamid, *Companions of the Prophet*, 66-68.

³⁷ Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, 367; Vaglieri, "'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās," 40.

lectures, aided by his formidable memory and a large collection of written works.³⁸ His lectures covered a wide range of disciplines, each delivered on a particular day.³⁹ Ibn 'Abbās's intellectual interests were shaped by the trends of his day at a time when, according to Faruqī, Qur'ānic exegesis, the traditions of the Prophet, story-telling (*qiṣaṣ*), *akhbār*, poetry, genealogies and biographies were the chief media for preserving the heritage of the early years of Islam.⁴⁰

A vast number of reports exist concerning his academic activities, but only a few relay any information about his personal life. Hamid reports that Ibn 'Abbās was a man who cherished peace above war and logic above force or violence.⁴¹ Perhaps the event of the arbitration in Ṣiffīn, when he persuaded 'Alī's troops to accept the Caliph's decision can serve as an example of this trait. He was also renowned for his generosity, hospitality and piety.

In his old age, Ibn 'Abbās lost his sight.⁴² The date and place of his death, as al-Zubayrī (d. ca 236/851), Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (673/1274-748/1348),

³⁸ Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 291-292; Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, vol. 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 14; Vaglieri, "'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās," 40; Hamid, *Companions of the Prophet*, 69-70.

³⁹ Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, 368; Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, 14; Vaglieri, "'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās," 40. See also Hamid, *Companions of the Prophet*, 69-70.

⁴⁰ Nisar Ahmed Faruqī, *Early Muslim Historiography* (New Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1979), 164.

⁴¹ Hamid, *Companions of the Prophet*, 73-74.

⁴² Al-Jubūrī, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tafsīr*, 58. Al-Ṭūsī reports that he was blind because he cried so much for 'Alī, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, while Ibn al-Athīr cites a *ḥadīth* telling that there was a line at the edges of Ibn 'Abbās's nose where tears ran because of so much crying. See al-Ṭūsī, *Ikhtiyār Ma'rifat al-Rijāl*, 272; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 292.

Ḥājji Khalīfah, Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, Vaglieri, Hamid and al-Jubūrī all confirm, was in 68/686-8 in Ṭā'if.⁴³ Some *ḥadīths* report that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyah (d. 81/700) attended his funeral.⁴⁴

2. Ibn 'Abbās in *Ḥadīth* and Qur'ānic Exegesis

At a time of opposition to the writing down of *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr*, Ibn 'Abbās was one of the few Companions who continued the tradition.⁴⁵ He reported a

⁴³ Al-Zubayrī, *Kitāb Nasab Quraysh*, 26; Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, *Kitāb Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz*, 41; Ḥājji Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vol. 2, 333; Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssīrūn*, 65; Vaglieri, "'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās," 40; Hamid, *Companions of the Prophet*, 74; al-Jubūrī, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tafsīr*, 58. In addition, Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī cites this opinion, without reporting others, and states that it is the more reliable.

Al-Ṭūsī places his death 68 A.H., when he was 70 or 71, while Ibn al-Athīr cites 68 A.H. but gives Ibn 'Abbās the age of 70, and adds that it is also said he was 73, but this is not valid (*gharīb*). Ibn Ḥajar notes that some scholars say 65 A.H., some 67 A.H., and some 68 A.H., but the last is valid for most scholars (*jumhūr*). In addition, Watt cites it as 687 A.D. Al-Zubayrī and Hamid mention that when he died he was 71. See al-Ṭūsī, *Ikhtiyār Ma'rifat al-Rijāl*, 271; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, 294; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 326; Watt, *Bell's Introduction*, 168, quoting from Goldziher, *Koranauslegung*, 65-81; al-Zubayrī, *Kitāb Nasab Quraysh*, 26; Hamid, *Companions of the Prophet*, 74. However, in his *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Ibn Ḥajar mentions only the age of 68. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 5, 278.

⁴⁴ Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, 365; al-Ṭūsī, *Ikhtiyār Ma'rifat al-Rijāl*, 272; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, 294; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 326.

⁴⁵ Abū 'Umar Yūsuf ibn 'Abd al-Barr al-Namarī al-Qurṭubī, *Jāmi' Bayān al-'Ilm wa Faḍlih*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Idārat al-Ṭibā'ah al-Munīrah, n.d.), 72-73; Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taḥyīd al-'Ilm*, edited by Yūsuf al-'Ash (Damascus: al-Ma'had al-Firansī, 1949), 91-92, quoted by Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, 11. Ḥājji Khalīfah mentions a *ḥadīth* from Ibn 'Abbās saying that writing (*khatt*) is more valuable than an oral report, because it is useful for those attending or absent. See Ḥājji Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vol. 3, 144. However, in other places it is cited that Ibn 'Abbās forbade the recording of knowledge in writing. See Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, 371; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' Bayān*, 65; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taḥyīd al-'Ilm*, 42-43; Ḥājji Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vol. 1, 78-80. From the *ḥadīth* quoted by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, it is understood that Ibn 'Abbās did not write the report when he dealt with a person whom he was not familiar with, because in the *ḥadīth*, the person is not identified, just cited as "a man" (*rajul*). It is likely that Ibn 'Abbās did this to avoid misrepresentation or misuse of the report. See also Jullandri, "Qur'ānic Exegesis," 79. It is worth noting that this issue is in dispute among scholars. See C. H. M. Versteegh, *Arabic Grammar and Qur'ānic Exegesis in Early Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill,

great number of *ḥadīths* from the Prophet, 'Umar, 'Alī, Mu'adh ibn Jabal and Abū Dharr (d. 32/652 or 3).⁴⁶ Amīn and Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī assert that of the Companions who transmitted prophetic *ḥadīth*, Ibn 'Abbās transmitted the greatest number of *riwāyāt*.⁴⁷ His *ḥadīths* were transmitted by many people; as listed by Ibn al-Athīr.⁴⁸

Hamid describes Ibn 'Abbās as cautious and careful when authenticating a *ḥadīth*. To accept a single *ḥadīth*, Ibn 'Abbās would confirm it with as many as thirty Companions. Hamid reports that about 1660 of his *ḥadīths* are recorded

1993), 55-56; Harris Birkeland, *Old Muslim Opposition against Interpretation of the Koran* (Oslo: I Kommissjon Hos Jacob Dybwad, 1955).

⁴⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, 292. See also Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 5, 276.

⁴⁷ Amīn, *Fajr al-Islām*, 202; Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssirūn*, 64. However, Amīn emphasizes that the greatest number here is in the sense of quantity, not of validity.

There are two works which specifically record two different *ḥadīths* from Ibn 'Abbās. See *al-Isrā' wa al-Mi'rāj li al-Imām Ibn 'Abbās* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Libnānī, al-Dār al-Ifriqiyyah al-'Arabīyah, 1983); al-Ḥafīz Zayn al-Dīn Abī al-Faraj 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Aḥmad ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī, *Nūr al-Iqtibās fī Mishkāt Waṣīyat al-Nabī Ṣallā Allāh 'Alayh wa Sallam li Ibn 'Abbās*, edited by Muḥammad ibn Nāṣir al-'Ajmī (Kuwait: Maktabah Dār al-Iqṣā, 1986).

⁴⁸ They were 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar (d. 73/693), Anas ibn Mālik (d. 91-93/709-711), Abū al-Ṭufayl, Abū Amāmah ibn Sahl ibn Ḥunayf, Kathīr ibn 'Abbās (his brother), 'Alī (his son) (d. 117/735 or 6), and his *muwālī*, namely 'Ikrimah (d. 106/724), Kurayb, Abū Ma'bad Nāfidh, 'Aṭā' ibn Abī Rabāh (d. 114/732), Mujāhid ibn Jubayr al-Makkī (d. 103/721), Ibn Abī Mulaykah, 'Amru ibn Dīnār, 'Ubayd ibn 'Umayr, Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab (d. 94/712), al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad, 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Utbah, Sulaymān ibn Yasār (d. 100 A.H.), 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr (23-92 A.H.), 'Alī ibn al-Husayn, Abū al-Zubayr, Muḥammad ibn Ka'b, Ṭāwūs ibn Kaysān (d. 106/724), Wahb ibn Munabbih (34/654-114/728), and Abū al-Duḥā. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghābah*, 292. Ḥājji Khalīfah adds Sa'īd ibn Jubayr (d. 95/713) to the list. See Ḥājji Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zumūn*, vol. 2, 335. Ibn Ḥajar mentions more names in his *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 5, 276-278.

Furthermore, Ibn 'Ashūr classifies them in two groups. The first are Ibn 'Abbās's trusted transmitters, for example Mujāhid, 'Ikrimah, Ṭāwūs, 'Aṭā' ibn Abī Rabāh and Sa'īd ibn Jubayr. They are the ones that al-Bukhārī quotes in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. The second includes people who are not trusted, for example al-Daḥḥāk, 'Aṭīyah ibn Sa'd al-Suddī who is quoted by Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī. See Muḥammad al-Fāḍil ibn 'Ashūr, *Al-Tafsīr wa Rijālūh* (Tunis: Manshūrāt al-Lughāt Dār al-Kutub al-Sharqiyyah, 1966), 18-19. See also Amīn, *Fajr al-Islām*, 202-203; Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssirūn*, 82-83; Faruqi, *Early Muslim Historiography*, 141.

and authenticated in al-Bukhārī's and Muslim's collections.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, because of his reputation, some false reports were ascribed to him in an attempt to lend them credibility. Al-Shāfi'ī (150/767-204/820), for instance, asserts that only 100 *ḥadīths* attributed to Ibn 'Abbās are sound.⁵⁰ Faruqi mentions two reasons for this false attribution: to please the ruling family of the day and to authenticate the transmitters' versions.⁵¹ As such, little can be known of his views with any certainty.⁵²

Goldfeld, citing various references, argues that Ibn 'Abbās may not merit the acclaim he commands.⁵³ While only Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385/995) and Ṭashkubrīzādah (d. 962/1560) provide original information concerning the *Tafsīr* of Ibn 'Abbās, Ḥājjī Khalīfah (1609-1657) does not discuss him to any great extent, while al-Kattānī (d. 1345/1927) does not refer to Ibn 'Abbās at all.⁵⁴ This, however, may be explained by the fact that the latter author opens his discussion

⁴⁹ Hamid, *Companions of the Prophet*, 66-68.

⁵⁰ Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 3rd edition, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 4 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Turāth, 1985), 4: 209; Ibn 'Ashūr, *Al-Tafsīr wa Rijālul*, 19.

⁵¹ Faruqi, *Early Muslim Historiography*, 141. See also Amīn, *Fajr al-Islām*, 202-203; Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssīrūn*, 82-83; Jullandri, "Qur'ānic Exegesis," 79-80.

⁵² Watt, *Bell's Introduction*, 168, quoting from Goldziher, *Koranauslegung*, 65-81. See also Ibn 'Ashūr, *Al-Tafsīr wa Rijālul*, 19; al-Jubūrī, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tafsīr*, 63.

⁵³ Goldfeld, "The *Tafsīr* or Abdallah b. 'Abbās," 127.

⁵⁴ See Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, edited by Gustav Flhgel (Beirut: Maktabat Khayyāt, [1966]), 125; Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafā Ṭashkubrīzādah, *Miftāḥ al-Sa'ādah wa Miṣbāḥ al-Siyādah*, vol. 1 (Hyderabad: Maṭba'at Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-Nizāmiyah, 1911), 400-401; Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vol. 2, 333-334; Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Kattānī, *Al-Risālah al-Mustaṭrafah li Bayān Mashhūr Kutub al-Sunnah al-Musharrafah* (Damascus: Maṭba'at Dār al-Fikr, 1964).

with the development of *'ilm al-ḥadīth* in the second century, a time when Ibn Shihāb (d. 124/741) was the most prominent figure in the writing of *ḥadīth*, as is also suggested by Goldfeld.⁵⁵ In addition, Brockelmann devotes very little space to Ibn 'Abbās's literary activity, while Sezgin hesitates even to attribute a specific work in Qur'ānic interpretation to Ibn 'Abbās.⁵⁶

Apart from being a great name in the field of *'ilm al-ḥadīth*, Ibn 'Abbās is also considered to have been the father of Qur'ānic exegesis.⁵⁷ Al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1392) relays the information that Ibn 'Abbās was among those Companions who memorized the whole of the Qur'ān.⁵⁸ Al-Suyūṭī (849/1445-911/1505), Ḥājjī Khalīfah and al-Jubūrī situate Ibn 'Abbās in the developmental stages of *tafsīr*, together with the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, Ibn Mas'ūd (d. 653 A.D.), Ubayy ibn Ka'b (d. 639 A.D.), etc.⁵⁹ Moreover, Ibn Ḥajar, Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, Faruqī and al-Jubūrī depict him as the most knowledgeable of his contemporaries in exegesis.⁶⁰ Abbott places him in the same rank as Abū Hurayrah (d. 58/678) and 'Abd Allāh

⁵⁵ Goldfeld, "The *Tafsīr* or Abdallah b. 'Abbās," 127.

⁵⁶ See Brockelmann, *GALS*, vol. 1, 330-331; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, 25-28.

⁵⁷ Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, 9; Vaglieri, "'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās," 40; Watt, *Bell's Introduction*, 168, quoting from Goldziher, *Koranauslegung*, 65-81.

⁵⁸ Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Zarkashī, *Al-Burhān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, edited by Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā, 4 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1988), 1: 295-306.

⁵⁹ Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 4, 204; Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vol. 2, 332; al-Jubūrī, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tafsīr*, 75-76.

⁶⁰ Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 323-325; Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssirūn*, 59 and 63; Faruqī, *Early Muslim Historiography*, 165; al-Jubūrī, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tafsīr*, 58-59.

ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ (d. 63 A.H.), among the early Qur'ānic commentators,⁶¹ whereas Faruqi considers him the most significant contributor to the development of this branch of knowledge.⁶² Vaglieri attributes this to his skill in relating the Qur'ān to the needs of his society.⁶³ As well, 'Abd al-'Azīz reports that even though Ibn 'Abbās received his early tutelage in the Qur'ān from 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, he, in the end, was more knowledgeable than his master.⁶⁴ Hence, he was called *tarjumān al-Qur'ān*.⁶⁵

Al-Ṭūsī (d. ca 460/1067), al-Jubūrī and al-Qaṭṭān, however, cite a particular *ḥadīth* which throws doubt on Ibn 'Abbās's knowledge of all the Qur'ānic verses.⁶⁶ Zaghlūl mentions a report from Mujāhid (d. 103 A.H.) saying that once when Mujāhid asked Ibn 'Abbās a question concerning an expression in the Qur'ān, the latter answered that only God knows its exegesis

⁶¹ Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, 9.

⁶² Faruqi, *Early Muslim Historiography*, 141.

⁶³ Vaglieri, "'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās," 40.

⁶⁴ Amīr 'Abd al-'Azīz, *Dirāsāt fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān* (Amman, Jordan: Dār al-Furqān; Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1983), 151.

⁶⁵ Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, 366; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, 30; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 324; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 5, 278; Ḥājji Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vol 2, 333; Jullandri, "Qur'ānic Exegesis," 74-75. According to Jullandri, the word "*tarjumān*" whose meaning is translator, was attached to Ibn 'Abbās because he interpreted verses of the Qur'ān word by word.

⁶⁶ Al-Ṭūsī, *Ikhtiyār Ma'rifat al-Rijāl*, 273; al-Jubūrī, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tafsīr*, 26; al-Qaṭṭān, *Mabāḥith fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 287. The *ḥadīth* tells how once Ibn 'Abbās did not know of a particular expression in the Qur'ān. However, al-Ṭūsī throws doubt on this *ḥadīth* (*da'if*) because one of its transmitters is Ibrāhīm ibn 'Umar al-Yamānī. Al-Jubūrī adds that like other ordinary people, some Companions, including Ibn 'Abbās, did not know all of the Arabic used in the Qur'ān.

(*ta'wīl*).⁶⁷ Moreover, based on al-Suyūṭī's explanation of 'Alī's fame among the Rightly-Guided Caliphs,⁶⁸ it is possible to draw an analogy with Ibn 'Abbās's reputation as the greatest among the Companions. Ibn 'Abbās's status may derive from the fact that the other nine Companions, who were interpreters in the first stage of Qur'ānic exegesis, died earlier,⁶⁹ leaving him the only remaining Companion to meet with the Followers. Because of this, reports on him abound, as isn't the case with the other Companions. Moreover, in the early Islamic period, the Companions restrained themselves from writing *ḥadīth*, whereas in Ibn 'Abbās's time, the writing of tradition had commenced its development. Inevitably, reports from Ibn 'Abbās assumed a value which, in turn, led to the abundance of reports on him.

Part of the doubt some scholars have of Ibn 'Abbās's contribution to the Islamic exegetical tradition stems from a chronology of events relating to the Qur'ān's development which precludes Ibn 'Abbās's involvement. First, 'Umar did not nominate Ibn 'Abbās to be among the five Companions sent to Damascus

⁶⁷ Al-Shaḥḥāt al-Sayyid Zaghlūl, *Al-Ittijāhāt al-Fikriyah fī al-Tafsīr* (Alexandria: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣriyah al-'Āmmah li al-Kitāb, 1975), 68.

⁶⁸ Al-Suyūṭī asserts that 'Alī was the most famous transmitter among the Rightly-Guided Caliphs because he lived later than others, and therefore had a longer time to meet other Companions and transmit *ḥadīth*. See al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 4, 204.

⁶⁹ Al-Suyūṭī lists ten Companions who were interpreters in the early development of Qur'ānic exegesis. The other nine were the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, Ibn Mas'ūd, Ubayy ibn Ka'b, Zayd ibn Thābit (d. 45 A.H.), Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī (d. ca 42/662) and 'Abd Allāh ibn Zubayr (d. 72/692). See al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 4, 204.

to teach the Qur'ān when Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān asked for it.⁷⁰ Nor was Ibn 'Abbās chosen when 'Uthmān set up a committee to collect and compile the Qur'ān in a *muṣḥaf*.⁷¹ These facts must be taken into consideration when assessing Ibn 'Abbās's status as a great scholar.

Like some of the other Companions, Ibn 'Abbās had his own codex of the Qur'ān, reports Ibn Abī Dāwūd (d. 316/928) in *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*. Al-Zarkashī asserts that Ibn 'Abbās's reading was from Ubayy ibn Ka'b,⁷² while Jeffery notes that Ibn 'Abbās's codex contained two extra *sūrah*s over and above Ubayy's text.⁷³ This point is one that demands more research, because al-Suyūṭī maintains that Ubayy's text had two extra *sūrah*s lacking in the 'Uthmānic text.⁷⁴

In his role as a teacher, Ibn 'Abbās founded one of the three *madhāhib* (schools) in Qur'ānic studies, i.e., the one based in Mecca. He taught in al-Masjid

⁷⁰ Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, 356-357.

⁷¹ Amin tells us that the committee consisted of Zayd ibn Thābit, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr and Sa'id ibn al-'Āṣ (d. 59/678 or 9). See Amin, *Fajr al-Islām*, 195. Faruqi adds two figures, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith and Ibn Hishām. See Faruqi, *Early Muslim Historiography*, 124-125.

⁷² Al-Zarkashī, *Al-Burhān*, vol. 1, 306.

⁷³ Jeffery (ed.), *Materials*, 193. This work contains *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* of Ibn Abī Dāwūd together with a collection of the variant readings from some codices. The work of Ibn Abī Dāwūd itself contains some variant readings, including those of Ibn 'Abbās. Jeffery provides a summary of the differences in these readings. For the codex of Ibn 'Abbās, see *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* in Jeffery (ed.), *Materials*, 73-77, and for Jeffery's note on this work, see Jeffery (ed.), *Materials*, 193-208.

⁷⁴ Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 3, 184-186. In addition, Burton reports, "The codices ascribed to Ibn 'Abbās, Ubayy and Abū Mūsā are said to contain two *sūrah*s which the 'Uthmānic text lacks." See John Burton, *The Collection of the Qur'ān* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 220.

al-Ḥarām and, in turn, his pupils spread his teaching.⁷⁵ His exposition of Qur'ānic interpretation, for example, was compiled in a special collection based on the *riwāyah* of one of his immediate pupils. Thus we find that Ibn 'Abbās is widely quoted in a number of commentaries, including⁷⁶ *Tafsir al-Wālibī*, *Tafsir al-Dimyaṭī*,⁷⁷ *Tafsir al-'Awfī*, *Tafsir 'Ikrimah*, *Tafsir al-Kalbī*,⁷⁸ *Tafsir al-Ṣāliḥī*, and *Kitāb al-Wujūh*. In recent years, the existence of numerous manuscripts and several editions of *tafsirs* attributed to him has been confirmed. Sezgin lists a number of other works that are attributed to Ibn 'Abbās. These include *Gharīb al-Qur'ān*, *Masā'il Nāfi' ibn al-Azraq*, and *al-Lughāt fī al-Qur'ān*.⁷⁹ However, the authenticity of these manuscripts is held in doubt by most scholars.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsir wa al-Mufasssirūn*, 101; al-Jubūrī, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tafsir*, 64 and 79-80; Ibn 'Ashūr, *Al-Tafsir wa Rijālūh*, 18.

⁷⁶ Al-Tha'labī, *Qur'anic Commentary*, 20-27 and 52-53. See also Ḥājī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vol. 6, 424-425.

Al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭashkubrīzādah*, Ḥājī Khalīfah, Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī and al-Qaṭṭān provide a list of chains of transmission back to Ibn 'Abbās. See al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 4, 207-210; Ṭashkubrīzādah, *Miftāḥ al-Sa'ādah*, 401; Ḥājī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vol. 2, 333-334; Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsir wa al-Mufasssirūn*, 77-81; al-Qaṭṭān, *Mabāḥith fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 313-314. One of them is the chain used in *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*. This chain is discussed further in chapter three, below.

⁷⁷ See also Ḥājī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vol. 2, 361.

⁷⁸ See also Ḥājī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vol. 2, 377.

⁷⁹ Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. 1, 25-28. For some of the research on this issue, see: Rippin, "Ibn 'Abbās's *al-Lughāt fī al-Qur'ān*," 15-25; Rippin, "Ibn 'Abbās's *Gharīb al-Qur'ān*," 332-333; Andrew Rippin, "Lexicographical Texts and the Qur'ān," in *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'ān*, edited by Andrew Rippin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 158-174. See also Boullata, "Poetry Citation, 27-40.

⁸⁰ Vaglieri, "'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās," 40. Khalidov has an article dealing with the problem of authenticating literature written in the Classical period. See A. B. Khalidov, "Problems of Authorship in Classical Arabic Literature," *Arabist: Budapest Studies in Arabic* 15-16 (1995), 143-147.

Ibn 'Abbās's approach to interpretation was, according to Ibn Sa'd and al-Balādhurī, based on a verse-by-verse and letter-by-letter exposition, or *tafsīr musalsal*.⁸¹ However, both al-Suyūṭī and Fūdah assert that *tafsīr* in its earliest stages was not *musalsal*, because the very first *tafsīr musalsal* is attributed to the *tafsīr* of al-Farrā' (d. 207/822).⁸² Historically speaking, this is more likely the case as Ibn 'Abbās, like most of the Companions, gave an interpretation only when asked. It is unlikely, therefore, that he wrote the interpretation of the Qur'ān from beginning to end, or verse by verse. Moreover, Ibn Sa'd and al-Balādhurī's reports speak of only one incident when Ibn 'Abbās interpreted *sūrat al-Baqarah*, and that was while he was in Baṣra. However, it is possible that Ibn 'Abbās provided an interpretation covering all of the Qur'ānic verses in his lectures from one day to the next.

The sources to which Ibn 'Abbās resorted in interpreting the Qur'ān, according to Ibn Sa'd, al-Balādhurī and Ibn Ḥajar (quoting a *ḥadīth*), varied depending on their priority. In the first stage, Ibn 'Abbās interpreted the Qur'ān based on the Qur'ān itself. If no explanation was forthcoming, he resorted to Muḥammad's traditions. Failing that, he proceeded to examine the sayings of Abū Bakr (d. 13/634) and 'Umar. He would rely on his own reasoning only if the

⁸¹ Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, 367; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, 34.

⁸² Maḥmūd Basyūnī Fūdah, *Nash'at al-Tafsīr wa Manāhijuh fi Daw' al-Madhāhib al-Islāmīyah* (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Amānah, 1986), 105-110.

three sources cited previously yielded no clues.⁸³ In this sense, Ibn 'Abbās was a product of the time when the Companions had decided on the priority of the sources.⁸⁴

Moreover, scholars generally hold the view that the sources used by Ibn 'Abbās were both Islamic and non-Islamic.⁸⁵ Faruqi argues that *tafsīr* was permeated by Jewish traditions through the channel of Ibn 'Abbās.⁸⁶ Even Goldfeld argues that Ibn 'Abbās's doctrine is founded upon pre-Islamic Judeo-Christian practices, whereas Newby maintains that Ibn 'Abbās held "the ultimate authority" cited for a number of *isrā'īliyyāt* traditions.⁸⁷ This analysis is not

⁸³ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, 32. See also Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, 366; Ibn Hajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 325.

⁸⁴ Al-Qaṭṭān, *Mabāliṭh fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 286-289. However, Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī and al-Jubūrī, in their discussion of sources during the early development of *tafsīr*, do not list the sayings of 'Umar and Abū Bakr as one of the sources. See Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssiriūn*, 37-62; al-Jubūrī, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tafsīr*, 31-51.

⁸⁵ Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, 9; Jeffery, *Materials*, 193; Faruqi, *Early Muslim Historiography*, 164-165. Abbott specifies this point by saying that these sources derived from Jewish and Christian Arabs. See also Muhammad el-Sayyid Husein al-Dhahabi, "Israelitic Narratives in Exegesis and Tradition," in *The Fourth Conference of the Academy of Islamic Research* (Cairo: General Organization for Government Printing Offices, 1970), 630-633.

⁸⁶ Faruqi, *Early Muslim Historiography*, 141.

⁸⁷ Goldfeld, "The Development of Theory," 6; Gordon D. Newby, "Tafsir Isrā'iliyat," in *Studies in Qur'an and Tafsir*, edited by Alford T. Welch (Chico, California: American Academy of Religion, 1979), 688. In this article, Goldfeld explains how pre-Islamic, Judeo-Christian interpretations had a considerable impact on Ibn 'Abbās's doctrine. For more discussion on *isrā'īliyyāt*, see G. Vajda, "Isrā'īliyyāt," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, edited by E. van Donzel, B. Lewis and Ch. Pellat, vol. 4 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), 211-212; Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, "Israelitic Narratives," 586-588.

without merit as Ibn 'Abbās was familiar with the Old and New Testaments, the Talmud, Midrash, Haggada and other branches of the Jewish canon.⁸⁸

However, it is worth mentioning that al-Jubūrī and Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī both argue that while Ibn 'Abbās did ask members of the *ahl al-kitāb* for stories, they were not on matters of law or belief,⁸⁹ a precaution observed by the other Companions as well.⁹⁰ The stories that he did record were needed for the interpretation of the Qur'ān, because they tended to be more comprehensive than the Qur'ānic versions, which were often short and precise, rather than protracted tales. This argument conforms with al-Qaṭṭān's assertion. The latter notes that the Bible and the Torah contain more detailed stories than the Qur'ān, which only conveys the moral of the story without seeking to provide a full narrative.⁹¹ This phenomenon is consistent with the fact that Jewish traditions bear a strong resemblance to *tafsīr* literature.⁹²

⁸⁸ Faruqi, *Early Muslim Historiography*, 165.

⁸⁹ Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssirūn*, 70-71 and 173-175; al-Jubūrī, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tafsīr*, 63. This matter is disputed by Goldziher, Amin and Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī. The first two scholars agree that Ibn 'Abbās took much from Christian and Jew traditions (*isrā'iliyyāt*), while Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī rejects this opinion. See Goldziher, *Madhāhib al-Tafsīr al-Islamī*, 85-89; Amin, *Fajr al-Islām*, 201-202; Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssirūn*, 71-74.

⁹⁰ Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssirūn*, 62 and 169-175; al-Qaṭṭān, *Mabāḥith fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 306. The Companions who imported *isrā'iliyyāt* into *tafsīr* were 'Abd Allāh ibn Salām (d. 43/663 or 4), Ka'b al-Aḥbār (d. 32/652 or 3), Wahb ibn Munabbih and 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Jurayj. See Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssirūn*, 72-73; al-Qaṭṭān, *Mabāḥith fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 307.

⁹¹ Al-Qaṭṭān, *Mabāḥith fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 306.

⁹² Faruqi, *Early Muslim Historiography*, 142. For more discussion on the development of Jewish traditions, see Faruqi, *Early Muslim Historiography*, 142-146.

It is also perfectly understandable for it is possible to say that Muslims in the early years of Islam quoted stories from Jews and Christians so as to provide a clearer and more comprehensive explanation of Qur'ānic verses. This effort, in turn, showed to non-Muslims that the Qur'ān which came later than the Bible and the Torah carried the same ideas and information as the previous scriptures. In other words, this was an effort to convince people of the new religion brought by Muḥammad. If we substitute "non-Muslims" from the early period of Qur'ānic exegesis for "the Western reader" in the following statement by Cornell, we realize how true this was: "References in the Qur'ān to the stories of biblical and extrabiblical prophets and their communities must be viewed from the perspective of the *ummah muslimah* in order to become intelligible to the Western reader."⁹³

The pre-Islamic sources to which Ibn 'Abbās resorted were not limited to the Semitic, monotheistic tradition. Goldziher, Gätje, Watt, al-Qaṭṭān, and Lichtenstadter also report that Ibn 'Abbās used to quote Arabic poetry as a means of deciphering the more obscure wording of the Qur'ān.⁹⁴ Ḥusayn al-

⁹³ Vincent J. Cornell. "Qur'ān: The Qur'ān as Scripture," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, edited by John L. Esposito, vol. 3 (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 389.

⁹⁴ Goldziher, *Madhāhib al-Tafsīr al-Islamī*, 89-90; Gätje, *The Qur'ān and its Exegesis*, 32-33; Watt, *Bell's Introduction*, 168, quoting from Goldziher, *Koranauslegung*, 65-81; al-Qaṭṭān, *Mabāḥith fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 312; Lichtenstadter, "Quran and Quran Exegesis," 11. Quoting Arabic poetry was necessary in interpreting the Qur'ān, Jones asserts. However, he argues that it did not play a significant role, because it touched peripheral, relatively trivial issues and applied to only a small percentage of the Qur'ān. See Jones, "Narrative Technique," 185. See also Boullata, "Poetry Citation," 27-40.

Dhahabī holds the same view, asserting that even though other Companions did the same thing, Ibn 'Abbās excelled at this technique.⁹⁵ Faruqi even maintains that Ibn 'Abbās was the first commentator to employ the ancient Arabic poetry as a resource for interpreting the Qur'ān.⁹⁶ In a famous report on Qur'ānic traditions, Ibn al-Azraq (d. 65/684) is said to have asked Ibn 'Abbās about the meaning of some words in the Qur'ān. After receiving an explanation, Ibn al-Azraq demanded of Ibn 'Abbās a *shahid* to his interpretation from Arabic poetry.⁹⁷ For these reasons, Ibn 'Ashūr, in his discussion of Ibn 'Abbās's contribution to Qur'ānic exegesis, credits the latter with adding to the development of Qur'ānic exegesis by utilizing two sources, namely pre-Islamic poetry and *akhbār*, in the latter case particularly those of the Jews and Christians.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssīrūn*, 74-77.

⁹⁶ Faruqi, *Early Muslim Historiography*, 169.

⁹⁷ This conversation is recorded in several works. For example, 'Ā'ishah 'Abd al-Raḥmān (Bint al-Shāṭi'), *Al-I'jāz al-Bayānī li al-Qur'ān wa Masā'il Ibn al-Azraq*, 2nd edition (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1987), 287-603; *Masā'il al-Imām al-Tisṭī 'an As'ilat Nāfi' ibn al-Azraq wa Ajwibat 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās*, edited by 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Umayrah, 2 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-I'tisām, 1994); Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il al-Bukhārī, *Mu'jam Gharīb al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: 'Isā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, [1950]), 234-292; Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Qāsim ibn Bashshār al-Anbārī al-Nahwī, *Kitāb Idāh al-Waqf wa al-Ibtidā' fī Kitāb Allāh 'Azza wa Jalla*, edited by Muḥyi al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ramaḍān (Damascus: Majma' al-Lughah al-'Arabīyah, 1971), 76-98; Ibrāhīm al-Sāmīrā'i, *Su'ālāt Nāfi' ibn al-Azraq ilā 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās* (Baghdad: Maṭba'at al-Ma'ārif, 1968). See also al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 2, 55-88. Boullata has written a comprehensive article dealing with this topic; see Boullata, "Poetry Citation," 27-40.

⁹⁸ Ibn 'Ashūr, *Al-Tafsīr wa Rijāluḥ*, 16-18. In Ibn 'Abbās's time, Qur'ānic exegesis was classified as *tafsīr bi al-ma'thūr*. The addition of two new sources meant that the *tafsīr bi al-ma'thūr* had a new color to its meaning. Initially *tafsīr bi al-ma'thūr* was understood as exegesis based on *ḥadīth*, while pre-Islamic poetry and *akhbār* were not included in the Prophet's sayings. Therefore, *tafsīr bi al-ma'thūr*, in its new meaning, accepted differences of opinion over issues, particularly in view of the knowledge gained through pre-Islamic poetry and *akhbār*.

3. Ibn 'Abbās's Political and Military Career

There are only a few reports on Ibn 'Abbās's involvement in political and military affairs. In spite of her view that in the early Islamic period Ibn 'Abbās played a significant role in political and military affairs, Vaglieri cautions against the exaggeration of this point as many Muslim biographers, impressed by his family lineage as the progenitor of the 'Abbāsids, have done. Vaglieri argues that Ibn 'Abbās did not become involved in political life until after 'Alī's ascendance to power, and that this involvement was limited to three or four years at the most.⁹⁹ Even Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī argues that Ibn 'Abbās had little to do with military affairs. His involvement was limited to his governorship of Basra.¹⁰⁰

Vaglieri lists some instances of Ibn 'Abbās's participation in battles/expeditions, such as those in Egypt (between 18/639 and 21/641), in Africa (27/647), in Jurjān and Ṭabaristān (30/650), in Constantinople (with 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 73/693) both accompanying Yazīd), at the battle of the Camel (36/656) and at the battle of Ṣiffīn (37/657).¹⁰¹ In Ṣiffīn he assumed command of 'Alī's troops and became one of the signatories to the convention of

⁹⁹ Vaglieri, "'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās," 40. For more information concerning his political and military life, see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Aṣṭarāf*, 27 and 40; Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī: Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Muluk*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 9 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1960-), 5: 137-138, 141-143 and 543-544; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 292-294; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 325.

¹⁰⁰ Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssīrūn*, 67.

¹⁰¹ Vaglieri, "'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās," 40. See also al-Ṭūsī, *Ikhtiyār Ma'rifat al-Rijāl*, 272; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 322.

Ṣiffīn.¹⁰² It is also reported that when 'Alī's troops opposed his plan to accept arbitration, Ibn 'Abbās tried to persuade the troops of the correctness of this decision himself. Ibn 'Abbās answered their three objections by referring to Qur'ānic verses and reason.¹⁰³ In the political realm, he served as counselor to the caliphs 'Umar and 'Uthmān, and to 'Alī and to al-Ḥusayn when they were in power. Ibn 'Abbās's ability in politics is evidenced by reports that 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb often sought Ibn 'Abbās's advice on matters of state.¹⁰⁴

C. A Biography of al-Firūzābādī

1. His Life

Our information concerning al-Firūzābādī varies from one source to another in terms of length and depth. The biography presented here represents a summary of these sources.

His full name was Majd al-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb ibn Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Umar ibn Abī Bakr ibn Maḥmūd ibn Idrīs ibn Faḍl Allāh ibn al-Shaykh Abī Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī ibn Yūsuf Qāḍī al-Quḍāt al-Ṣiddīqī al-Firūzābādī al-Shirāzī.¹⁰⁵ He was known as an eccentric man,

¹⁰² Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah*, 292.

¹⁰³ Hamid, *Companions of the Prophet*, 70-73; al-Jubūrī, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tafsīr*, 61-62.

¹⁰⁴ Hamid, *Companions of the Prophet*, 69; al-Jubūrī, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tafsīr*, 63.

¹⁰⁵ The names assigned to him by biographers vary in terms of length and order. The name that is cited here is the longest and most complete one. See 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Daw' al-Lāmi' li Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'*, vol. 10 (Beirut: Manshūrāt Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāh, 1966), 79; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āh fī Ṭabaqāt al-Lughawīyīn wa al-Nuḥāh*, edited by Aḥmad

for he added "al-Ṣiddīqī" to his name on being appointed to a very high position in Yemen, thus claiming to be a descendant of the caliph Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq.¹⁰⁶ Quoting Ibn Ḥajar, both al-Suyūṭī and al-Zabīdī state that this claim is true, although other scholars believe it to be unfounded.¹⁰⁷ It is also reported that he claimed to be a descendant of Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083), hence the addition of this celebrated name to his own name as shown above.¹⁰⁸ It seems that both al-Suyūṭī and al-Zabīdī (again quoting Ibn Ḥajar) believe this report to be true as well, even though other scholars refute it on the ground that Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī did not have any children.¹⁰⁹ Al-Firūzābādī was born in Kārizīn,¹¹⁰ a small town near Shīrāz (Iran), in Rabi' al-Akhīr or Jumādā al-

Nāḥī al-Jamālī, et al., vol. 1 (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sa'ādah, 1908), 117; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 126; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 41; Clément Huart, *A History of Arabic Literature* (London: William Heinemann, 1903), 388; al-'Aẓm, *Uqud al-Jawhar*, 301; Brockelmann, *GALS*, vol. 2, 234; Fleisch, "Al-Firūzābādī," 926; Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb al-Firūzābādī, *Al-Bulghah fī Tārīkh A'immat al-Lughah*, edited by Muḥammad al-Miṣrī (Damascus: Manshūrāt Wizārat al-Thaqāfah, 1971), iv.

¹⁰⁶ Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, 85. See also al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āl*, edited by Aḥmad Nāḥī al-Jamālī, et al., 117; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āl fī Ṭabaqāt al-Lughawīyīn wa al-Nuḥah*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, vol. 1 (Cairo: Maṭba'at 'Isā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa Shurakā'ih, 1964), 273; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1943-1949), 2: 232; Ṭahīr Aḥmad al-Zāwī, *Tartīb al-Qāmuṣ al-Muḥīṭ* (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Istiḳāmah, 1959), x; Fleisch, "Al-Firūzābādī," 926.

¹⁰⁷ Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āl*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 273; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 41.

¹⁰⁸ Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āl*, edited by Aḥmad Nāḥī al-Jamālī, et al., 117; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āl*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 273; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 41; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, 232; Fleisch, "Al-Firūzābādī," 926.

¹⁰⁹ Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āl*, edited by Aḥmad Nāḥī al-Jamālī, et al., 117; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āl*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 273; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 41.

¹¹⁰ There are different reports concerning al-Firūzābādī's place of birth. Most biographers, however, such as al-Suyūṭī, al-Zabīdī, Huart, al-Zāwī and al-Bawwāb, in his introduction to al-Firūzābādī's work, spell it "Kārizīn." See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āl*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 273 (in another edition, however, it is recorded as "Kāzarun." See al-Suyūṭī,

Ākhirah 729/February or April 1329.¹¹¹ His family, as his *nisbah* denotes, was originally from Fīrūzābād in Fārs.¹¹²

Al-Fīrūzābādī devoted much of his time to the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge, as witnessed by his frequent journeys to the various seats of knowledge of his day, as well as by the number of students he had. His quest for knowledge started at the age of eight, when he went to Shīrāz to learn at the feet of his father and from al-Qawwām 'Abd Allāh ibn Maḥmūd, as well as other scholars. He then traveled to Iraq and visited Wāsiṭ and Baghdad where he learned traditions and philology. In Iraq, he studied under al-Sharaf 'Abd Allāh ibn Bektāsh, a teacher at the Nizāmīyah *madrasah*.¹¹³

Bughyat al-Wu'āl, edited by Aḥmad Nāḥī al-Jamālī, et al., 117; al-Zabīdī, *Taj al-'Arūs*, 41; Huart, *A History*, 388; al-Zāwī, *Tartīb al-Qānuṣ al-Muḥīṭ*, x; al-Fīrūzābādī, *Al-Durar al-Mubaththathah*, 19. In addition, there is a similar report in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, referring to his birthplace as "Karazin". See "Firuzabadi," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 9 (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1970), 316.

On the other hand, al-Sakhāwī (d. 1497 A.D.), al-Dāwūdī, Ibn al-'Imād (quoting al-Sakhāwī), Brockelmann and Fleisch mention "Kāzarūn" as his place of birth. See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, 79; al-Dāwūdī, *Tabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn*, 274; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 126; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, 232; Fleisch, "Al-Fīrūzābādī," 926. Al-Zabīdī explains that "Kāzarīn" is a misprint, because, he argues, in *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, "Kāzarūn" was a city in Persia between the sea and Shīrāz, while "Kārizīn" was a village in Persia, and the place where al-Fīrūzābādī was born. See Yāqūt Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol. 4 (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir and Dār Bayrūt, 1957), 428 and 429; Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb al-Fīrūzābādī, *Al-Qānuṣ al-Muḥīṭ*, vol. 2 (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sa'adah, n.d.), 189.

¹¹¹ Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, 79; al-Dāwūdī, *Tabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn*, 274; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, 232; Fleisch, "Al-Fīrūzābādī," 926. Al-Suyūṭī (in both editions mentioned above), Lane, al-'Aẓm and al-Bawwāb are of the same opinion, but they mention the year only. See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āl*, edited by Aḥmad Nāḥī al-Jamālī, et al., 117; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āl*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 273; Edward William Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, vol. 1 (London, Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1863), xvi; al-'Aẓm, *Uqud al-Jawhar*, 301; al-Fīrūzābādī, *Al-Durar al-Mubaththathah*, 20. In addition, al-Zāwī mentions the date of Rabi' al-Ākhir 729 A.H. only. See al-Zāwī, *Tartīb al-Qānuṣ al-Muḥīṭ*, x.

¹¹² See L. Lockhart, "Fārs," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, edited by B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat and J. Schacht, vol. 2 (Leiden: E. J. Brill; London: Luzac & Co., 1965), 811-812.

From there, he went to Syria, India, Rūm and Egypt in order to learn from various teachers until he became recognized as one of the most erudite scholars of his time, particularly in the field of language. Then in 750/1349 he accompanied his master, Taqī al-Dīn 'Alī al-Subkī, to Jerusalem where he studied literature for ten years. During this period, he became a teacher and later on a master-teacher, although still in his twenties.¹¹⁴

In 770/1368 he departed for Mecca with the intention of settling there permanently, but nevertheless later left it to travel to Delhi where he stayed for five years. He was then invited by Sultan Aḥmad ibn Uways to Baghdad in 794/1392. After meeting Tamerlane at Shīrāz and being well received by him in 795/1393, he left for India once again.¹¹⁵ It is reported that in all the countries al-Fīrūzābādī visited, he was received with great respect from their respective rulers, among whom may be counted Shāh Maṣṣūr ibn Shāh Shujā' of Tabrīz, al-Ashraf of Egypt, Abū Yazīd of Rūm,¹¹⁶ and Ibn Idrīs of Baghdad.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ Al-Zabīdī, *Taḥ al-'Arūs*, 42; al-'Aẓm, *'Uqūd al-Jawhar*, 301.

¹¹⁴ Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, 232; Fleisch, "Al-Fīrūzābādī," 926.

¹¹⁵ Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, 232; Fleisch, "Al-Fīrūzābādī," 926.

¹¹⁶ Al-Zabīdī, al-'Aẓm and al-Bawwāb report that al-Fīrūzābādī taught Bāyazīd al-'Uthmān. See al-Zabīdī, *Taḥ al-'Arūs*, 42; al-'Aẓm, *'Uqūd al-Jawhar*, 301; al-Fīrūzābādī, *Al-Durar al-Mubaththahah*, 20.

¹¹⁷ Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'ālī*, edited by Aḥmad Nāḥī al-Jamālī, et al., 117; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 127; al-Zabīdī, *Taḥ al-'Arūs*, 42; al-Zāwī, *Tartīb al-Qāmuṣ al-Muḥīṭ*, x.

On his way back to Mecca, al-Fīrūzābādī traveled through Yemen which he reached in Rabi' al-Awwal 796/January 1394.¹¹⁸ He lived in Ta'izz for 14 months at the house of the sultan of Yemen, Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Ismā'īl ibn 'Abbās, who later gave his daughter to him in marriage.¹¹⁹ The sultan also appointed al-Fīrūzābādī grand *qāḍī* of Yemen on 6 Dhū al-Hijjah 797/22 September 1395.¹²⁰ He was to reside in Zabīd for a period of 20 years.¹²¹

In 802/1400 he went on the pilgrimage once again. During his sojourn in Mecca and Medina, he built a modest *Mālikī madrasah*, for which he selected a number of professors to teach there during his absence.¹²² He actually wanted to live for the rest of his life in Mecca, but the Sultan of Yemen did not grant this

¹¹⁸ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 127; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, 232. Meanwhile, al-'Azm cites it as the year when al-Fīrūzābādī reached Zabīd. See al-'Azm, *Uqud al-Jawhar*, 301. However, Ibn al-'Imād, al-Zabīdī and al-Zāwī state that the date al-Fīrūzābādī reached Zabīd was Ramaḍān 796 A.H. See Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 127; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 42; al-Zāwī, *Tartīb al-Qānuṣ al-Muḥīt*, xi. Naṣṣār on the other hand mentions the year 797 A.H. See Husayn Naṣṣār, *Al-Mu'jam al-'Arabi: Nash'atuh wa Taṭawwuruh*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabi, 1956), 540. Furthermore, al-Bawwāb states that al-Fīrūzābādī came later to Zabīd because of an invitation from the sultan. See al-Fīrūzābādī, *Al-Durar al-Mubaththathah*, 20.

¹¹⁹ Fleisch, "Al-Fīrūzābādī," 926; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 316. However, al-Suyūṭī (in both editions), Ibn al-'Imād, al-Zabīdī and al-Bawwāb use the word "tazawwaja," meaning that the sultan married al-Fīrūzābādī's daughter. See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āl*, edited by Aḥmad Nāḥi al-Jamālī, et al., 117; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āl*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 273; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 127; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 43; al-Fīrūzābādī, *Al-Durar al-Mubaththathah*, 20. It is more likely that al-Fīrūzābādī married the sultan's daughter, because it is reported that al-Fīrūzābādī went back to Zabīd when he was informed that his father-in-law had died. See Fleisch, "Al-Fīrūzābādī," 926.

¹²⁰ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 127; al-Fīrūzābādī, *Al-Durar al-Mubaththathah*, 20; Fleisch, "Al-Fīrūzābādī," 926. However, Brockelmann reports a different date, that is, 1 Dhū al-Hijjah 797/17 September 1395. See Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, 232.

¹²¹ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 127; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 42.

¹²² Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 130.

wish.¹²³ While in Medina in 803/1401, he received the news of the death of his father-in-law and returned in haste to Yemen. Al-Firūzābādī himself died at Zabīd on 20 Shawwāl 817/3 January 1415¹²⁴ in his nineties.¹²⁵ He was buried in the graveyard of al-Quṭb al-Shaykh Ismā'īl al-Jabartī.¹²⁶

As a child, al-Firūzābādī evinced great intelligence and managed to memorize the whole Qur'ān by the age of seven.¹²⁷ Moreover, it is reported that wherever he went, he always took a great number of books with him, which he read at halts during the way. It is also said that he would spend most of his

¹²³ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 129-130; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 42-43.

¹²⁴ Al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn*, 279; Brockelmann, *GALS*, vol. 2, 234; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, 232; Fleisch, "Al-Firūzābādī," 926. Meanwhile Huart reports that it occurred in 1414 A.D. See Huart, *A History*, 388. Al-Zabīdī and al-Zāwī state that it was 816 or 817 A.H. See al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 44; al-Zāwī, *Tartīb al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, xi. Furthermore, al-Suyūṭī, Lane and al-'Aẓm date it to 816 A.H. See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āh*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 274; Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, xvi; al-'Aẓm, 'Uqud al-Jawhar, 301. Among the biographers, only Naṣṣār states that al-Firūzābādī's death was in Rabi' al-Awwal 803 A.H., instead of Shawwal. See Naṣṣār, *Al-Mu'jam al-'Arabī*, 540.

¹²⁵ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 130; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 44; al-Zāwī, *Tartīb al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, xi. However, al-'Aẓm states that when al-Firūzābādī died, he was in his eighties. See al-'Aẓm, 'Uqud al-Jawhar, 302. However, Ibn al-'Imād does not mention the year of al-Firūzābādī's death.

¹²⁶ Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 44; al-Zāwī, *Tartīb al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, xi; al-'Aẓm, 'Uqud al-Jawhar, 302.

¹²⁷ Al-'Aẓm, 'Uqud al-Jawhar, 301. It is reported that he said that he would not sleep before memorizing 100 lines of the Qur'ān. See Abū Bakr ibn Aḥmad ibn Qādī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyah*, edited by al-Ḥāfiẓ 'Abd al-'Alīm Khān, vol. 4 (Hyderabad: Maṭba'at Majlis Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyah, 1980), 84; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āh*, edited by Aḥmad Nāḥi al-Jamālī, et al., 117; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āh*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 273; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 130; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 41.

money on books,¹²⁸ which he would later sell for food when his money ran out. When he had money though, he would buy back the books he had sold.

He learned at the hands of numerous scholars from different disciplines. Among his teachers¹²⁹ were Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Zarnadī al-Madanī (who taught al-Fīrūzābādī *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*), Ibn al-Khabbāz, Ibn al-Qayyim, Ibn al-Ḥamawī, Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mardāwī, Aḥmad ibn Muẓaffar al-Nābulī, Yahyā ibn 'Alī al-Ḥaddād, al-'Alā'ī, al-Bayānī, Ibn al-Qalānīsī, Ghadanfar, Ibn Nubātah, al-Fārūqī, al-'Izz ibn Jamā'ah, Bakr ibn Khalīl al-Mālīkī, al-Ṣafī al-Ḥarāwī, Ibn Juhbal, al-Faraḍī, al-Shihāb Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Dīwānī (who taught him the ten variant readings/*al-qirā'āt al-'ashr*), al-Tāj Muḥammad ibn al-Sibāk, and al-Sirāj 'Umar ibn 'Alī al-Qazwīnī. On the other hand, he too had a number of students, among them al-Ṣalāḥ al-Ṣafadī, al-Fahhāmah ibn 'Aqīl, al-Jamāl al-Asnawī, and Ibn Hishām.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āḥ*, edited by Aḥmad Nāḥī al-Jamālī, et al., 117; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āḥ*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 273-274; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 127; Fleisch, "Al-Fīrūzābādī," 926. It is even reported that he once spent fifty thousand *mithqāl* of gold on books. See al-Fīrūzābādī, *Al-Durar al-Mubaththathah*, 20. Al-Sakhāwī however says the opposite. See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, 81.

¹²⁹ Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, 79; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āḥ*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 273; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 43. The names listed here are those of scholars who were not mentioned before. Ibn al-'Imād reports that the *takhrīj* of al-Jamāl ibn Mūsā al-Marākishī consists of a collection of what al-Fīrūzābādī learned from his teachers. See Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 127.

¹³⁰ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 126. Al-Sakhāwī and al-Zāwī refer to al-Fahhāmah ibn 'Aqīl as al-Bahā' ibn 'Aqīl. See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, 80; al-Zāwī, *Tartīb al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, xi.

2. His Works

Al-Firūzābādī wrote a considerable number of books covering various disciplines, especially *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, and history, but lexicography was the branch he excelled in. Scholars list al-Firūzābādī's works variously in terms of number and classification. For instance, al-Dāwūdī classifies them based on their fields,¹³¹ while al-Zabīdī cites 45 works without classifying them,¹³² Fleisch separates the printed titles from those still in manuscript form,¹³³ and al-'Aẓm lists 61 works alphabetically.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn*, 276-277.

¹³² Al-Zabīdī, *Taḥṣīs al-'Arūṣ*, 43-44. Fleisch describes this list as incomplete. See Fleisch, "Al-Firūzābādī," 926.

¹³³ Fleisch, "Al-Firūzābādī," 926.

¹³⁴ Al-'Aẓm, *Uqūd al-Jawhar*, 302-306. However, Fleisch believes that al-'Aẓm's list of al-Firūzābādī's works is open to criticism. See Fleisch, "Al-Firūzābādī," 926. A summary of what some sources list as al-Firūzābādī's annotated works is attached in Appendix 1 of this thesis.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERPRETATION OF *TANWĪR AL-MIQBĀS MIN TAFSĪR IBN 'ABBĀS*

A. Approach and Method of *Tanwīr al-Miqbās min Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās*

As was pointed out in an earlier chapter, the reader of *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* will find little in the way of introduction or clarification in this work that will assist him or her in understanding the principles of interpretation that underlie it. For such understanding, a thorough analysis of the text must be attempted, one which takes into account everything from its arrangement to its use of sources. Only then will we be in a position to advance any kind of theory as to the exegetical approach presented by the work.

The first feature that strikes one reading *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* is the fact that the order of the *sūrah*s is the same as that with which we are familiar today.¹ The first article of information provided in the *tafsīr* for each *sūrah* is its locus of revelation, i. e. whether the verses were revealed in Mecca or Medina, or during the Prophet's *hijrah* from Mecca to Medina or on a particular occasion. This information is placed at the beginning of each *sūrah*. If for instance a *sūrah* is Meccan on the whole but it contains a number of Medinan verses, or vice versa, the text makes a point to notify the reader of this fact by quoting the opening

¹ Exemplified in such edition as that of Yūsuf 'Alī. See 'Abd Allāh Yūsuf 'Alī, *The Holy Qur-ān: Arabic Text with English Translation and Commentary* (Medina: King Fahd Holy Qur-ān Printing Complex, [1989 or 1990]).

words of the verse in question immediately after this statement.² Interestingly, the information provided in this regard conflicts in a number of instances with the enumeration found in other sources, for example, *al-Burhān* of al-Zarkashī.³ It is important, however, to point out that such differences do not mean that *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* contains wrong information, because the issue of whether certain *sūrah*s or verses are Meccan or Medinan has long been in dispute among scholars of Qur'ānic exegesis.⁴

After mentioning the place of revelation, the exegesis states the number of verses, words and even, surprisingly, letters found in each *sūrah*.⁵ Here we encounter some differences in the number of verses included in certain *sūrah*s

² For example, in introducing *sūrat al-Shu'arā'*, it is declared that "...kulluhā Makkiyah illā qawluhu wa al-shu'arā' ilā ... fa'innahā nuzzilat bi al-Madīnah." See al-Fīrūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 306.

³ Al-Zarkashī, *Al-Burhān*, vol. 1, 239-262. Those examples are (the numbering of verses here are according to Yūsuf 'Alī's version), because as explained later *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* does not put numbers for its verses):

1. with regard to *sūrat al-An'ām*, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* cites that the verses of the *sūrah* are Meccan, except for 5 verses, namely 91, 93, and 151-153, whereas al-Zarkashī excepts 6 verses, namely 91-93 and 151-153. See al-Fīrūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 105; al-Zarkashī, *Al-Burhān*, vol. 1, 257-258.
2. *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* declares all of the verses of *sūrat al-A'raf* as Meccan in origin, but al-Zarkashī excludes 163-165. See al-Fīrūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 123; al-Zarkashī, *Al-Burhān*, vol. 1, 258.
3. *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* states that all of *sūrat Ibrāhīm* is Meccan, while al-Zarkashī excepts verses 28-29 of it as Medinan. See al-Fīrūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 210; al-Zarkashī, *Al-Burhān*, vol. 1, 257.
4. In *sūrat al-Nahl*, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* mentions that 41, 110 and 126-127 are exceptions to the other verses, which are Meccan, while in al-Zarkashī's work only verse 41 is declared to be an exception. See al-Fīrūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 221; al-Zarkashī, *Al-Burhān*, vol. 1, 258.

⁴ See al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 1, 22-50; 'Abd al-'Azīz, *Dirāsāt fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 62.

⁵ For example, with reference to *al-Baqarah* it is stated that it has 280 verses, 3100 words and 25,500 letters. See al-Fīrūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 3.

when compared to other versions of the Qur'ān.⁶ However, due to the fact that there are no clear indications in the text of where one verse ends and another begins, it is difficult to ascertain the reason for these differences. Another interesting feature of *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* is the fact that the *basmalah* is interpreted only once, namely at the beginning of the work, just before the interpretation of the *Fātiḥah*. In each *sūrah* after that, the *basmalah*, except in *sūrat al-Tawbah*, is repeated but without interpretation.

Next, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* usually mentions the chain of transmitters from whom the interpretation was obtained. Interestingly, only one chain of transmission is referred to for the interpretation of each *sūrah*. The chains of transmission are always at the beginning of the *sūrahs*, most are short, and all extend back to Ibn 'Abbās along three different paths, generally speaking.⁷ The

⁶ This can be seen from the table (containing the number of words and letters in each *sūrah* as well) in Appendix 2. The version compared to in this instance is that of Yūsuf 'Alī.

⁷ They are:

1. Firstly, in the interpretation of the *basmalah*, the chain provided is "(akhbaranā) 'Abd 'Allāh al-Thiqah ibn al-Ma'mūr al-Harawī qāla akhbaranā abī qāla akhbaranā Abū 'Abd Allāh qāla akhbaranā Abū 'Ubayd Allāh Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad al-Rāzī qāla akhbaranā 'Ammār ibn 'Abd al-Majīd al-Harawī qāla akhbaranā 'Alī ibn Ishāq al-Samarqandī 'an Muḥammad ibn Marwān 'an al-Kalbī 'an Abī Ṣāliḥ 'an Ibn 'Abbās qāla" See Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb al-Firūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās min Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās* (Multan: Fārūqī Kutub Khānah, 1975/ 1976), 2; Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb al-Firūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās min Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās* (Cairo: Sharikat Maktabat wa Maṭba'at Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa Awlādh, n.d.), 2. In the edition of Beirut by Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, the *isnād* is "(akhbaranā) 'Abd 'Allāh al-Thiqah ibn al-Ma'mūr al-Harawī qāla akhbaranā" It seems that this difference is due to a misprint. See al-Firūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 2.
2. Some sayings of Ibn 'Abbās are said to go back directly to him without mention of the transmitters from whom the sayings are obtained. When this occurs, the work usually states, "wa bi isnādihi 'an Ibn 'Abbās fi qawlihi ta'ālā" (in 105 *sūrahs*), "wa bi isnādihi 'an Ibn 'Abbās fi qawli al-bārī jalla dhikruhu" (in 2 *sūrahs*), "wa bi isnādihi 'an Ibn 'Abbās fi qawlihi jalla dhikruhu" (in 3 *sūrahs*), or "wa bi isnādihi 'an Ibn 'Abbās raḍiya Allāh 'anhuma fi qawlihi jalla dhikruhu" (in *sūrat al-Muddaththir*).

most likely explanation for the brevity of the *isnād* is that it was the compiler's policy to cut the *isnād* short if the *isnād* of a given *sūrah* was exactly the same as that of the previous one. In such cases the work simply repeats the last transmitter who is Ibn 'Abbās. Thus, the *isnād* for the interpretation of *al-Fātiḥah* is the same as that for the *basmalah*, whereas the *isnāds* for *sūrahs* after *al-Baqarah* are similar to the one provided in the latter.

The verses are divided into units containing either word(s) or phrase(s) that are placed between brackets. Needless to say, not a single word from the Qur'ān is left out. Although sometimes some words that are supposed to be in the brackets are not put there, or vice versa, these instances seem to be unintentional misprints, because in other editions they are appropriately quoted. In addition, it is interesting to note that the words in brackets are not necessarily taken from a single Qur'ānic verse. Indeed, in some places, brackets contain the last word of a verse and some words of the next verse. Some of them are separated by a dot, while others are not.⁸ Moreover, as pointed out earlier, it is seldom clear where a verse ends or to which verse a word/phrase belongs, because the work does not indicate the numbers of verses or identify them by any other means. Therefore, it is difficult for a reader to pinpoint the

3. In *al-Baqarah*, a long chain is quoted which runs as follows: "wa bi isnādihi 'an 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak, qāla ḥaddathanā 'Alī ibn Ishāq al-Samarqandī 'an Muḥammad ibn Marwān 'an al-Kalbī 'an Abī Ṣāliḥ 'an Ibn 'Abbās...." See al-Firūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 3.

These *isnāds* will be examined in the next part.

In addition, it is a fact that a part of this, in the text, the short *isnād* is mentioned four times. See al-Firūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 186, 208, 245 and 338.

interpretation of the verse he or she is looking for without reading much of what comes before or after it. This manner of presentation suggests at least two explanations, and both are possibly correct. First, it may indicate that the work is genuinely based on the Qur'ānic interpretation of Ibn 'Abbās, in view of the fact that in the early years of Islam the convention of including a sign where a verse ends had not yet been introduced, because as Arabs they immediately understood what they were reading.⁹ The second possible explanation is that the compiler simply combined reports of Ibn 'Abbās without editing them then or otherwise setting them in context.

Following the mention of words or phrases, an elucidation of their meaning always ensues. In terms of the commentary itself, one finds that the work does not devote separate sections to each aspect of the text, but discusses them together. Unlike the work of al-Ṭabarsī (d. 548/1153)¹⁰ for example, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* does not discuss the meaning of words (philology), syntax, and the exegesis of the passage in separate sections. Moreover, interpretation varies a great deal from one verse to another in terms of length and depth. Sometimes, for instance, it is limited to the mention of synonyms while at other times a

⁸ For example, brackets (*baṣīr. aymwaddu alḥadukum*) contains the last word of verse 265 and a phrase from verse 266. See al-Firūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 38.

⁹ For a deeper discussion, see, for example, A. F. L. Beeston, "Background Topics," in *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, edited by A. F. L. Beeston, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 10-15; Yahya Wahib al-Jubori, *Script and Writing in the Arab Civilization* (Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1994), 31-75.

¹⁰ 'Alī al-Faḍl ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabarsī, *Majma' al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, 5 vols. (Qum, Iran: Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-'Uẓmā al-Mar'ashī al-Najafī, [1983]).

detailed description of the occasion of revelation is given, the people that the verse refers to, its relation to other verses, etc.¹¹ In almost all cases, the explanations given for the same words in the text are repeated.¹² Sometimes also, after mentioning synonyms or providing a short explanation, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* delves into the meaning of the whole verse, as in the interpretation of verse 265 of *al-Baqarah*.¹³ In most cases, words and phrases are interpreted literally, but sometimes explanation of the symbolic meaning of certain words is provided.¹⁴ In addition, in some places, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* also records variant readings of word(s) and its/their meaning.¹⁵

Legal issues are likewise dealt with, particularly in connection with verses that touch on abrogation (*nāsikh wa mansūkh*) and the occasions of revelation (*asbāb al-nuzūl*). Unfortunately, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* does not devote a special section to the issue of abrogation itself, but deals with it, inter alia, when interpreting the

¹¹ Cases in point are: "(wa idhā khalaṭaw) raja'ū" verse 30, "(...) nuzzilat hādhihi al-āyah fī Anās min ahli al-Yaman ..." verse 197, and "(...) ... thumma dhukira alladhīna āmanū faqāla (...)" after verse 81 of *al-Baqarah*. See al-Firūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 6, 27 and 12.

¹² For example, the words "believe" (*āmanū*) and "disbelieve" (*kafarū*) most often have for their object Muḥammad and the Qur'ān, as in verses 26, 39 and 61 of *al-Baqarah*, except for verses 161 (*kafarū*), 218 and 282 (both containing *āmanū*) in the same *sūrah* which refer to God and His Messenger (Muḥammad). See al-Firūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 6, 7, 10, 22, 30, and 40.

¹³ Al-Firūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 38.

¹⁴ For example, in interpretation of the verse "*anzala min al-samā' mā*" in verse 17 of *al-Ra'd*, the work explains that this phrase refers to Gabriel who revealed the Qur'ān. Another example is in verse 4 of *al-Muddaththir* where the work interprets "*wa thiyābaka faṭāḥiir*" by referring to heart which is prevented from deception and anger. See al-Firūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 207 and 491.

¹⁵ Examples of this case are interpretation of verse 112 of *al-Mā'idah* and that of 23 of *Yūsuf*. See al-Firūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 104 and 195.

verse as a whole. For instance, it is mentioned briefly that a given verse under discussion abrogates another or is abrogated by another. Sometimes verses abrogated in another place are mentioned.¹⁶ Similarly, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* often alludes to the *asbāb al-nuzūl* rather briefly, mentioning only the names of the people to whom the verses were addressed.¹⁷ Due to this method of interpretation, the explanations provided are very specific. Instead of going into the deeper meanings implied in a verse and in contrast to the precept *al-'ibrah bi 'umuṁ al-lafẓ lā bi khuṣuṣ al-sabab*,¹⁸ *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* limits its explanation to a particular occasion of revelation or to the people addressed when a given verse was revealed.¹⁹

¹⁶ Al-Firūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 25 and 299.

The verse 180 of al-Baqarah is:

"It is prescribed, when death approaches any of you, if he leave any goods, that he make a bequest to parents and next of kin. According to reasonable usage; This is due from the God-fearing."

This verse was abrogated by verses explaining shares of the inheritance.

The verse 61 of al-Nūr is:

"It is no fault in the blind nor in one born lame, nor in one afflicted with illness, nor in yourselves, that ye should eat in your own houses, or those of your fathers, or your mothers, or your brothers or your sisters, or your father's brothers or your father's sisters, or your mother's brothers, or your mother's sisters, or in houses of which the keys are in your possession, or in the house of a sincere friend of yours: there is no blame on you, whether ye eat in company or separately."

This verse was revealed because Muslims were afraid of being together with orphans and then took orphans' property. God says in verse 188 of al-Baqarah:

"And do not eat up your property among yourselves for vanities, nor use it as bait for the judges, with intent that ye may eat up wrongfully and knowingly a little of (other) people's property."

¹⁷ For example, it is mentioned that verse 207 is addressed to Ṣuhayb ibn Sinān and his friend who sold themselves for money. See al-Firūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 28. See also example in note 17.

¹⁸ 'Abd al-'Azīz, *Dirāsāt fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 80-82.

¹⁹ See, for example, interpretation of verse 1 of al-Ra'd. This verse was addressed to the Meccan people. See al-Firūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 205.

Judging by all these pieces of evidence, the work, as it appears in all editions, does not seem to have been written in a systematic manner. Concerning the way verses are presented, one may safely declare that *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* is a seriatim commentary, i.e. it interprets the Qur'ān word by word following the order of verses. However, none of this is conclusive proof that the interpretation is truly from Ibn 'Abbās. As was pointed out earlier, both Ibn Sa'd and al-Balādhurī cite a *ḥadīth* stating that Ibn 'Abbās interpreted the Qur'ān verse by verse and letter by letter,²⁰ but this same *ḥadīth* refers only to an incident when Ibn 'Abbās interpreted a *surāh* in Basra. A possible explanation for this is that *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* is a collection of reports from Ibn 'Abbās's lectures on Qur'ānic exegesis delivered in Mecca as discussed before. From one day to another he taught interpretation of the Qur'ān following the order of verses in the Qur'ān. Moreover, when reading the work, one finds that the Qur'ān is indeed interpreted word by word or phrase by phrase, but not letter by letter. In addition, instead of quoting a single full verse before giving its interpretation, which is characteristic of *tafsīr musalsal*, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* first quotes word(s) or phrase(s) and immediately provides an interpretation.

Moreover, concerning its overall methodology, it can be said that *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* employs a philological approach. However, the latter is applied in a very simple way. One example of this is its tendency to quote other Qur'ānic

²⁰ Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, 367; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, 34. In the *ḥadīth* mentioned by Ibn Sa'd, the *surah* interpreted letter by letter was *al-Baqarah*.

verses in order to explain the verse under discussion. However, this method is used in a very limited sense. For unlike Bint al-Shāṭi's exegesis, for example, where in order to discover the correct meaning of a particular word other Qur'ānic verses containing the same word or its derivatives are cited,²¹ *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* refers to verses only when it discusses how a particular verse is abrogated by another (*nāsikh wa mansūkh*), or when one verse was revealed because of another (*asbāb al-nuzūl*), as explained before.

Moreover, there are, surprisingly, only four instances of commentary of the type known as "*gharīb al-Qur'ān*." They are "*al-firdaws*" (in *al-Mu'minūn* 11), "*ṭūr*" (in *al-Mu'minūn* 20 and *al-Ṭūr* 1), and "*yāsīn*" (in *Yāsīn* 1).²² The explanation offered for the first two words accords with what al-Suyūṭī says in his *al-Itqān*. However, as regards the third, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* states that the word is from Syriac (*Suryāniyah*), whereas al-Suyūṭī cites a report, surprisingly from Ibn 'Abbās, saying that the word is from Ethiopic (*al-Ḥabshīyah*).²³

Indeed, in considering the points mentioned above, it can be said that *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* portrays an early stage in the development of the science of

²¹ 'Ā'ishah 'Abd al-Raḥmān (Bint al-Shāṭi'), *Al-Tafsīr al-Bayānī li al-Qur'ān al-Karīm*, 2 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1962-1969). See also 'Ā'ishah 'Abd al-Raḥmān (Bint al-Shāṭi'), *Muqaddimah fī al-Manhaj* (Cairo: Ma'had al-Buḥūth wa al-Dirāsāt al-'Arabīyah, 1971), 129-138; Issa J. Boullata, "Modern Qur'ānic Exegesis; a Study of Bint al-Shāṭi's Method," *Muslim World* 64 (1974), 104-105.

²² Al-Firūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 285, 369 and 443. However, it is worth noting that explanations of the word "*al-ṭūr*" in these two places is given differently. First, it is cited that the word is from Ethiopic (*al-Ḥabshīyah*), whereas in the other explanation it is from Syriac (*Suryāniyah*).

²³ Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 2, 105-120.

exegesis. Mir states that questions concerning vocabulary and syntax were a common feature of *tafsīr* in its early development.²⁴ Furthermore, he asserts that selectivity and brevity, in the sense that only certain words or phrases in certain verses are explained, are characteristics of Ibn 'Abbās's *tafsīr*.²⁵ Nevertheless, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* does not exhibit the first characteristic set down by Mir. In other words, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* fulfills the requirement of brevity but not that of selection. For this reason and for others (it is after all unlikely that Ibn 'Abbās wrote a comprehensive *tafsīr* of the Qur'ān), it is more probable that the interpretation is based on reports attributed to Ibn 'Abbās, but it was compiled by another scholar at a later date.

The Qur'ānic commentary that is perhaps the most akin to *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* in terms of technical presentation is *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (791/1389-864/1459) and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (849/1445-911/1505). Like *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* relies on brevity in its interpretation. Moreover, due to this brevity, both works occupy only one volume each. However, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* mentions the chains of transmitters of its reports, even though only once for each *sūrah*, while *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* does not. Another difference is that, in the case of *al-Baqarah* as an example, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* presents various opinions concerning the "mysterious letters," whereas *Tafsīr al-*

²⁴ Mustansir Mir, "Tafsīr," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, edited by John L. Esposito, vol. 4 (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 170.

²⁵ Mir, "Tafsīr," 172.

Jalālayn does not. It simply states that only God knows what He meant by them.²⁶

In terms of whether the commentary may be classified as *ta'wīl* or *tafsīr*, one can confidently define *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* as a *tafsīr* based on some scholars' categorizations. First, of the eight criteria of *tafsīr* proposed by al-Zarkashī,²⁷ *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* fulfills four of them, namely, the illumination of the various meanings of a Qur'ānic verse, the elucidation of the occasion or reason for the revelation of a verse, the verse's position in the *sūrah*s to which it belongs, the mention of the place of revelation (Mecca or Medina) as well as discussion of the issue of abrogation. This opinion accords with Ayoub's, al-'Akk's and al-Jubūrī's modern classifications,²⁸ because the exegesis seeks to discover the exoteric meaning of the Qur'ān. Unlike the Qur'ānic commentaries written by mystics who interpret the Qur'ān in an allegorical manner, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* tends to favor a more literal interpretation of the sacred book. Classifying this work as a *tafsīr* also agrees with Rippin's classification.²⁹ This is due to the fact that the

²⁶ Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, edited by Muṣṭafā Qaṣṣāṣ (Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm li al-Malāyīn, 1990), 18. Meanwhile in interpreting the first verse of *al-Baqarah* (*Alif Lām Mīm*), *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* states that there are a number of opinions concerning these letters. They are: that *alif* stands for Allāh, *lām* for Gabriel, and *mīm* for Muḥammad; that *alif* represents His blessings (*ālā'uh*), *lām* His grace (*luṭfuh*), and *mīm* His power/ supreme authority (*mulkuh*); that *alif* represents the first letter of His name, Allāh, *lām* the quality of grace (*luṭf*), and *mīm* the glory of God (*majd*); and finally that only God knows best (*anā Allāh a'lam*). See al-Firūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 3.

²⁷ Al-Zarkashī, *Al-Burhān*, vol. 2, 162-164.

²⁸ Mahmoud Ayoub, *The Qur'ān and Its Interpreters*, vol. 1 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 21; al-'Akk, *Uṣūl al-Tafsīr*, 22-24; al-Jubūrī, *Dirāsāt fī al-Tafsīr*, 13-19.

work is based not on reason, personal opinion, individual research or expertise, but on *ḥadīths* transmitted through chains of authorities stretching all the way back to Ibn 'Abbās.³⁰ Therefore, the work can be classified as a *tafsīr*, even though these scholars propose different criteria for what may be termed thus.

However, in 'Abd al-'Azīz's criteria,³¹ *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* can be regarded as *ta'wīl* as well as *tafsīr*, because not only does it contain explanations of words in the Qur'ān, but also of verses as a whole, even though it does not go deeply into divine issues to a large extent. However, in reading the work, it becomes obvious that the nature of *tafsīr* is more obvious than that of *ta'wīl*, because the exegesis is dominated by literal explanation. Consequently, one may state that the work's methodology reflects its title.

B. Sources of Interpretation

As discussed earlier, the most obvious sources employed in *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* are the Qur'ān itself and reports from Companions of Muḥammad through chains of transmitters that all go back to Ibn 'Abbās. Regarding the classification of *tafsīr* based on its sources of interpretation introduced by Ibn Taymīyah (1263-1328), it is right to say that *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* is an example of *tafsīr* of the Qur'ān based on the Qur'ān as well as on reports from the

²⁹ Andrew Rippin, "Tafsīr," in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, edited by Mircea Eliade, vol. 14 (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987), 236.

³⁰ See also Ayoub, *The Qur'ān and Its Interpreters*, 24.

³¹ 'Abd al-'Azīz, *Dirāsāt fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 141-144.

Companions of Muḥammad.³² Al-'Akk emphasizes that this work is a collection of reports of Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī from Ibn 'Abbās, a cousin of the Prophet and one of his Companions.³³ Furthermore, according to al-Sālih's categorization,³⁴ the work can be classified as *tafsīr bi al-riwāyah*, because it constructs its interpretation on the Qur'ān (*tafsīr al-Qur'ān bi al-Qur'ān*). This type of Qur'ānic commentary is the highest class of *tafsīr*, according to Ibn Taymīyah and Yusuf.³⁵ However, as shown above, cross-references to Qur'ānic verses and *ḥadīth* are presented in a very simple way.

To demonstrate the role of *ḥadīths* in the works, these will be investigated by looking at the transmitters, who are ten,³⁶ in total, and three technical terms used in the *isnāds*. Unfortunately, only five of these can be presented here because the other five in the beginning, namely 'Abd Allāh al-Thiqah ibn al-Ma'mūr al-Harawī, al-Ma'mūr al-Harawī, Abū 'Abd Allāh, Abū 'Ubayd Allāh Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad al-Rāzī and 'Ammār ibn 'Abd al-Majīd al-Harawī, cannot be traced in biographical works.

³² Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥalīm ibn Taymīyah, *Muqaddimah fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr*, edited by 'Adnān Zarzūr (Kuwait: Dār al-Qur'ān al-Karīm, 1971), 93-112. See also Muḥsin 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, *Dirāsāt fī Uṣūl Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (Baghdad: Maṭba'at al-Waṭan al-'Arabī, 1980), 95-120.

³³ Al-'Akk, *Uṣūl al-Tafsīr*, 227. See also Lichtenstadter, "Quran and Quran Exegesis," 11; Ayoub, *The Qur'ān and Its Interpreters*, 28.

³⁴ Ṣubḥī al-Sālih, *'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth wa Muṣṭalahuh*, 4th edition (Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm li al-Malāyīn, 1966), 107.

³⁵ Ibn Taymīyah, *Muqaddimah*, 93; Badmas 'Lanre Yusuf, "Evolution and Development of Tafsīr," *Islamic Quarterly* 38 (1994), 36-37.

³⁶ See note 8.

1. Abū Ṣāliḥ

He was born Bādhām (also called "Bādhān") Abū Ṣāliḥ (d. 719 A.D), a slave of Umm Hānī bint Abī Ṭālib.³⁷ He was also called "Bādhām Durū'zan."³⁸ Biographers agree that he transmitted *ḥadīth* from Ibn 'Abbās, and that he was one of those from whom al-Kalbī transmitted *ḥadīth*.³⁹ Moreover, al-Mizzī (654/1256-742/1341) reports Abū Aḥmad ibn 'Adī's opinion saying that Abū Ṣāliḥ's reports in *tafsīr* were among the most revered among his contemporaries.⁴⁰ However, most scholars of *ḥadīth*, except al-'Ijlī, consider his reports weak and untrustworthy. Ibn Ḥibbān even specifies the reason for this by saying that Abū Ṣāliḥ did not meet Ibn 'Abbās,⁴¹ whereas al-Sājī adds by saying that he was a Shi'ite.⁴²

2. Al-Kalbī

He was Muḥammad ibn Mālīk ibn al-Sā'ib ibn Bishr ibn 'Amr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn 'Abd al-'Arabī ibn Umru' ibn 'Āmir ibn Nu'mān ibn 'Āmir ibn

³⁷ Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 5, 302; Yūsuf ibn al-Zakī 'Abd Raḥmān al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl fī Asmā' al-Rijāl*, edited by Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf, 4th edition, 35 vols., (Beirut Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1980-1992), 4: 6; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 1, 416.

³⁸ Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Du'afā' al-Ṣaghīr* (Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1984), 48.

³⁹ Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 5, 302; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 4, 6; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 1, 416; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 5, 277.

⁴⁰ Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 4, 7. See also al-Tha'labī, *Qur'anic Commentary*, 26-27; Ḥājji Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vol. 2, 377.

⁴¹ Al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Du'afā' al-Ṣaghīr*, 48; Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 4, 7; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 1, 416-417.

⁴² Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 9, 180-181.

'Abdūd ibn 'Awf ibn Kinānah ibn 'Udhrah ibn Zayd al-Lāt ibn Rufaydah ibn Kalb, who died in Kūfah in 146/763.⁴³ His expertise was in *tafsīr*, *akhbār*, *ayyām* and *ansab*.⁴⁴ Scholars agree that he was a transmitter of *tafsīr* from Ibn 'Abbās through Abū Ṣāliḥ.⁴⁵ In general, scholars hold him in little esteem, asserting for example that al-Kalbī was one of the two liars in Kūfah.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the *ḥadīths* passed on by him are regarded by scholars as weak and unreliable, as reported by Ibn Ḥajar, and particularly those from Abū Ṣāliḥ.⁴⁷ Scholars in *ḥadīth* provide various reasons for considering al-Kalbī's reports as weak. Some maintain that he was forgetful, whereas some consider him weak due to the fact that he is considered to be an unbeliever (*kāfir*) or that he admitting being a Saba'ī (a follower of 'Abd Allāh ibn Saba'),⁴⁸ and a member of the Murji'ah.⁴⁹ In addition, it is reported that al-Kalbī as well as Abū Ṣāliḥ admitted that they did

⁴³ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, 95; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yām wa Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān*, edited by Ihsān 'Abbās. 8 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1977-1978), 4: 311; Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 25, 252; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 9, 180; Ṭāshkubrīzādah, *Miftāḥ al-Sa'ādah*, 402; Ḥājji Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vol. 2, 333.

⁴⁴ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, 95; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yām*, vol. 4, 309-310; Ṭāshkubrīzādah, *Miftāḥ al-Sa'ādah*, 402. See also Faruqi, *Early Muslim Historiography*, 58-67.

⁴⁵ Al-Tha'labī, *Qur'anic Commentary*, 18; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 25, 247; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 1, 416-417; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 9, 178.

⁴⁶ Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 25, 248; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 9, 178. The other liar was Muḥammad ibn Marwān.

⁴⁷ Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 9, 178-181.

⁴⁸ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yām*, vol. 4, 310; Ṭāshkubrīzādah, *Miftāḥ al-Sa'ādah*, 402. See also M. G. S. Hodgson, "'Abd Allāh b. Saba'," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, edited by H. A. R. Gibb, et al., vol. 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill; London: Luzac & Co., 1960), 51; Hassan Ibrahim Hassan, "Aspects of Shī'ah History," *Muslim World* 47 (1957), 271-272.

addition, it is reported that al-Kalbī as well as Abū Ṣāliḥ admitted that they did not transmit *ḥadīths* from each other. Abū Ṣāliḥ even told al-Kalbī once that everything that emerged from his mouth was a lie.⁵⁰ On the other hand, al-Kalbī said, on the authority of Abū 'Aṣim al-Nabīl who took it from Sufyān al-Thawrī (97/715-161/778), that he for his part did not transmit *ḥadīth* taken by Abū Ṣāliḥ from Ibn 'Abbās because Abū Ṣāliḥ was a liar.⁵¹ Scholars in 'ilm al-*ḥadīth* generally tend to ignore al-Kalbī's reports, for they do not consider them valid and suspect their fabrication.⁵² Moreover, Yāqūt (d. 626/1228) reports that al-Ṭabarī (224/ 838-310/ 923) never used any material reported by Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī, Muqātil ibn Sulaymān (d. 150/767), or Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidi in his *Tafsīr*, but only in his *Tārīkh*, because he regarded them as unreliable.⁵³ The only kind word in his favor is given by Hishām ibn Muḥammad (d. 204 A.H.), his son, who said that his father had the best memory among his contemporaries.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Faruqi also reports that al-Kalbī was a Shī'ite, anti-Umayyad in his political view. See Faruqi, *Early Muslim Historiography*, 59.

⁵⁰ Al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Ḍu'afā' al-Ṣaghīr*, 209.

⁵¹ Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 25, 249-250; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 9, 179-180.

⁵² Ḥājji Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vol. 2, 333. See also al-'Akk, *Uṣūl al-Tafsīr*, 227.

⁵³ Yāqūt ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Udabā'*, 2nd edition, 20 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'mūn, 1936-1938), 18: 64-65. See also Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, 30 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1986-1987); al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*; Gätje, *The Qur'ān and its Exegesis*, 34; Newby, "Tafsir Isra'iliyat," 689.

⁵⁴ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, 95.

Furthermore, al-Mizzī and Ibn Ḥajar both report that Muḥammad ibn Marwān (d. 189/804) was one of those who transmitted *ḥadīth* from al-Kalbī.⁵⁵ However, Ḥājjī Khalīfah, al-Mizzī, Ibn 'Āshūr and Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī assert that among the chains of transmission claiming descent from Ibn 'Abbās, the chain which was transmitted by Muḥammad ibn Marwān al-Suddī al-Ṣaghīr from al-Kalbī from Abū Ṣāliḥ was the "chain of falsehood" (*silsilat al-kadhib*).⁵⁶ Unfortunately, this chain is one that is used in *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*. However, this chain is better than the chain from Muqātil ibn Sulaymān ibn Bishr al-Azdī, due to Muqātil's sectarian tendencies, as well as that from al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Muzāḥim al-Kūfī (d. 106/724), since al-Ḍaḥḥāk did not even meet Ibn 'Abbās.⁵⁷ Moreover, another line of transmission has it that Ibn al-Mubārak transmitted *ḥadīth* from al-Kalbī. It is on this chain that the interpretation of *sūrat al-Baqarah* in *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* is based.⁵⁸ And both Ibn Ḥajar and al-Mizzī confirm that Ibn al-Mubārak was in fact one of those who transmitted from al-Kalbī.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 25, 247; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 9, 178.

⁵⁶ Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 25, 252; Ṭashkubrīzādah, *Miftāḥ al-Sa'ādah*, 402; Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vol. 2, 333; Ibn 'Āshūr, *Al-Tafsīr wa Rijālūh*, 18-19; Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssirūn*, vol. 1, 81. See also Newby, "Tafsir Isra'iliyat," 689. However, Ibn 'Āshūr remains that this does not mean that the weakness is from Ibn 'Abbās.

⁵⁷ Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 6, 301; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 25, 251; Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, vol. 2, 333-334.

⁵⁸ Al-Firūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 3.

⁵⁹ Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 25, 247; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 9, 178.

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Mubārak.⁶⁵ Information in the biography of Muḥammad ibn Marwān, reporting that ‘Alī ibn Ishāq was not one of his transmitters (as pointed out earlier), agrees with what is stated in Ibn Ḥajar’s biography of ‘Alī, where it is not explicitly said that Muḥammad ibn Marwān was one from whom ‘Alī transmitted. However, it is not impossible that he was a transmitter, because Ibn Ḥajar does not list all of them. Thus, it is possible that Muḥammad ibn Marwān was one of those whom Ibn Ḥajar includes in the “*jama’ah*.”⁶⁶ On the other hand, al-Mizzī mentions explicitly that Muḥammad ibn Marwān was one of those from whom ‘Alī ibn Ishāq transmitted.⁶⁷ Furthermore, al-Mizzī and Ibn Ḥajar do not cite ‘Ammār ibn ‘Abd al-Majīd explicitly as one of his transmitters, even though it is possible that this name is among those whom Ibn Ḥajar refers to as “*ghayrihim*.”⁶⁸ However, in neither of these works can a biography of ‘Ammār ibn ‘Abd al-Majīd be found.

Scholars are of various opinions regarding the reliability of ‘Alī ibn Ishāq as a transmitter of *ḥadīth*. Abū Ḥātim, for example asserts that he was truthful, which in ‘*ilm al-ḥadīth* means just and fair (‘*ādil*’) but less accurate (*dābiṭ*), whereas al-Dāraquṭnī (306-385 A.H.), Ibn Ḥajar reports, maintains that he was trustworthy (*dābiṭ* and ‘*ādil*).⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 20, 320; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 7, 283.

⁶⁶ Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 7, 283.

⁶⁷ Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 20, 320.

⁶⁸ Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 20, 320; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 7, 283.

⁶⁹ Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 7, 283.

5. Ibn al-Mubārak

‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Khanḍalī al-Tamīmī was a slave of Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Marwazī.⁷⁰ He was born in 118/736, whereas his date of death was 181/797, in his 63rd year.⁷¹ Unlike al-Mizzī, who mentions ‘Alī in the list of those who transmitted from Ibn al-Mubārak, Ibn Ḥajar does not mention that ‘Alī was one of those from who he transmitted, whereas both biographers agree not to include Abū ‘Ubayd Allāh Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad al-Rāzī in either of the lists of his transmitters as well as from whom he transmitted.⁷² However, it is not a certainty, because in the end, Ibn Ḥajar writes “*wa khalq kathīr*” and “*wa ghayrihim*” when he lists Ibn al-Mubārak’s transmitters and his masters. Unfortunately, a biography of Abū ‘Ubayd Allāh Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad al-Rāzī, as mentioned above, cannot be traced in biographical works. In addition, al-Mizzī’s report seems reasonable. Instead of Ibn al-Mubārak having reported *ḥadīth* from ‘Alī, it is possible that the chain goes in the opposite way (‘Alī from Ibn al-Mubārak), because in view of their respective ages, Ibn al-Mubārak had been around much earlier than ‘Alī.

Unlike the transmitters discussed previously, Ibn al-Mubārak was regarded as a reliable and trusted transmitter, and was even considered one of

⁷⁰ Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 16, 5-6; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 5, 382. See also Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A‘yān*, vol. 3, 32; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 12, 309.

⁷¹ Ibn Sa’d, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 7, 372; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A‘yān*, vol. 3, 34; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 16, 23-25; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 5, 386.

⁷² Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 16, 6-14; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 5, 382.

four prominent scholars in his time, according to Muḥammad ibn ‘Īsā.⁷³ Scholars also agree that he excelled in Islamic law, literature, grammar, linguistics, poetry, rhetoric, mysticism and other fields of Islamic knowledge.⁷⁴

By analyzing the brief biographies of the five transmitters given above, we can see that their *ḥadīth* may be considered weak and untrustworthy in its *isnād*, based on al-Ṣāliḥ’s and al-Ṭaḥḥān’s criteria of untrustworthy *ḥadīth* (*ḥadīth ḍa’if*).⁷⁵ The reasons for this are:

1. All transmitters discussed above except Ibn al-Mubārak were considered unreliable in transmitting *ḥadīth* for various reasons (*munkar* and *matrūk*).⁷⁶
2. Whereas other scholars consider *ḥadīth* from Abū Ṣāliḥ weak, Ibn Ḥibbān specifies that Abū Ṣāliḥ did not meet Ibn ‘Abbās (*munqatī’*).⁷⁷
3. Even though Abū Ṣāliḥ and al-Kalbī are reported as living in the same period and that they likely met each other, they admitted that they did not transmit *ḥadīth* to each other (*mudallas*).⁷⁸

⁷³ Ibn Sa’d, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 7, 372; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 16, 14-24; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 5, 384 and 386.

⁷⁴ Ibn Sa’d, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 7, 372; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A’yān*, vol. 3, 32; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 16, 18; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 5, 384-387.

⁷⁵ Al-Ṣāliḥ, *‘Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, 165-207; Maḥmūd Ṭaḥḥān, *Taysīr Muṣṭalaḥ al-Ḥadīth*, 5th edition (Riyad: Maktabat al-Rushd, 1983), 62-87.

⁷⁶ See also ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥusayn al-‘Irāqī, *Al-Taḥqīd wa al-Idāh: Sharḥ Muqaddimah Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ*, edited by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ‘Uṭhmān (n.p.: Dār al-Fikr, 1981), 160.

⁷⁷ See also al-‘Irāqī, *Al-Taḥqīd wa al-Idāh*, 76.

⁷⁸ See also al-‘Irāqī, *Al-Taḥqīd wa al-Idāh*, 95.

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shortening the *isnād* in this way was perhaps to save space and time and to avoid repetition from previous long *isnāds*. Regardless of the truth of this, it is right to say that the *ḥadīths* used in *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* are weak.

However, it is worth noting that even though the chains of transmission used in *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* are weak, this does not mean that all of its interpretation is wrong or false. Compared to Ibn 'Abbās's interpretation of some of the words of Qur'ānic verses on the authority of Ibn Abī Ṭalhah (d. 143 A.H.), which is regarded as the best path among the chains of transmissions from Ibn 'Abbās, and quoted by al-Bukhārī in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, summarized by al-Suyūṭī in his *al-Itqān*,⁸⁴ there are some explanations that are similar. This fact agrees with al-'Akk's opinion stating that part of the content of *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, which he calls *Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās*, is true, but another is not.⁸⁵ In addition, it is hard to say that the interpretation of *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* is not valid, because to prove this opinion, deeper and more detailed research must be done, including a comparative study of other *tafsīrs* attributed to Ibn 'Abbās.⁸⁶

Another source used in *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* is Arabic poetry. In contrast to reports saying that Ibn 'Abbās quoted a considerable amount of Arabic poetry to support his explanation, in particular obscure words, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* contains

⁸⁴ Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 2, 3-54. See also Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 6 (Cairo: Maktabat 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Aḥmad Ḥanafī, n.d), 16-181.

⁸⁵ Al-'Akk, *Uṣūl al-Tafsīr*, 227.

⁸⁶ This idea is also proposed by Versteegh. See Versteegh, *Arabic Grammar*, 61-62.

only three verses of Arabic poetry to support its interpretation. They are: interpretation of the word "*al-ithm*" in verse 33 of *al-A'raf*⁸⁷ (two verses) and that of "*hāmīm*" in verse 1 of *al-Zukhruf*.⁸⁸ Unfortunately, due to the lack of editorial notes, the poets who composed them are not mentioned. Moreover, these two words are not found among those words which are supported by Arabic poetry listed in the works of al-Ṭisṭī, al-Bukhārī, al-Anbārī (271/884-328/939), Bint al-Shāṭi' and al-Sāmīrrā'i.⁸⁹ These two poems are also not found in references to Arabic poetry and two other Qur'ānic commentaries that are famous for containing such information on which research has been done.⁹⁰ However, this does not mean support for Jones's assertion that referring to Arabic poetry was used as evidence in only a few of Qur'ānic verses, because there is still a possibility of that *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* is an "augmented" work, as Goldfeld asserts.⁹¹

The last source used in *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* is *isra'īlīyāt*. This information is found in detailed explanation concerning stories of prophets, the creation of the universe and stories of peoples before Muḥammad. Two examples are the story

⁸⁷ Al-Firūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 126.

⁸⁸ Al-Firūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 411.

⁸⁹ *Masā'il al-Imām al-Ṭisṭī*, vol. 1, 107-113; *Masā'il al-Imām al-Ṭisṭī*, vol. 2, 66-67; al-Bukhārī, *Mu'jam Gharīb al-Qur'ān*, 234-292; al-Anbārī, *Kitāb Idālī*, 76-98; Bint al-Shāṭi', *al-l'jāz al-Bayānī*, 287-603; al-Sāmīrrā'i, *Su'ālāt Nāfi' ibn al-Azraq*. See also al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān*, vol. 2, 55-88; Boullata, "Poetry Citation," 27-40.

⁹⁰ For example al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān*; al-Zamakhsharī, *Al-Kashshaf*; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Udaba'*.

of Yūsuf when he was sold as a slave and an instruction to the *Banī Isrāʾīl* to strike with a part of a cow's body a man who was dead in order to bring him back to life.⁹² It is true that this source is not reliable, and is rejected by scholars. However, we cannot abandon this source entirely and without acknowledging its merits, because it is a fact that some other Qur'ānic commentaries also quote this information in their interpretation, as Husein al-Dhahabi and al-Zaghlūl report.⁹³ In addition, if it is true that al-Kalbī was a Saba'ī, the insertion of *isrāʾīliyyāt* should not come as a surprise. This was because, according to Husein al-Dhahabi, members of this group tried to corrupt Muslim beliefs by introducing traditions favorable to the Ahl al-Bayt, including *isrāʾīliyyāt*.⁹⁴ Moreover, two of the figures involved in the discussion of *Tamwīl al-Miqbās*, al-Kalbī and Muḥammad ibn Marwān, according to Husein al-Dhahabi, were two "well-noted reporters" of *isrāʾīliyyāt* among the Successors.⁹⁵

⁹¹ Jones, "Narrative Technique," 185; Goldfeld, "The *Tafsīr* of Abdallah b. 'Abbās," 126.

⁹² Verse 20 of *Yūsuf*:

"The (Brethren) sold him for a miserable price, for a few dirhams counted out: in such low estimation did they hold him!"

According to Zaghlūl, report of price as a certain amount of money (for example forty or twelve dirhams) is not valid, because at that time this system was not known yet and the verse itself does not state it. See Zaghlūl, *al-Ittijāhāt al-Fikriyyah*, 239-270. See also al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān*, vol. 12, 101-105.

Verse 73 of *al-Baqarah*:

"So We said: "Strike the (body) with a piece of the (heifer)." Thus God bringeth the dead to life and showeth you His Signs. Perchance ye may understand."

The Qur'ān does not state which part of the body was used. Therefore, pointing out a particular one cannot be justified. See also al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān*, vol. 1, 285-286.

⁹³ Zaghlūl, *al-Ittijāhāt al-Fikriyyah*, 239-270; Husein al-Dhahabi, "Israelitic Narratives," 663-726.

⁹⁴ Husein al-Dhahabi, "Israelitic Narratives," 588.

⁹⁵ Husein al-Dhahabi, "Israelitic Narratives," 654-656 and 661-662.

Furthermore, it is more than likely that the Prophet himself knew about the *isrāʾīlīyāt*. This opinion is derived from a report that when ʿAbd Allāh ibn Salām (d. 43/663-4), a prominent rabbi before converting to Islam, approached the Prophet and asked a number of questions, including matters of a mysterious nature and on the prophets, the Prophet answered them by quoting Qurʾānic verses. Finding that the information was similar to what the Torah says, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Salām came to the conclusion that Muḥammad was a Prophet and had brought the same message as other prophets. Because of this, ʿAbd Allah ibn Salām then confessed to be a Muslim.⁹⁶ Based on this report, it is possible that information that is considered to be *isrāʾīlīyāt* came not merely from converted Muslims, but also from the Prophet himself, who was widely informed. Unfortunately, there is no report of what ʿAbd Allāh ibn Salām asked about in detail so as to allow us to identify which of the Prophet's answers were from the Qurʾān and which not. The latter knowledge would have derived from his acquaintance with Jews and Christians who lived around him.⁹⁷ Furthermore, what he quoted must be correct and acceptable because it is unthinkable that the Prophet, as reported by Muslim historians, could have given answers that were

⁹⁶ Faruqi, *Early Muslim Historiography*, 157-159; H. Hirschfeld, "Historical and Legendary Controversies between Mohammed and the Rabbis," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 10 (1897-1898), 110-116. Unfortunately, some references do not provide this story. See ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, edited by Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī and ʿAbd al-Ḥafīz Shalabī, vol. 2 (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1936), 163-164; Ibn Saʿd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, 352-353. Furthermore, al-Mizzī and Ibn Ḥajar do not provide information on this figure, but simply mention the name. See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 34, 450; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 12, 298.

not correct. In addition, by presenting some examples of Qur'ānic verses containing stories of peoples before Islam and the intrusion of *qīṣaṣ*, Norris argues that the Prophet was aware of the significance of Christian rites.⁹⁸

Moreover, some scholars, for example Ibn Ḥazm (384/994-456/1064), Ibn Taymīyah and al-'Akk (a modern writer) assert that part of the *isrā'īlīyāt* can be accepted as far as they do not conflict with what the Qur'ān says.⁹⁹ Of course it is possible that *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* contains *isrā'īlīyāt* that should be considered incorrect and deserve to be rejected, especially in view of Ibn Ḥazm's and Ibn Taymīyah's categories. However, it is worth noting that, as pointed out before, there is an abundance of fabricated *ḥadīths* attributed to Ibn 'Abbās. Therefore, if there is any incorrect information in it containing *isrā'īlīyāt*, perhaps that is a fabricated report. In short, *isrā'īlīyāt* are acceptable in Qur'ānic exegesis even though further research is needed to investigate and examine how far *isrā'īlīyāt* are employed in *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* before we can distinguish correct and valid from false *isrā'īlīyāt*.

⁹⁷ Husein al-Dhahabi, "Israelitic Narratives," 588-590.

⁹⁸ H. T. Norris, "Qīṣaṣ Elements in the Qur'ān," in *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, edited by A. F. L. Beeston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 246-255.

⁹⁹ 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥazm, *Al-Faṣl fī al-Mīlāl wa al-Aḥwā' wa al-Nihāl*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1986), 216; Ibn Taymīyah, *Muqaddimah*, 100-102; al-'Akk, *Uṣūl al-Tafsīr*, 211-212. See also Husein al-Dhahabi, "Israelitic Narratives," 606-611. For variant responses of Islamic scholars towards *isrā'īlīyāt*, see Bernard Lewis, *The Jews of Islam* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), 70-71; M. J. Kister, "Ḥaddithu 'an banī isrā'īla wa-la ḥaraja," *Israel Oriental Studies* 11 (1972), 215-239.

C. Points of View

Due to its simple and straight-forward nature, it is hardly possible to extract theological, legal or other aspects of Islamic thought from *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*. Another obstacle is that no certainty exists concerning its ascription; therefore, it is also difficult to detect the "author"'s point of view, which would be made easier if we knew when and where the author lived. In this way we can understand the atmosphere of Islamic values surrounding him that affected his exegesis. Moreover, because the work provides information only on synonyms or occasions of revelation, it goes no further in interpreting Qur'ānic meanings, for example social implications. This is different from other Qur'ānic commentaries which derive the implied meanings behind verses, such as al-Rāzī's (1149 or 50-1210 A.D.) which seek out philosophical meaning,¹⁰⁰ Ibn al-'Arabī's (560/1165-638/1240) which extracts allegorical meaning,¹⁰¹ and al-Zamakhsharī's which investigates in depth the philological and theological angles of an expression.¹⁰²

However, it is interesting to point out that the people involved in discussion of this work were regarded as belonging to certain Islamic sects. Ibn 'Abbās, as Burton reports, was acclaimed as a Shī'ite.¹⁰³ Moreover, the name of this figure is also listed in the *Islamic Shī'ite Encyclopaedia* under the list of Shī'ite

¹⁰⁰ Goldziher, *Madhāhib al-Tafsīr al-Islāmī*, 146.

¹⁰¹ Goldziher, *Madhāhib al-Tafsīr al-Islāmī*, 239-257; Peter Heath, "Creative Hermeneutics: A Comparative Analysis of Three Islamic Approaches," *Arabica* 36 (1989), 200-203.

¹⁰² Goldziher, *Madhāhib al-Tafsīr al-Islāmī*, 140-144 and 151-158.

¹⁰³ Burton, *The Collection of the Qur'ān*, 130 and 145.

commentators and exegetes.¹⁰⁴ Of course this report is difficult to confirm, because in the period in which Ibn 'Abbās lived, the idea of Shi'ism had not appeared yet as a sect in a theological sense,¹⁰⁵ even though it is true that arbitration between 'Alī's and Mu'āwiyah's supporters was a starting point of political heresy. This claim may perhaps be based on the fact that Ibn 'Abbās was from the same family as 'Alī's (*Ahl al-Bayt*), was an ancestor of the Abbāsīd royal family and was a supporter of 'Alī's decision to accept arbitration. Another reason for claiming Ibn 'Abbās as a Shi'ite is that he was with Ibn Abī Ḥanīfah, who was also acclaimed as a Shi'ite, and likewise one of the *imāms*, in opposition to Ibn al-Zubayr (d. 73/692).¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that signs of this movement were there, and that some Companions showed a favorable attitude to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, as al-Zayn reports.¹⁰⁷ Hodgson agrees on this point. He maintains that the starting point of Shi'ite sectarianism was the arbitration, but at that time Shi'ism was no more than a political party. The tendency for this partisanship to develop into real sectarianism moved very slowly after that event. Nevertheless, he declares that in the first century after the *Hijrah*, Shi'ism

¹⁰⁴ Ḥasan al-Amin, *Islamic Shi'ite Encyclopaedia*, vol. 1 (Beirut, 1968), 48.

¹⁰⁵ Hassan, "Aspects of Shi'ah History," 271; W. Ivanow, "Early Shi'ite Movements," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 17 (1941), 1-2; Daud Rahbar, "The Relation of Shi'a Theology," *Muslim World* 51 (1961), 92-98, 211-216; 52 (1962), 17-21, 124-128: 92-93.

¹⁰⁶ Hassan, "Aspects of Shi'ah History," 272-273. See Fr. Buhl, "Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyya," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, edited by C. E. Bosworth, et al., vol. 7 (Leiden, New York: E. J. Brill, 1993), 402-403.

¹⁰⁷ Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Zayn, *Al-Shi'ah fī al-Tārīkh* (Beirut: Dār al-Āthār, 1979), 40-43.

was not yet established as a sect.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, the transmitters of the *isnāds* used in *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* were generally acclaimed as Shi'ite or Saba'i as discussed above. In short, if it is true that *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* is from Ibn 'Abbās, it is not valid to say that the work reflects a Shi'ite's point of view, because many aspects of Shi'ite doctrines, except political ones, were yet to be established.

This idea is in keeping with evidence of the work. There is barely any hint of a Shi'ite point of view. One example is in the interpretation of the phrase "*al-shajarah al-mal'uṇah*" in *al-Isrā'* (Q. 17: 60) which is interpreted as the tree of *Zaqqūm*, a bitter and pungent tree described as growing at the bottom of Hell. This description is meant to apply to the Umayyads by a Shi'ite commentator.¹⁰⁹ However, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* simply interprets that the word refers to the tree of *Zaqqūm* without giving further explanation.¹¹⁰ Another example is its interpretation of verse 35 of *al-Nūr* (Q. 24). Instead of referring to the *Ahl al-Bayt* with praise as a Shi'ite commentary does, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* merely provides synonyms or definitions of words.¹¹¹

Another argument is that *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* follows exactly the 'Uthmānic text in its ordering of *sūrahs*, even though there are some differences in numbers

¹⁰⁸ M. G. S. Hodgson, "How did the Early Shi'a Become Sectarian?" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 75 (1955), 1-2.

¹⁰⁹ Abdul, "The Historical Development," 151.

¹¹⁰ Al-Firūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 238.

¹¹¹ Al-Firūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 238. See also Abdul, "The Historical Development," 151-152.

as discussed earlier. According to Tisdall, in the Shī'ite version of the Qur'ān, there are some additions which are not to be found in the received text of the Qur'ān.¹¹² Furthermore, it is understood that Shī'ite exegesis tends to be mostly allegorical in its interpretation,¹¹³ whereas *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* bases its explanations on the literal meaning to a great degree.

It is characteristic of Shī'ite belief that man has the capacity to choose to act in a certain way, whether for good or for evil.¹¹⁴ It is hard to say, however, whether the exegesis in *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* supports this idea. In some places, the work asserts that God punishes or blesses those who deserve.¹¹⁵ So far these interpretations support the Shī'ite point of view. However, in other places, it is explained that God chooses to guide whomever He wants according to His will.¹¹⁶ Therefore, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* does not totally support either side in the theological debate concerning predestination. In other words, it is hard to claim that *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* is a Shī'ite exegesis.

On the other hand, as mentioned above, al-Fīrūzābādī spent his last years in Zabīd and became a grand *qāḍī*.⁷ It is true that during this period of his life,

¹¹² W. St. Clair Tisdall, "Shī'ah Additions to the Koran," *Muslim World* 3 (1913), 227-241. Goldziher discusses Qur'ānic interpretation of this sect in detail in his *Madhāhib al-Tafsīr al-Islāmī*. See Goldziher, *Madhāhib al-Tafsīr al-Islāmī*, 286-336.

¹¹³ Gätje, *The Qur'ān and its Exegesis*, 39; Rahbar, "The Relation of Shī'a Theology," 93-96.

¹¹⁴ Rahbar, "The Relation of Shī'a Theology," 214-216.

¹¹⁵ In the interpretation of verses 8 of *Fāṭir* and 31 of *al-Muddaththir*, for example. See al-Fīrūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 324 and 492.

Yemen was an object of Zaydī Shi'ite ambitions.¹¹⁷ Zabīd itself, however, was under the control of the Rasūlids who were Sunnī. During al-Fīrūzābādī's time there, al-Ashraf Ismā'īl (al-Fīrūzābādī's father-in-law) and al-Nāṣir Aḥmad were in power.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, as was mentioned earlier, one of al-Fīrūzābādī's teachers was al-Sharaf 'Abd Allāh ibn Bektāsh, a teacher at the Nizāmīyah *madrasah*. It is well known that this *madrasah* taught ethics and doctrines closely connected with Ash'arī *kalām* and the Shāfi'ī legal school.¹¹⁹ Based on this fact, it is more likely that al-Fīrūzābādī was a Sunnī. In fact, as far as his views in Islamic law were concerned, he was obviously a Malikī, because it is reported that he established a Malikī *madrasah* in Mecca.

Going back to *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, it is just as problematic to claim that the work reflects al-Fīrūzābādī's standpoints. For instance, in its interpretation of the expression "*aw lāmastum al-nisā'*" of verse 43 of *al-Nisā'* (Q. 4), *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* explains that this means having sexual intercourse.¹²⁰ From this example, it

¹¹⁶ One example is the interpretation of verse 29 of *al-Kahf*. See al-Fīrūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 246.

¹¹⁷ Robert D. Burrowes, *Historical Dictionary of Yemen* (London: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1995), 26; R. Strothmann, "Zabīd," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, edited by M. Th. Houtsma, et al., vol. 8 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987), 1183-1184. See also Manfred W. Wenner, *The Yemen Arab Republic* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), 121-122.

¹¹⁸ Strothmann, "Zabīd," 1184; G. R. Smith, "Rasūlids," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, edited by C. E. Bosworth, et al., vol. 8 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 455-457. See also 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jurāfi, *Al-Muqtaṭaf min Tārīkh al-Yaman* (Beirut: Manshūrāt al-'Aṣr al-Ḥadīth, 1987), 136.

¹¹⁹ H. Bowen-[C. E. Bosworth], "Nizām al-Mulk," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, edited by C. E. Bosworth, et al., vol. 8 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 71.

¹²⁰ Al-Fīrūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 70.

seems that the work leans towards a symbolic meaning of this expression, and holds that the Qur'ān, as a Holy Book, has used a polite expression (a euphemism). It is a fact that this understanding was characteristic of the Ḥanafī school,¹²¹ whereas al-Fīrūzābādī was, most probably, a Malikī. This would in fact exclude al-Fīrūzābādī. Assuming that the interpretation is truly that of Ibn 'Abbās, then it must point to his own way of thinking, since the founder of the Ḥanafī school, Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān, lived after Ibn 'Abbās's time, dying in 150/767 at the age of 70.¹²²

This analysis should be applied as well to understanding another point concerning the interpretation of *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* of the creation of the universe. Even though it is true that in Ibn 'Abbās's lifetime Muslims did not subscribe to a variety of theological sects, it is interesting that *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* explains that creation should be understood without questioning how (*bi-lā kayf*).¹²³ Perhaps, Ibn 'Abbās interpreted this without consideration for its theological implications. Therefore, due to its simplicity and some of the points explained above, it is almost impossible to claim that *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* reflects or supports one

¹²¹ See al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sīnā, *Bidāyat al-Mujtahid wa Nihāyat al-Muqtaṣid*, vol. 1 (Cairo: al-Maktabat al-Tijāriyah al-Kubra, n.d.), 33-34,

¹²² J. Schacht, "Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, edited by H.A.R. Gibb, et al., vol. 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill; London: Luzac & Co., 1960), 123-124.

¹²³ See for example the interpretation of verses 4 of *al-Ḥadīd* and 1 of *al-Infīṭār*. See al-Fīrūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-Miqbās*, 456 and 503.

particular point of view in a sectarian sense.

CONCLUSION

In the space of a single volume, *Tarwīr al-Miqbās min Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās* presents the reader with many interesting and challenging problems. In the first place, the modern printed work appears to have been edited in a haphazard fashion. Moreover, its methodology, which relies heavily on the philological approach of explaining Qur'ānic verses according to their literal meaning, is simplistic given the complicated issues raised in this Holy Book. The interpretation is presented *seriatim*, touching on all the verses of the Qur'ān in succession without devoting separate sections to different aspects of its interpretation. *Tarwīr al-Miqbās* offers only brief comments on passages and limits these to such topics as synonyms, abrogation (*nāsikh wa mansūkh*), occasions of revelation (*asbāb al-nuzūl*) and the people addressed in particular verses. On this point, we can say that this interpretation goes against the precept which says: *al-'ibrah bi 'umūm al-lafẓ lā bi khuṣūṣ al-sabab*. Moreover, the other aspects of interpretation, including variant readings and the origins of the language used in the Qur'ān for example, are presented on occasion. Overall, it can be said that characteristics of *tafsīr* are more obvious in *Tarwīr al-Miqbās* than those of *ta'wīl*.

As far as sources of interpretation are concerned, those upon which *Tarwīr al-Miqbās* relies are not different from other Qur'ānic commentaries. The work employs Qur'ānic verses, as well as reports through chains of transmitters

(*ḥadīth*) that claim to go back to Ibn 'Abbās, Arabic poetry and *isrā'īlīyāt*. It is worth noting that even though the chains of transmitters referred to in the work have been proven to be weak and unreliable, one cannot immediately conclude that their exegesis is wrong.

As far as the work's overall point of view is concerned, it has to be admitted that such information is very difficult to extract. The discussion in *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* is not very subtle, and has few theological and social implications. It is true that on some points the interpretation seems to point to a particular Islamic sect, for example Shi'ism. But if one goes to other verses, one will find evidence to disprove this opinion. This phenomenon is in a sense what one would expect if the attribution to Ibn 'Abbās were true, since in the early development of Islam, sectarian ideas had not yet taken final shape.

Based on our discussion of these particular aspects of Qur'ānic exegesis (approach and method, sources and points of view), we can say that *Tanwīr al-Miqbās* presents various characteristics of Qur'ānic exegesis in its early development. This does not mean, however, that the attribution to Ibn 'Abbās can easily be authenticated, since many other factors have to be taken into consideration in resolving this matter.

Given the absence of any other information pointing to the origins of the work, our only clues must be found in its contents. Thus a study which discusses its contents can contribute to our understanding of this work as a whole. Nevertheless, this short study makes it clear that there are a considerable number

of issues concerning *Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās* itself that demand more research. It would be especially useful to do a comparative study of the various *tafsīrs* ascribed to Ibn 'Abbās through different chains of transmitters. Hopefully, further and deeper study will bring us to conclusive answers to these issues.

AL-FĪRŪZĀBĀDĪ'S WORKS

1. *Al-Lāmi' al-Mu'allam al-'Ujāb al-Jāmi'* bayn al-Muḥkam wa al-'Ubāb,¹ an Arabic dictionary, of which al-Firūzābādī completed only five volumes during his lifetime; according to Ibn al-'Imād, Brockelmann and Fleisch, it was al-Firūzābādī's ambition to write as many as 60 or even 100 volumes.²
2. *Al-Qāmuṣ al-Muḥiṭ* (The Ocean that Surrounds the Earth), in four volumes,³ which is also known by its full title, *al-Qāmuṣ al-Muḥiṭ wa al-Qabūs al-Wasiṭ al-Jāmi' li mā Dhahaba min al-'Arab Shamāṭiṭ*,⁴ is a summary of *al-Lāmi'*, on which the European dictionaries of the classical language are based, either directly or through the various commentaries written upon it.⁵

¹ Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, 233. Neither of the editions of *Bughyat al-Wu'āl* used for this thesis makes it clear whether we are faced here with two titles or one, given that in one, namely *al-Lāmi' wa al-Mu'allam* and *al-'Ujāb al-Jāmi' bayn al-Muḥkam wa al-'Ubāb*, are separated by a comma between the two titles, and by a dot in the other. See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āl*, edited by Aḥmad Nāḥi al-Jamālī, et al., 118; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āl*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 274. Al-'Aẓm mentions it as *al-Lāmi' al-Mu'allam al-'Ujāb al-Jāmi' bayn al-Muḥkam wa al-'Ubāb wa Ziyādāt Imtilā' bihā al-Wiṭāb*. See al-'Aẓm, *'Uqūd al-Jawhar*, 305.

² Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; Brockelmann, *GALS*, vol. 2, 234; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, 233; Fleisch, "Al-Firūzābādī," 926. For more discussion of this work, see Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, xvii-xviii.

³ Huart, *A History*, 388-389.

⁴ Brockelmann calls it *al-Qāmuṣ al-Muḥiṭ wa al-Qabas al-Wasiṭ al-Jāmi' li mā Dhahab min Lughat al-'Arab Shamāṭiṭ*. See Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, 233.

⁵ Such as *Tāj al-'Arūs* by Sayyid Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1791), which was printed for the first time in ten volumes at Būlāq, Cairo in 1306-1307, *al-Jāsiṣ 'alā al-Qāmuṣ* by Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq (d. 1305/1887), which was first printed in Istanbul in 1299, and *Taṣṣiṭ al-Qāmuṣ* by Aḥmad Taymur Pasha, which was printed first in Cairo in 1343/1925. See Fleisch, "Al-Firūzābādī," 926-927. For a more in-depth discussion of this work, see Lane, *An Arabic-English*

3. *Tahbīr al-Muwashshīn fī mā yuqāl bi al-Sīn wa al-Shīn*,⁶ which consists of Arabic vocabulary written with either *s* or *sh* indiscriminately; al-Zabīdī and al-'Aẓm explain that it examines 1000 questions on 1000 topics found in the *Kitāb al-Mujmal* by Ibn Fāris al-Qazwīnī.⁷
4. *Sifr al-Sa'ādah*,⁸ or *al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm*, a history of the life of the Prophet, in Persian.
5. *Al-Aḥādīth al-Da'īfah*, which is in 4 volumes.⁹
6. *Aḥāsīn al-Laṭā'if fī Maḥāsīn al-Tā'if*.¹⁰
7. *Al-As'ād bi al-Iṣ'ād ilā Darajat al-Ijtihād*, which is in three volumes.¹¹

Lexicon, xvi-xvii; Brockelmann, *GALS*, vol. 2, 234-235; Naṣṣār, *Al-Mu'jam al-'Arabī*, 540-603. Naṣṣār reports that the book was written between the years 792-803 A. H. and was presented to al-Ashraf. See Naṣṣār, *Al-Mu'jam al-'Arabī*, 540.

⁶ This work was published in Algiers in 1909 and in Beirut in 1330/1912. See Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, 233.

⁷ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 44; al-'Aẓm, *'Uqūd al-Jawhar*, 303; Fleisch, "Al-Firūzābādī," 926. However, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah offers a different opinion, stating that this work was written in praise of Ibn Fāris al-Qazwīnī. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyah*, 83. This opinion is rejected by Muḥammad Farrāj (editor of *Tāj al-'Arūs*) who mentions that he did not find any statement in the book to prove such an idea. However, it is likely that the work was a criticism of al-Jawharī's work because Ibn Ḥajar reports that when the work of Ibn 'Arabī became popular in Yemen, al-Firūzābādī criticized it to a point where it no longer attracted any attention, except from scholars. See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āh*, edited by Aḥmad Nāḥī al-Jamālī, et al., 118. Furthermore, al-Bawwāb calls the book *Tahbīr al-Muwassīn fī mā yuqāl bi al-Sīn wa al-Shīn*. See al-Firūzābādī, *Al-Durar al-Mubaththathah*, 21.

⁸ Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 43. This work is written in the margins of *al-Fawz al-Kabīr ma'a Fath al-Ḥabīr fī Uṣūl al-Tafsīr* by Walī Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm, published in Cairo or Jerusalem in 1307 and 1346, and in the margins of *Kashf al-Ghumma* by al-Sha'rānī, published in Cairo in 1317 and 1332. See Fleisch, "Al-Firūzābādī," 926. Moreover, Brockelmann and Fleisch call it *Sufar al-Sa'āda*. See Brockelmann, *GALS*, vol. 2, 235; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, 234; Fleisch, "Al-Firūzābādī," 926.

⁹ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-'Aẓm, *'Uqūd al-Jawhar*, 302.

¹⁰ Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 44; al-'Aẓm, *'Uqūd al-Jawhar*, 302. Ibn al-'Imād writes it as *Aḥāsīn al-Laṭā'if fī Maḥāsīn al-Tā'yif*. See Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128.

8. *Ishārat al-Ḥajūn ilā Ziyārat al-Ḥajūn*.¹²
9. *Al-Alṭāf al-Khaṭīyah fī Ashraf al-Ḥanaṭīyah*.¹³
10. *Imtidād al-Suhād fī Iftirād al-Jihād*.¹⁴
11. *Anwā' al-Ghayth fī Asmā' al-Layth*.¹⁵
12. *Asmā' al-'Ādah fī Asmā' al-Ghādah*.¹⁶
13. *Asmā' al-Sirāḥ fī Asmā' al-Nikāḥ*.¹⁷
14. *Ibtihāj al-Nufūs bi Dhikr mā Fāt al-Qāmūs*.¹⁸

¹¹ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 43; al-'Aẓm, *'Uqud al-Jawhar*, 302. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah and al-Suyūṭī (in both editions) cite this work as *al-Iṣ'ād ilā Rutbat al-Ijtihād*. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyah*, 84-85; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āḥ*, edited by Aḥmad Nāji al-Jamālī, et al., 118; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āḥ*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 274. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah reports that it was written in four volumes for al-Ashraf. However, Naṣṣār states that the book given to al-Ashraf was *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*. See Naṣṣār, *al-Mu'jam al-'Arabi*, 540.

¹² Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 44; al-'Aẓm, *'Uqud al-Jawhar*, 302. Ibn al-'Imād calls it *Ithārat al-Shujūn li Ziyārat al-Ḥajūn*, while Brockelmann calls it *Ithārat al-Hujūn li Ziyārat al-Ḥajūn*. See Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; Brockelmann, *GALS*, vol. 2, 236.

¹³ Al-'Aẓm, *'Uqud al-Jawhar*, 302.

¹⁴ Al-'Aẓm, *'Uqud al-Jawhar*, 302. Al-Zabīdī cites this book as *Iftidād al-Suhād fī Iftirād al-Jihād*. See al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 43.

¹⁵ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 44; al-'Aẓm, *'Uqud al-Jawhar*, 302. Al-Suyūṭī refers to this work as *Asmā' al-Layth*. See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āḥ*, edited by Aḥmad Nāji al-Jamālī, et al., 118; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āḥ*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 274.

¹⁶ Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 44; al-'Aẓm, *'Uqud al-Jawhar*, 302. Al-Suyūṭī refers to this work as *Asmā' al-Ghādah*. See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āḥ*, edited by Aḥmad Nāji al-Jamālī, et al., 118; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āḥ*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 274.

¹⁷ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-'Aẓm, *'Uqud al-Jawhar*, 302. Al-Suyūṭī cites this work as *Asmā' al-Nikāḥ*, while al-Zabīdī calls it *Asmā' al-Sarāḥ fī Asmā' al-Nikāḥ*. See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āḥ*, edited by Aḥmad Nāji al-Jamālī, et al., 118; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āḥ*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 274; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 44.

¹⁸ Al-'Aẓm, *'Uqud al-Jawhar*, 302; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, 233.

15. *Baṣāʾir Dhawī al-Tamyīz fī Laṭāʾif Kitāb Allāh al-ʿAzīz* which is in two volumes.¹⁹
16. *Baṣāʾir al-Naẓaʾir*.²⁰
17. *Al-Bulghah fī Tarājim Aʾimmat al-Naḥw wa al-Lughah*.²¹
18. *Tathbīt al-Asal fī Taḍdīl al-ʿAsal*.²²
19. *Tuhfat al-Qamaʾīl fī man Tasammā min al-Malāʾikat Ismāʾīl*.²³
20. *Tarqīq al-Asal fī Tasfīq al-ʿAsal*.²⁴

¹⁹ Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 127; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, 43; al-ʿAẓm, *ʿUqūd al-Jawhar*, 302; al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Durar al-Mubaththathah*, 21. Al-Suyūṭī cites this work as *al-Wajīz fī Laṭāʾif al-Kitāb al-ʿAzīz*, while Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah and al-Dāwūdī call it *Baṣāʾir Dhawī al-Tamyīz fī Laṭāʾif Kitāb al-ʿAzīz*. Brockelmann for his part calls it *Baṣāʾir Dhawī al-Tamyīz fī Laṭāʾif Kitāb al-ʿAzīz*. See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʾāh*, edited by Aḥmad Nāǧī al-Jamālī, et al., 118; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʾāh*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 274; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah*, 85; al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn*, 276; Brockelmann, *GALS*, vol. 2, 235. Furthermore, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah reports that it is in 2 volumes. There is a six volume edition of this work entitled *Baṣāʾir Dhawī al-Tamyīz fī Laṭāʾif al-Kitāb al-ʿAzīz*, prepared by Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Najjār and published by Lajnat Ihyaʾ al-Turāth al-Islāmī in Cairo between 1964 and 1973.

²⁰ Al-ʿAẓm, *ʿUqūd al-Jawhar*, 302.

²¹ Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, 44; al-ʿAẓm, *ʿUqūd al-Jawhar*, 302. Ibn al-ʿImād cites it as *al-Bulghah fī Tarājim Aʾimmat al-Nuḥāh wa al-Lughah*, while al-Suyūṭī, Brockelmann, Fleisch and al-Bawwāb refer to this work as *al-Bulghah fī Tārīkh Aʾimmat al-Lughah*. See Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʾāh*, edited by Aḥmad Nāǧī al-Jamālī, et al., 118; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʾāh*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 274; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, 234; Fleisch, "Al-Fīrūzābādī," 926; al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Durar al-Mubaththathah*, 21. Furthermore, Fleisch informs us that this work is in manuscript form. Since Fleisch's study was published, an edition of this work has appeared, entitled *al-Bulghah fī Tārīkh Aʾimmat al-Lughah*, edited by Muḥammad al-Miṣrī, which was published by Manshūrāt Wizārat al-Thaqāfah in Damascus in 1971.

²² Al-ʿAẓm, *ʿUqūd al-Jawhar*, 302.

²³ Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, 44; al-ʿAẓm, *ʿUqūd al-Jawhar*, 303. Al-Suyūṭī calls this work *Man Tasammā bi Ismāʾīl*; however, Ibn al-ʿImād calls the book *Tuhfat al-Qamaʾīl fī man Tasammā min al-Nās wa al-Malāʾikah bi Ismāʾīl*. See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʾāh*, edited by Aḥmad Nāǧī al-Jamālī, et al., 118; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʾāh*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 274; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128.

²⁴ Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, 44; al-ʿAẓm, *ʿUqūd al-Jawhar*, 303. Ibn al-ʿImād calls this book *Tarqīq al-Asal fī Taḍdīl al-ʿAsal*, while Brockelmann refers to it as *Tarqīq al-Asal li Tasfīq al-ʿAsal*. See Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; Brockelmann, *GALS*, vol. 2, 236. Ibn al-ʿImād maintains that the work is in two volumes.

21. *Tashīl Ṭarīq al-Wuṣūl ilā al-Aḥādīth al-Zā'idah 'alā Jāmi' al-Uṣūl*.²⁵
22. *Ta'yīn al-Ghurafāt li al-Mu'in 'alā 'Ayn 'Arafāt*.²⁶
23. *Taysīr Fā'iḥat al-Iḥāb fī Tafsīr Fā'iḥat al-Kitāb*.²⁷
24. *Al-Tajāriḥ fī Fawā'id Muta'alliqah bi Aḥādīth al-Maṣābiḥ*.²⁸
25. *Tahyij al-Gharām ilā al-Balad al-Ḥarām*.²⁹
26. *Al-Tuḥaf wa al-Zarā'if fī al-Nukat al-Sharā'if*.³⁰
27. *Al-Jalīs al-Anīs fī Asmā' al-Khandarīs*.³¹

²⁵ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 44; al-'Azīm, 'Uqūd al-Jawhar, 303. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah and al-Suyūṭī and refers to the work as *Tashīl al-Wuṣūl ilā al-Aḥādīth al-Zā'idah 'alā Jāmi' al-Uṣūl*. See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyah*, 85; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āh*, edited by Aḥmad Nāji al-Jamālī, et al., 118; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āh*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 274. Moreover, both Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah and al-Zabīdī declare that the work was written in four volumes for al-Ashraf's son, al-Nāṣir.

²⁶ Al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn*, 277; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-'Azīm, 'Uqūd al-Jawhar, 303. Al-Zabīdī cites this book as *Ta'yīn al-Ghurafāt li al-Mu'in 'alā 'Arafāt*. See al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 44.

²⁷ Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 43; al-'Azīm, 'Uqūd al-Jawhar, 303. Al-Suyūṭī calls it *Sharḥ al-Fā'iḥah*, while Ibn al-'Imād calls the book *Taysīr Fā'iḥat al-Iḥāb bi Tafsīr Fā'iḥat al-Kitāb*. Al-Dāwūdī calls it *Taysīr Fā'iḥat al-Iyāb bi Tafsīr Fā'iḥat al-Kitāb* and Brockelmann *Taysīr Fā'iḥat al-Iḥāb bi Tafsīr Fā'iḥat al-Kitāb*. See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āh*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 274; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 127; al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn*, 276; Brockelmann, *GALS*, vol. 2, 235.

²⁸ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 44; al-'Azīm, 'Uqūd al-Jawhar, 303.

²⁹ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 43; al-'Azīm, 'Uqūd al-Jawhar, 303.

³⁰ Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 44; al-'Azīm, 'Uqūd al-Jawhar, 303. Ibn al-'Imād calls the book *al-Nukhab al-Ṭarā'if fī al-Nukat al-Sharā'if*. See Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128.

³¹ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 44; al-'Azīm, 'Uqūd al-Jawhar, 303; Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, 233. Al-Suyūṭī cites this work as *Asmā' al-Khandarīs*. See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āh*, edited by Aḥmad Nāji al-Jamālī, et al., 118; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āh*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 274. According to Brockelmann, this work is similar to *al-Durar al-Mubaththathah fī al-Lughah*. See Brockelmann, *GALS*, vol. 2, 235.

28. *Jām-i Jahān Namā*, in Persian, which deals with *taṣawwuf*.³²
29. *Hāṣil Kūrāt al-Khalāṣ fī Faḍā'il Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*.³³
30. *Al-Durr al-Ghālī fī al-Aḥādīth al-'Awālī*.³⁴
31. *Al-Durr al-Naẓīm al-Murshid ilā Maqāṣid al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm*.³⁵
32. *Al-Rawḍ al-Masluḥ fī mā lahu Ismān ilā al-Uluḥ*.³⁶
33. *Rawḍat al-Nāẓir fī Tarjamat Sayyidi al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir*.³⁷
34. *Zād al-Ma'ād fī Wazn Bānat Su'ād*.³⁸
35. *Sharḥ Zād al-Ma'ād fī Wazn Bānat Su'ād*.³⁹
36. *Sharḥ Quṭbat al-Khashshāf fī Sharḥ Khuṭbat al-Khashshāf*.⁴⁰

³² Al-'Aẓm, *'Uquḍ al-Jawhar*, 303.

³³ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 43; al-'Aẓm, *'Uquḍ al-Jawhar*, 303.

³⁴ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 44; al-'Aẓm, *'Uquḍ al-Jawhar*, 303.

³⁵ Al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn*, 276; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 43; al-'Aẓm, *'Uquḍ al-Jawhar*, 303. Ibn al-'Imād calls the book *al-Durr al-Naẓīm al-Murshid ilā Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm*. See Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 127.

³⁶ Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 44; al-'Aẓm, *'Uquḍ al-Jawhar*, 303; Brockelmann, *GALS*, vol. 2, 236. Al-Suyūṭī, Ibn al-'Imād and al-Zāwī call the book *al-Rawḍ al-Masluḥ fī mā lahu Ismān ilā Uluḥ*. See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āh*, edited by Aḥmad Nāǧī al-Jamālī, et al., 118; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āh*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 274; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-Zāwī, *Tartīb al-Qāmuṣ al-Muḥīṭ*, xii.

³⁷ Al-'Aẓm, *'Uquḍ al-Jawhar*, 303-304. Ibn al-'Imād calls it *Rawḍat al-Nāẓir fī Tarjamat al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir*, while al-Zabīdī cites this book as *Rawḍat al-Nāẓir fī Darajat al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir*. See Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 43.

³⁸ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 44; al-'Aẓm, *'Uquḍ al-Jawhar*, 304.

³⁹ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 44; al-'Aẓm, *'Uquḍ al-Jawhar*, 304.

⁴⁰ Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 43; al-'Aẓm, *'Uquḍ al-Jawhar*, 304. Al-Suyūṭī and Ibn al-'Imād call the book *Sharḥ Khuṭbat al-Kashshāf*. See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āh*, edited by Aḥmad Nāǧī al-

37. *Shawāriq al-Asrār al-'Alīyah fī Sharhī Mashāriq al-Anwār al-Nabawīyah*, which is in four volumes⁴¹ (*Mashāriq al-Anwār al-Nabawīyah* was written by al-Saghānī).
38. *Sharhī Ta'iyat 'Izz al-Dīn ibn Jamā'ah*.⁴²
39. *Al-Ṣīlat al-Birriyah fī al-Ṣīlat 'alā Khayr al-Bariyah*.⁴³
40. *Al-Ṣīlat wa al-Bashr fī al-Ṣīlat 'alā Khayr al-Bashar*.⁴⁴
41. *Uddat al-Hukkām fī Sharhī 'Umdat al-Ahkām* which is in two volumes (*'Umdat al-Ahkām* is a work on *ḥadīth* written by Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqdisī).⁴⁵
42. *Al-Ghurār al-Muthallathah wa al-Durār al-Mubaththathah*.⁴⁶
43. *Faṣl al-Durr fī al-Nuhūr*.⁴⁷

Jamālī, et al., 118; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'ah*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 274; Ibn al-Imād, *Shadharrat al-Dhahab*, 127.

⁴¹ Al-Dawūdī, *Tabaqat al-Mufasssīn*, 276-277; al-Zabīdī, *Taj al-'Arūs*, 43; al-'Azam, 'Uqud al-Jawhar, 304. Ibn Qaḍī Shubhah calls it *Shawāriq al-Asrār fī Sharhī Mashāriq al-Anwār* and reports that the book is in four volumes. Although agreeing with al-'Azam on the title, Ibn al-Imād nevertheless states that the book is in two volumes. See Ibn Qaḍī Shubhah, *Tabaqat al-Shafrīyah*, 84; Ibn al-Imād, *Shadharrat al-Dhahab*, 128.

⁴² Al-'Azam, 'Uqud al-Jawhar, 304.

⁴³ Al-'Azam, 'Uqud al-Jawhar, 304.

⁴⁴ Al-Dawūdī, *Tabaqat al-Mufasssīn*, 277; Ibn al-Imād, *Shadharrat al-Dhahab*, 128; al-'Azam, 'Uqud al-Jawhar, 304. Al-Zabīdī calls it *al-Ṣīlat wa al-Bashr fī al-Ṣīlat 'alā Khayr al-Bashar*, while Brockelmann calls it *al-Ṣīlat wa al-Bashr fī al-Ṣīlat 'alā Sayyid al-Bashar*. See al-Zabīdī, *Taj al-'Arūs*, 43; Brockelmann, *GAIS*, vol. 2, 236. However, there is a work titled *al-Ṣīlat wa al-Bashr fī al-Ṣīlat 'alā Khayr al-Bashar*, published in Beirut by Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyah in 1985.

⁴⁵ Al-Zabīdī, *Taj al-'Arūs*, 43; al-'Azam, 'Uqud al-Jawhar, 304. Ibn Qaḍī Shubhah calls it *Sharhī 'Uddat al-Ahkām* and reports that the work is in two volumes, while al-Suyūṭī cites this work as *Sharhī 'Umdat al-Ahkām*. Al-Dawūdī refers to it as *'Umdat al-Hukkām fī Sharhī 'Umdat al-Ahkām*. See Ibn Qaḍī Shubhah, *Tabaqat al-Shafrīyah*, 85; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'ah*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 274; al-Dawūdī, *Tabaqat al-Mufasssīn*, 277.

⁴⁶ Al-'Azam, 'Uqud al-Jawhar, 304; Brockelmann, *GAIS*, vol. 2, 233. However, there is a book by al-Firuzābādī entitled *al-Durār al-Mubaththathah fī al-Ghurār al-Muthallathah*, edited by 'Alī Ḥusayn al-Bawwab and published by Dār al-Liwa' li al-Nashr wa al-Tawzi' in Riyāḍ in 1981.

44. *Faṣl al-Durr min al-Khurzah fī Faḍl al-Salāmah 'alā al-Jīzah*.⁴⁸

45. *Al-Faḍl al-Wafī fī al-'Adl al-Ashrafī*.⁴⁹

46. *Quṭbat al-Khashshāf fī Ḥall Khutbat al-Kashshāf*.⁵⁰

47. *Kitāb al-'Aqā'id*.⁵¹

48. *Al-Muttafiq Waḍ'ā wa al-Mukhtalif Ṣun'ā*.⁵²

49. *Al-Muthallath al-Kabīr* which is in five volumes.⁵³

50. *Al-Muthallath al-Ṣaghīr* which is in five chapters.⁵⁴

51. *Al-Mirqāh al-Arfa'īyah fī Ṭabaqāt al-Shūfī'īyah*.⁵⁵

52. *Al-Mirqāh al-Wafīyah fī Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyah*.⁵⁶

⁴⁷ Al-'Aẓm, 'Uqūd al-Jawhar, 304.

⁴⁸ Al-'Aẓm, 'Uqūd al-Jawhar, 304-305. Ibn al-'Imād refers to it as *Faḍl al-Durrah min al-Khurzah fī Faḍl al-Salāmah 'alā al-Khibzah*, while al-Zabīdī cites this book as *Fī al-Durr min al-Khurazah fī Faḍl al-Salāmah 'alā al-Khabazah*. See Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 44.

⁴⁹ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 44; al-'Aẓm, 'Uqūd al-Jawhar, 305.

⁵⁰ Al-'Aẓm, 'Uqūd al-Jawhar, 305.

⁵¹ Al-'Aẓm, 'Uqūd al-Jawhar, 305.

⁵² Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 44; al-'Aẓm, 'Uqūd al-Jawhar, 305. Al-Suyūṭī and Ibn al-'Imād cite it as *al-Muttafiq Waḍ'ā al-Mukhtalif Ṣun'ā*. See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āh*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 274; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128. In the other edition of al-Suyūṭī's work it is recorded as *al-Muttafiq Waḍ'ā al-Mukhtalif Sun'ā*. See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āh*, edited by Aḥmad Nāji al-Jamālī, et al., 118.

⁵³ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-'Aẓm, 'Uqūd al-Jawhar, 305.

⁵⁴ Al-'Aẓm, 'Uqūd al-Jawhar, 305.

⁵⁵ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 43-44; al-'Aẓm, 'Uqūd al-Jawhar, 305.

⁵⁶ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 43; al-'Aẓm, 'Uqūd al-Jawhar, 305; Brockelmann, *GALS*, vol. 2, 236. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah calls it *al-Mirqāh al-Riqqīyah fī Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyah*, while al-Suyūṭī cites this work as *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyah*. See Ibn Qāḍī

53. *Majma' al-As'ilah*, based on questions of *Ṣaḥāḥ al-Jawhari*.⁵⁷
54. *Al-Maghānim al-Muṭābah fī Ma'ālim Ṭābah*.⁵⁸
55. *Maqṣūd Dhawī al-Albāb fī 'Ilm al-I'rāb*.⁵⁹
56. *Manīyat al-Sul fī Da'wat al-Rasūl*.⁶⁰
57. *Manḥ al-Bārī li Sayl al-Fayḥ al-Jārī fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, which covers one-fourth of the *'ibādāt* in twenty volumes.⁶¹
58. *Nuzhat al-Adhhān fī Tārīkh Aṣbahān*.⁶²
59. *Al-Nafḥah al-'Anbariyah fī Mawlid Khayr al-Bariyah*.⁶³

Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyah*, 85; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āḥ*, edited by Aḥmad Nāji al-Jamālī, et al., 118; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āḥ*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 274. Fleisch reports that this work is preserved in manuscript form at the Library of Shaykh al-Islam 'Arif Hikmet Bey in Medina and is registered under *Sulaymān Nadwī*, no. 128. The work is derived from the *Ṭabaqāt* of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ḥanafī. See Fleisch, "Al-Firūzābādī," 926; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, 82.

⁵⁷ Al-'Aẓm, *'Uqud al-Jawhar*, 305. Brockelmann calls it *Majma' al-Su'ālāt min Ṣaḥāḥ al-Jawhari*. See Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2, 233.

⁵⁸ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 43; al-'Aẓm, *'Uqud al-Jawhar*, 305. Al-Bawwāb calls it *al-Maghānim al-Muṭābah fī Tārīkh Faḍā'il Ṭābah*. See al-Firūzābādī, *al-Durar al-Mubaththathah*, 21.

⁵⁹ Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āḥ*, edited by Aḥmad Nāji al-Jamālī, et al., 118; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āḥ*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 274; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 44; al-'Aẓm, *'Uqud al-Jawhar*, 305.

⁶⁰ Al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn*, 277; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-'Aẓm, *'Uqud al-Jawhar*, 305. Al-Zabīdī cites this book as *Manīyat al-Mas'ul fī Da'wat al-Rasūl*. See al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 44.

⁶¹ Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 43; al-'Aẓm, *'Uqud al-Jawhar*, 305. Al-Suyūṭī and Ibn al-'Imād call it as *Fath al-Bārī bi al-Sayl al-Fasiḥ al-Jārī fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āḥ*, edited by Aḥmad Nāji al-Jamālī, et al., 118; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āḥ*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 274; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128.

⁶² Al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn*, 277; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 44; al-'Aẓm, *'Uqud al-Jawhar*, 306.

⁶³ Al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Mufasssīrīn*, 277; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 43; al-'Aẓm, *'Uqud al-Jawhar*, 306.

60. *Nagħbat al-Rashshāf min Khuṭbat al-Kashshāf*.⁶⁴
61. *Al-Waṣl wa al-Munā fi Fadl Minā*.⁶⁵
62. *Sharḥ al-Fatīḥah*.⁶⁶
63. *Laṭīf Ra'aytuh bi Makkah*.⁶⁷
64. *Fatwā fi al-Shaykh Ibn 'Arabi*.⁶⁸
65. *Tuḥfat al-Abīḥ fi man Nusiba ilā Ghayr Abīḥ*.⁶⁹
66. *Risālah fi Ḥukm al-Qanādīl al-Nabawīyah*.⁷⁰
67. *Risālah fi Bayān mā lam Yathbut fiḥi Ṣaḥīḥ Ḥadīth min al-Abwāb*.⁷¹
68. *Urjūzat Muṣṭalah al-Ḥadīth*.⁷²
69. *Risālah fi al-Intiṣār li Ṣāḥib al-Futuḥāt*.⁷³

⁶⁴ Al-'Aẓm, 'Uqūd al-Jawhar, 306; Brockelmann, GALS, vol. 2, 235.

⁶⁵ Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 128; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, 43; al-'Aẓm, 'Uqūd al-Jawhar, 306.

⁶⁶ Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āh*, edited by Aḥmad Nāḥī al-Jamālī, et al., 118; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āh*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 274.

⁶⁷ Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āh*, edited by Aḥmad Nāḥī al-Jamālī, et al., 118; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wu'āh*, edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 274.

⁶⁸ Brockelmann, GAL, vol. 2, 233-234.

⁶⁹ Brockelmann, GAL, vol. 2, 234.

⁷⁰ Brockelmann, GAL, vol. 2, 234. In his Supplement, Brockelmann refers to it as *Risālah fi Ḥukm al-Qanādīl al-Nabawīyah fi Dhikr Qanādīl al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah min al-Dhahab wa al-Fidqah*. See Brockelmann, GALS, vol. 2, 235.

⁷¹ Brockelmann, GALS, vol. 2, 235.

⁷² Brockelmann, GALS, vol. 2, 235.

⁷³ Brockelmann, GALS, vol. 2, 236.

Appendix 2

NUMBERS OF VERSES, WORDS AND LETTERS IN TANWĪR AL-MIQBĀS MIN TAFSĪR IBN 'ABBĀS¹

No.	NAMES OF SŪRAH S	NUMBER OF VERSES		NUMBER OF WORDS	NUMBER OF LETTERS
		Yūsuf 'Alī	Tanwīr al-Miqbās		
1	<i>Al-Fātiḥah</i>	7	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
2	<i>Al-Baqarah</i>	286	280	3100	25500
3	<i>Āl 'Imrān</i>	200	200	3460	14525
4	<i>Al-Nisā'</i>	176	Not mentioned	3940	16030
5	<i>Al-Mā'idah</i>	176	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
6	<i>Al-An'ām</i>	123	Not mentioned	3050	12422
7	<i>Al-A'rāf</i>	165	126	3625	14310
8	<i>Al-Anfāl</i>	206	206	1130	5294
9	<i>Al-Tawbah</i>	129	Not mentioned	2467	10000
10	<i>Yūnus</i>	109	109	1802	6567
11	<i>Hūd</i>	123	120	1625	6905
12	<i>Yūsuf</i>	111	111	1776	7196
13	<i>Al-Ra'd</i>	43	45	855	3506
14	<i>Ibrāhīm</i>	52	50	831	3434
15	<i>Al-Ḥijr</i>	99	Not mentioned	654	2770
16	<i>Al-Naḥl</i>	128	128	1841	6707
17	<i>Banū Isrā'īl</i>	111	110	1533	6400
18	<i>Al-Kahf</i>	110	111	1567	6420
19	<i>Maryam</i>	98	98	962	3302
20	<i>Ṭāhā</i>	135	132	1301	5242
21	<i>Al-Anbiyā'</i>	112	111	1138	4168
22	<i>Al-Ḥajj</i>	78	75	1291	5135
23	<i>Al-Mu'minūn</i>	118	119	1840	4800
24	<i>Al-Nūr</i>	64	64	1316	5680

¹ See chapter three, pp. 41-44 for an explanation of difference in number.

25	<i>Al-Furqān</i>	77	97	392	3760
26	<i>Al-Shu'arā'</i>	227	226	1268	5542
27	<i>Al-Naml</i>	93	94	1149	4767
28	<i>Al-Qaşaş</i>	88	88	441	5800
29	<i>Al-'Ankabūt</i>	69	77	780	4145
30	<i>Al-Rūm</i>	60	70	817	3530
31	<i>Luqmān</i>	34	34	748	2100
32	<i>Al-Sajdah</i>	30	29	330	1518
33	<i>Al-Aḥzāb</i>	73	93	1282	5700
34	<i>Sabā'</i>	54	54	883	1512
35	<i>Al-Malā'ikah</i>	45	45	197	3130
36	<i>Yāsīn</i>	83	92	719	3000
37	<i>Al-Şaffāt</i>	182	181	860	3829
38	<i>Şād</i>	88	82	732	3066
39	<i>Al-Zumar</i>	75	92	1192	4000
40	<i>Al-Mu'mīn</i>	85	82	1199	4960
41	<i>Fuṣṣilat</i>	54	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
42	<i>Hāmīm 'Aynsīnqāf</i>	53	50	886	3588
43	<i>Al-Zukhruf</i>	89	87	833	3400
44	<i>Al-Dukhān</i>	59	59	346	1431
45	<i>Al-Jāthiyah</i>	37	36	644	2600
46	<i>Al-Aḥqāf</i>	35	32	644	2600
47	<i>Muḥammad</i>	38	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
48	<i>Al-Fath</i>	29	29	560	2400
49	<i>Al-Hujurat</i>	18	18	343	1476
50	<i>Qāf</i>	45	45	395	1490
51	<i>Al-Dhāriyat</i>	60	60	360	1287
52	<i>Al-Ṭūr</i>	49	48	812	1500
53	<i>Al-Najm</i>	62	60	300	1405
54	<i>Al-Qamar</i>	55	55	342	1403
55	<i>Al-Rahmān</i>	78	76	351	1636
56	<i>Al-Wāqī'ah</i>	96	99	878	1903
57	<i>Al-Ḥadīd</i>	29	29	544	2476
58	<i>Al-Mujādalah</i>	22	22	473	1992
59	<i>Al-Ḥashr</i>	24	24	745	1712
60	<i>Al-Mumtahānah</i>	13	13	348	1510
61	<i>Al-Şaf</i>	14	14	221	926
62	<i>Al-Jum'ah</i>	11	11	180	748
63	<i>Al-Munāfiqūn</i>	11	11	180	772
64	<i>Al-Taghābun</i>	18	18	241	1070

65	<i>Al-Ṭalāq</i>	12	11	247	1170
66	<i>Al-Taḥrīm</i>	12	13	249	1060
67	<i>Al-Mulk</i>	30	30	335	1313
68	<i>Nūn</i>	52	52	300	1256
69	<i>Al-Ḥāqqah</i>	52	50	256	1480
70	<i>Al-Ma'ārij</i>	44	44	216	861
71	<i>Nuḥ</i>	28	27	224	929
72	<i>Al-Jinn</i>	28	28	285	870
73	<i>Al-Muzammil</i>	20	19	285	838
74	<i>Al-Muddaththir</i>	56	56	255	1010
75	<i>Al-Qiyāmah</i>	40	39	99	652
76	<i>Al-Insān</i>	31	30	240	1054
77	<i>Al-Mursalāt</i>	50	50	181	816
78	<i>Al-Naba'</i>	40	40	130	690
79	<i>Al-Nāzi'āt</i>	46	45	173	953
80	<i>Al-A'mā</i>	42	40	133	533
81	<i>Idhā al-Shams kuwwirat</i>	29	29	104	533
82	<i>Al-Infiṭār</i>	19	19	80	107
83	<i>Al-Muṭaffifīn</i>	36	36	169	730
84	<i>Al-Inshiqāq</i>	25	23	109	730
85	<i>Al-Burūj</i>	22	22	109	438
86	<i>Al-Ṭāriq</i>	17	16	61	239
87	<i>Al-A'lā</i>	19	19	72	284
88	<i>Al-Ghāshiyah</i>	26	26	92	381
89	<i>Al-Fajr</i>	30	29	139	597
90	<i>Al-Balad</i>	20	20	82	320
91	<i>Al-Shamsh</i>	15	15	54	247
92	<i>Al-Layl</i>	21	21	71	320
93	<i>Al-Duḥā</i>	11	11	40	102
94	<i>Alam Nashrah</i>	8	8	27	103
95	<i>Al-Tīn</i>	8	8	34	150
96	<i>Al-'Alaq</i>	19	19	72	122
97	<i>Al-Qadr</i>	5	5	30	121
98	<i>Al-Bayyinah</i>	8	9	35	149
99	<i>Al-Zalzalah</i>	8	9	35	100
100	<i>Al-'Ādiyāt</i>	11	11	40	163
101	<i>Al-Qāri'ah</i>	11	8	36	152
102	<i>Al-Takāthur</i>	8	8	28	120
103	<i>Al-'Aşr</i>	3	3	14	68
104	<i>Al-Humazah</i>	9	9	84	161
105	<i>Al-Fīl</i>	5	5	23	76
106	<i>Quraysh</i>	4	4	17	73

107	<i>Al-Ma'ūn</i>	7	7	25	111
108	<i>Al-Kawthar</i>	3	3	10	42
109	<i>Al-Kāfirūn</i>	6	6	26	74
110	<i>Al-Naṣr</i>	3	3	23	77
111	<i>Abū Lahab</i>	5	5	23	77
112	<i>Al-Ikhlās</i>	4	4	15	47
113	<i>Al-Falaq</i>	5	5	23	69
114	<i>Al-Nās</i>	6	6	20	76

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