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THE ITQĀN AND ITS SOURCES--
A STUDY OF AL-ITQĀN FĪ 'ULŪM AL-QUR'ĀN BY
JALĀL AL-DĪN AL-SUYŪTĪ WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO AL-BURHĀN FĪ 'ULŪM AL-QUR'ĀN
BY BADR AL-DĪN AL-ZARKASHĪ.

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WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO

AL-BURHĀN FĪ ʿULŪM AL-QURʾĀN BY BADR AL-DĪN AL-ZARKASHĪ

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Kenneth Edward Nolin.
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VITA

Kenneth Edward Nolin, the son of William Wallace Nolin and Ruth Hemenway Nolin, was born in 1927, in Seattle, Washington. He grew up in Egypt, where his parents served as missionaries of the United Presbyterian Church. He attended the Schutz School for Missionary Children, Alexandria, Egypt, until evacuated with his parents in 1942, because of World War II, and completed his highschool work in the Vashon Island High School, near Seattle, Washington. He majored in English at Muskingum College, Ohio, receiving the B. A. degree in 1949. In 1952 he received the B. D. degree from the Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary, following which he began his ministry as Assistant Pastor of the Valley Community Church, Portland, Oregon. In 1954 he was appointed to overseas service under the Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations of the United Presbyterian Church, and after a year of preparatory study at the Hartford Seminary Foundation, under the guidance of Prof. A. Kenneth Cragg, completed two terms of service in Egypt, now called the United Arab Republic, 1955-60 and 1962-67. During this time his assignment within the U. A. R. was as Chaplain to the American Mission Hospital at Asyut, in Upper Egypt; besides this he also served, in the second term, as Director of the Near East Council of Churches Study Program on Islam. In succeeding furloughs he continued study in the field of Islamics at the Hartford Seminary Foundation, completing work for the M. A. degree in 1963, under Prof. Elmer E. Douglas.

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PREFACE

The author gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to many
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immeasurably--often without knowing it--in research on the _Itqān_.
May the thesis be another span in the bridge between the two worlds
represented here--Islamics scholars, and the scholars within Islam.

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CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND FOR DEPENDENCY

A. General Background

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī[1] represents the end of a process within Islam--the steady narrowing of traditionalism to the point that orthodoxy became equated with faithfulness in transmission. The early fervor of Islam, mirrored in the Qur'ān and in the lightning expansion of its people, was gradually hedged about by several layers of what was said about it. The new community of Islam had shattered the former tribal loyalties and standards, so jurists were forced to make analytical decisions based on the Qur'ān, or to look for extra-Qur'ānic illustrations from the life of the Prophet; thus the science of jurisprudence developed. Questions about worship and other ritual acts required more explicit answers than were to be found in the Qur'ān, so again these were sought in the Sunna, the "Way" of the Prophet. Early sectarian debates became the motivation for particular interpretations of Qur'ānic texts.

All this formed itself, over the early years of Islam, into a growing body of traditional material, beyond the Qur'ān, which expressed how the community of Islam defined its faith and life. By the beginning of the third century A. H., several Muslim scholars applied themselves to

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1. Died 910 A. H./A. D. 1505. See Section B for further biographical detail. Following this, the terms A. H. and A. D. will be omitted from dates. For an explanation about the relationship between the two calendar systems, see Appendix I, p. 125.

the task of sorting through this material, collecting and evaluating it in books entitled, significantly, ṣiḥāḥ (sing. ṣaḥīḥ), the "authentic" mind of early Islam.[2]

Within this general corpus of traditions were included opinions of early Muslim authorities about Qur'ānic texts. It was not long before these were isolated from the whole and Qur'ānic exegesis began to develop as an independent discipline. Interpretation of the Qur'ān had of course been one factor in all discussions within early Islam; jurists, for example, could not make legal decisions except as these were based on exegetical opinions about relevant Qur'ānic passages. But now these opinions were gathered into collections, in their own right. There were several early works—mentioned by al-Suyūṭī in his chapter on "Levels of Exegetes"[3]—but the real counterpart to al-Bukhārī in traditions came only in the monumental exegesis of al-Ṭabarī.[4] As the title of his book indicates, he intended to make a collection of earlier exegetical opinions,

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2. al-Bukhārī (d. 257/870) and Muslim (261/875) are the primary collections; others in the recognized six followed within the next half century: Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Māja, al-Nasā'ī.

3. Chap. 80, II, 187:1, Ṭabaqāt al-Mufassirīn. Page references to the Itqān are based on the Cairo edition of the Muṣṭafā al-Halabī Press, the 3rd printing, 1371/1951, and give volume, page and line in that text. See also al-Suyūṭī's full book with the same title, Meursinge, Albertus, ed., Sojuti Librum de Interpretibus Korani, Lugduni Batavorum: S. and J. Luchtmans, 1839. Some early collections named by al-Suyūṭī in the Itqān, II, 190:2, are: "Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, Wakīʿ b. al-Jarrāḥ, Shuʿba b. al-Ḥajjāj, Zayd b. Hārūn, ʿAbd al-Razzāq, Ādam b. Abī Iyās, Isḥāq b. Rāhūya, Rawḥ b. ʿIbād, ʿAbd b. Ḥumayd, Saʿīd, Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba, and others."

4. Abū Jaʿfar M. b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, d. 310/923. Jāmiʿ al-Bayān ʿan Ta'wīl Āy al-Qur'ān. The exegesis has been printed repeatedly; the most recent edition has the best critical apparatus; Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif Press, 1373/1952, 30 vols.

traced back by full chains of authorities, to the Prophet or those nearest to him.[5]

It should be noted that this pattern of coming to a climax in a single major author is not limited to the Traditions (al-Bukhārī, etc.) and Exegesis (al-Ṭabarī). Jurisprudence had already developed its major works. In the same period as al-Ṭabarī, the great al-Ashʿarī was laying the foundations for absolutism in dogmatic theology,[6] and less than two centuries later al-Ghazālī did the same for orthodox mysticism.[7] The summit in each area was reached, and Islamic scholarship fell into a pattern of looking backward, of transmitting what had been said by earlier authorities. The limitations of this narrowly conservative traditionalism became fixed within Islam, and even today Islam is struggling to free itself from them.

It was inevitable that, along with this process, a particular frame of mind would develop. The intangible yet very real "consensus" (ijmāʿ) of the community of Islam—actually, of its scholars—became the deciding factor in every discussion. The limits within which personal initiative could operate were increasingly narrowed, and subjected to the overwhelming pressure of what had been said in the past. Thus it need not come as any

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5. The "Companions" (ṣaḥāba, sing. ṣaḥābī) were those contemporaries of the Prophet closest to him and therefore the most reliable for transmitting his sayings. al-Suyūṭī lists the ten most important, starting at II, 187:1. The next level were the "Followers" (al-tābiʿūn), those closest, in turn, to each of the "Companions"; these are listed starting at 189:18.

6. d. 324/923.

7. d. 505/1111.

surprise that the personal creativity of al-Suyūṭī in his <u>Itqān</u> is almost

negligible, comparatively speaking. Coming at the end of this process, he

was a collector of earlier opinions, rather than a creative writer giving

his own analysis of Qur'ānic interpretation.

But the process within Qur'ānic studies needs to be explored further.

Now that the major corpus of exegetical material was available, develop-

ment was in the direction of increasing specialization. Men still took up

their pens to write exegesis, but concentrated on a selection of material

appropriate to their particular point of view.[8]   Specific branches of

Qur'ānic study were isolated and complete works written about each. For

example, some writers concentrated on the accepted canonical variations

for recitation of the Qur'ān.[9] Others wrote in depth about the miraculous

character (<u>i'jāz</u>) of the Qur'ān, using exegetical traditions about various

texts to illustrate this.[10] Some were more concerned with grammatical

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8. The <u>Itqān</u> gives several examples, starting at II, 190:14: "The gram-
marian...al-Zujāj, al-Wāḥidī, in <u>al-Basīṭ</u>, Abū Ḥayyān, in <u>al-Bahr wa</u>
'l-Nahr; those concerned with narratives...like al-Tha'labī; the
jurist...al-Qurṭubī; the theoretical scholar, like al-Imām Fakhr
al-Dīn, who has filled his exegesis with sayings of wise men, philo-
sophers and the like, and has gone gradually from one thing to another
until the reader is overwhelmed with amazement at how little relation
there is between what is said and the verse under discussion; the
innovating heretic...," giving the <u>Kashshāf</u> of al-Zamakhsharī as an
example.

9. I, 73:23: "The first one to write about the [variant] readings was
Abū 'Ubayd b. Sallām, then Aḥmad b. Jubayr al-Kūfī, then Ismā'īl b.
Isḥāq al-Mālikī, then Abū Ja'far b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, then Abū Bakr
M. b. Aḥmad b. 'Umar al-Dajūnī, then Abū Bakr Mujāhid."

10. II, 116:27 (II, 90). Parenthetical references of this type are to
parallel passages in al-Zarkashī, <u>al-Burhān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān</u>, Cairo:
'Isā al-Ḥalabī Press, 1376/1957.   See Part C of this chapter for fur-
ther explanation of relationship between this book and the <u>Itqān</u>. "Many

structure,[11] or with rhetoric as exemplified in the exalted style of

Qur'ānic Arabic.[12] Still others codified material about verses which

were abrogating or abrogated (al-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh),[13] so that the

community could know the legal validity of any particular verse. Some

collected traditions about the contextual situations within which vari-

ous verses were revealed (asbāb al-nuzūl).[14]

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specialized in writing about it, among them, al-Khaṭṭābī, al-Rummānī, al-Zamalkānī, al-Imām al-Rāzī, Ibn Surrāqa, al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī, about whom Ibn al-'Arabī has said, 'No one has written a book to compare with his'."

11. I, 179:28, Chap. 41, fī ma'rifat i'rābihī: "Many have specialized in writing about it, among them Makkī, in a book especially good about the problematic [verses] (al-mushkal); al-Hūfī, the clearest book; Abū 'l-Baqā' al-'Akbarī, the best known of them; al-Samīn, the most glorious of the books, despite the padding and unnecessary length; al-Safāqisī has abbreviated and edited it; the exegesis of Abū Hayyān is also filled with it." Other grammatical subjects, noted at random: I, 186:32 (IV, 24), Ibn al-Anbārī, about pronouns; II, 32:35 (II, 217), Ibn al-Jawzī, K. al-Nafīs, about forms of direct address; II, 131:19, Abū 'l-Hasan al-Māwardī, about Qur'ānic parables, etc.

12. II, 83:14, Chap. 58, badā'i' al-Qur'ān: "Ibn Abī 'l-Isba' has spe-cialized in writing about this, and has included a hundred chapters..." Other specific aspects of rhetoric: II, 42:3 (III, 414), on differ-ent types of simile, "Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Bindārī al-Baghdādī, in his book named al-Jumān;" II, 47:34, about certain kinds of metaphor, the kināya and ta'rīd, 'Badr al-Dīn b. Mālik, in al-Misbāh," etc.

13. II, 20:29 (II, 28), Chap. 47: "Authors beyond number have special-ized in writing about this, among them Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, Abū Ja'far al-Nahhās, Ibn al-Anbārī, Makkī Ibn al-'Arabī, and others."

14. I, 28:22 (I, 22), Chap. 9: "...the earliest of them is 'Alī b. al-Madīnī, the teacher of al-Bukhārī; the best known is the book of al-Wāhidī, despite its inadequacy; al-Ja'barī has abbreviated it, omitting its isnāds without adding anything to it; the Shaykh al-Islām Abū 'l-Faḍl b. Hajar wrote a book about it, but the original of it was lost, and I have not been able to obtain it. I have

As such, he also represents the basic attitude characteristic of the process. The reader of the _Itqān_ is constantly meeting phrases like "as all agree" (_ittifāqan_),[15] or "the scholars agree that... (_ajma' al-'ulamā' 'alā_...),[16] expressing the consensus to which the scholarly community had come, over the centuries. al-Suyūṭī evaluates the traditions he is quoting according to the accepted criteria of authenticity, based not on the intrinsic value of the material, but rather on the chain of authorities (literally, the "support," _isnād_).[17] He speaks highly of the early collectors of exegetical traditions, because "all their material was traced back at least to the Companions,"[18] and his strongest criticism is levelled at one exegesis which "does not base itself upon the patterns

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written a comprehensive, well-organized book on the subject, surpassing any book written on it; I have called it _Lubāb al-Nuqūl fī Asbāb al-Nuzūl_."

15. I, 29:29, 81:24, etc. The word, taken in isolation, might also mean "by chance," but in the context of al-Suyūṭī's material, must refer to the agreement of scholars.

16. I, 79:24, 48:12, _ajma' al-muslimūna 'alā_; 80:28, ..._ahl al-'ilm_; 150:35, ..._al-qurrā'_; II, 148:16, ..._al-mufassirūn_; 175:21, 190:29, ..._al-'ulamā'_; or often with the verb only implied: I, 62:4, _fa jumhūr al-'ulamā' 'alā_; 161:36, _al-aktharūna 'alā khilāfihi_.

17. Several terms are used: I, 16:31, 18:34, _bi sanadin ṣaḥīḥ_, "authentic"; 13:15, 46:36, ..._jayyid_, "excellent"; 60:29, ..._ḥasan_, "good"; 32:20, 31, ..._ḍa'īf_, "weak"; 58:11, 17, ..._munqaṭi'_, "broken," meaning that some consecutive men were not contemporary; 54:31, ..._mankar_, "rejected"; 52:19, II, 151:16, _mawḍū'_, "invented." Other terms describe the kind of isnād: I, 54:25, 29, 35, _marfū'_, "raised" to the Prophet himself; II, 54:9, 16, 19, _mawqūf_, traced back to one of the Companions; I, 31:29, II, 153:20, _mursal_, to a Follower, or from one of the Followers to the Prophet, without mentioning the Companion between them.

18. II, 190:6; see also note 5.

of those faithful to tradition and transmission (ahl al-athar wa 'l-naql)."[19]

al-Suyūṭī's major extant work in exegesis also demonstrates his particular genius for pure transmission.[20] A modern Egyptian writer describes it as "the one book (of orthodox exegesis) limited exclusively to transmitted traditions of exegesis."[21] The final section of the Itqān is another similar collection, on a smaller scale, giving "all that is transmitted from the Prophet, other than traditions about 'occasions of revelation'."[22] These are given here as examples of how important the idea of transmitted knowledge was for al-Suyūṭī; it is this basic approach to learning that is carried over from the field of traditions to become normative for the whole Itqān.

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19. II, 180:18.

20. al-Durr al-Manthūr fī 'l-Tafsīr al-Ma'thūr. Cairo, 1314 (6 vols.). Brockelmann, GAL II, 145 and GALS II, 179, No. 2 in each case, lists this as a variation of another title, Tarjumān al-Qur'ān. See also note 22.

21. M. Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī. al-Tafsīr wa 'l-Mufassirūn. Cairo, 1961, I, 254. The discussion of al-Durr starts at p. 251.

22. II, 190:35, to end of the book. See also note 55. Other major works of exegesis mentioned in the Itqān were either never completed, or lost: I, 190:33, Majmaʿ al-Baḥrayn wa Maṭlaʿ al-Badrayn, "the book for which I made this (the Itqān) an introduction;" and II, 183:30, Tarjumān al-Qur'ān, a collection of all traditions traced back to the Prophet or any of the Companions, perhaps appearing under the other title, al-Durr al-Manthūr..., as suggested by Brockelmann (see note 20). The difference between it and the final collection of the Itqān may be that the latter traces isnāds only to the Prophet, while the Tarmumān/al-Durr exegesis includes those traced to the Companions. al-Suyūṭī also completed the exegesis of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī, after his death in 791. The latter had done the exegesis for the last half of the Qur'ān, starting with Sūrat al-Kahf (18), and had started with the first sūra, al-Fātiḥa, before he died.

B. The _Itqān_ and its Sources

1. The Author

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī includes a brief resume of his own life in his discussion of other scholars of his day, in _Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara fī Akh-bār Miṣr wa 'l-Qāhira._[23] This account has been used as a basic source for all later studies of al-Suyūṭī.[24] The place name refers to an ancient town in Upper Egypt,[25] with the modern pronunciation of Asyūṭ, suggesting

al-Suyūṭī wrote the intervening sections, from al-Baqara (2) through al-Isrāʾ (17), and the exegesis has become known as that of the "two Jalāls," (Tafsīr al-Jalālayn); it is probably the most-used single-volume commentary today. See al-Dhahabī, op. cit., I, 334ff, and Brockelmann, GAL II, 145, No. 6 and GALS II, 179.

23. Cairo: Idārat al-Waṭan, 1299, I, 188-195. The same text is repro-duced in Meursinge, Albertus, ed., Sojuti Librum de Interpretibus Koran (al-Suyūṭī's Ṭabaqāt al-Mufassirīn), Lugduni Batavorum: S. and J. Luchtman, 1839, pp. 4-12. Both references will be given for material from Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara, the page numbers of the Meursinge text appearing in parentheses. The full name for al-Suyūṭī is given there as: Abū 'l-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Kamāl Abī Bakr b. Nāṣir al-Dīn M. b. Sābiq al-Dīn Abī Bakr b. al-Fakhr ʿUthmān b. Nāṣir al-Dīn M. b. Sayf al-Dīn Khiḍr b. Najm al-Dīn Abī 'l-Ṣalāḥ Ayyūb b. Nāṣir al-Dīn M. b. al-Shaykh Humām al-Dīn al-Khuḍayrī al-Asyūṭī. (Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara, I, 188 (p. 4).

24. Brockelmann, GAL, II, 134-5. Encyclopaedia of Islam, IV, 573. Hitti, Philip, ed., as-Suyūṭī's Who's Who in the Fifteenth Century, (Naẓm al-ʿIqyān fī Iʿyān al-Aʿyān), 1927, Introduction, pp. kh-ṣ. al-Suyūṭī, al-Muzhir fī ʿUlūm al-Lugha, Cairo: ʿIsā al-Ḥalabī, n. d. (1st print-ing), the biographical sketch at the end of Vol. II, 640-651. M. Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, the unpublished first draft of a new Itqān edition, Cairo: al-Mashhad al-Ḥusaynī Press, Introduction, pp. 3-11, used by permission of the editor.

25. Located at a strategic point in the Nile Valley, where the hills of the Western desert curve sharply in toward the river and make a nar-row passageway in the north-south route, the town has been an impor-tant site for military and trade purposes from earliest times. The large mound on which the older quarter of the city still rises above the surrounding countryside, is mute testimony to the history lying buried there. Ancient Egyptian graves of only minor significance are found in caves part-way up the steep hills to the west.

that the name should actually read, "al-Asyūṭī."[26] However, it is the

shortened form which has become universally used, by Muslim as well as

Western sources.[27] Jalāl al-Dīn himself never lived at Asyūṭ, but much

of his family before him was active there, in government positions or as

merchants. They had shown interest in support of education, but only his

father had actually served in the field of learning; he was a Sufi leader

and teacher at a school connected to the Shaykhūnīya mosque in Cairo.

Since he died a few years after Jalāl al-Dīn's birth,[28] the boy was

raised by a friend of the father. He had memorized the Qur'ān before

completing eight years of age,[29] and while studying with a succession of

teachers, he very soon began his own career of teaching and writing.[30]

al-Suyūṭī set high goals for himself in the field of scholarship.

While on pilgrimage to Makka he made a pledge at the waters of Zam-Zam,

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26. Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara, I, 188 (p. 4), has al-Asyūṭī; the same form of the
 name appears in the material in Meursinge, op. cit., p. 21, from al-
 Sakhāwī, al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'. However, in the
 edition of the latter published in Cairo, al-Qudsī Press, 1353-4,
 IV, 65, it is the shortened form which appears.

27. See Ibn Khallikān's K. Wafīyāt al-A'yān, tr. by de Slane, MacGuchin,
 as Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary, Paris: Oriental Trans-
 lation Fund, 1843. The two forms for the town's name are frequently
 mentioned in connection with other men from there, and it would seem
 that the ancient pronunciation was Usyūṭ, rather than the modern
 Asyūṭ. Vol. II, p. 329 gives Suyūṭ as the first choice; IV, 151
 mentions Usyūṭ as the preferred reading. In each case the respec-
 tive alternative is given.

28. al-Suyūṭī's birth date is 849/1445; his father died in 855/1451.
 Brockelmann, GAL II, 134.

29. Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara, I, 133 (p. 5).

30. Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara names the following: Shihāb al-Dīn al-Shārmasāḥī,
 'Alam al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Manāwī, Taqī al-Dīn al-
 Shurmānī, Muḥy al-Dīn al-Kāfījī, Sayf al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī.

that he would reach the proficiency of Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī in

Jurisprudence, and that of Ibn Ḥajar in Traditions. After describing

the incident, he goes on to show that his achievements excelled even

the above goals. He says:

> I have been endowed with profound understanding in
> seven different sciences: exegesis, tradition, jurispru-
> dence, grammar, word meanings, evidences, and eloquence,
> according to the way of the Arabs...; and I believe that
> what I have attained in these seven sciences, except for
> jurisprudence, and the transmitted material I have read in
> them, has not been reached by anyone else, among my teach-
> ers or other than them. As for jurisprudence, I do not
> say that about it, because my teacher is more widely read
> and has a fuller understanding.[31]

Over the years this air of self-confidence developed into a firm

conviction that he was the one sent by God to be the reviver of Islam in

the ninth Muslim century.[32] A tradition has the Prophet assure his

people that a leader will be sent to bring revival to the community of

Islam at the turn of each century. Hitti traces the growth of the idea

in al-Suyūṭī's writing, from a subtle hint in Ḥusn al-Muhādara, [33]

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31. Ibid., I, 190 (p. 6).

32. The fullest treatment is in Hitti, op. cit, pp. s-ṭ   See also
    Goldziher, Gelāl ud-Dīn us-Sujūṭi's und seiner literarischen
    Thatigkeit, Wien, 1871. Brockelmann, GALS, II, 178, makes a brief
    reference to the subject.

33. I, 183. The last name in a chapter about al-a'imma 'l-mujtahidīn
    is Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī. al-Suyūṭī, in commenting on whether
    or not this man was the sent one for the eighth century, gives
    several opinions, then adds, "It is of interest to note that most
    of those sent to the nation [of Islam] at the head of each century
    were Egyptians--'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, of the first century, al-
    Shāfi'ī, in the second, Ibn Daqīq al-'Īd, in the seventh, al-Bulqīnī
    (the man under discussion), in the eighth. Would that the one sent
    at the beginning of the ninth century is also from among the people
    of Egypt!"

to a pamphlet written on the subject in which he "hopes" to be the sent one,[34] and finally, a confident, even arrogant defiance against any who would challenge his claim.[35]

This attitude could only lead to friction between al-Suyūṭī and his colleagues; one of these, al-Sakhāwī, writes of him with intense resentment and harsh accusations,[36] despite the fact that at one time he had written very highly of al-Suyūṭī when he was a student of his.[37] Nor was

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34. Risāla fī man yab'athu 'llāhu li hādhihi 'l-umma 'alā ra's kulli mi'at sanatin, p. 11, referred to by Hitti, op. cit., p. sh, and Goldziher, op. cit., p. 11. "I hope in the mercies of God and His graciousness, just as al-Ghazālī hoped for the same for himself, that I am the one sent at the head of this ninth century." He continues then by giving the achievements which made him uniquely qualified for the honor.

35. al-Kashf 'an mujāwazat hadhihi 'l-umma 'l-alaf, pp. 12, 13, mentioned by Hitti, op. cit., p. sh.

36. al-Sakhāwī, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Salām, al-Daw' al-Lāmi' li Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi', Cairo: al-Qudsī Press, 1353, IV, 65-70. The same material is reproduced in Meursinge, op. cit., pp. 21-26. al-Sakhāwī accuses al-Suyūṭī of taking and copying material from the books of his own library, and of the Maḥmūdīya Library. He speaks with disdain of the 300 books claimed by al-Suyūṭī, saying that some were "no more than a page, and many were less than a copybook in length," ibid, IV, 68 (p. 23). He objects to al-Suyūṭī's audacity in writing "a book about [variant] readings, despite his admission that he had no teacher in it." Specific books which al-Suyūṭī reproduced as his own are mentioned, after which al-Sakhāwī adds, "And oh, that he had simply copied them as they were, and not ruined them! If he had simply copied them as they were, it would have been more helpful." Terms used about al-Suyūṭī are particularly insulting: one incident "proves his stupidity, no even that he was demented," ibid.,IV, 69 (p. 25).

37. al-Sakhāwī, writing about al-Suyūṭī's father in al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk, p. 357, mentioned by Hitti, op. cit., p. z, said, "He was the father of the illustrious Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, one of the most faithful in attendance at my lectures. He has written praise of me in both prose and poetry. May God prosper him."

al-Sakhāwī the only one with whom al-Suyūṭī came into conflict.[38] Evidence for further arguments can be seen in al-Suyūṭī's own discussion of various colleagues.[39] Some of al-Suyūṭī's books are severe answers against those who attacked him, often accusing them of the same plagiarizing of which they thought him guilty.[40]

It is no surprise, in this atmosphere, that the later life of al-Suyūṭī was marred by an unfortunate incident, his dismissal from a teaching post at the important Baybarasīya mosque school. The facts are not altogether clear. Hitti suggests that in 902/1496, al-Suyūṭī was appointed by the Caliph to a position as supreme judge, with responsibility for appointing or discharging other judicial officers in all the

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38. M. Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, op. cit., (note 25), p. 6, mentions the following: Burhān al-Dīn b. Zayn al-Dīn, known as al-Karkī; Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Makkī, known as Ibn al ʿUlayf; Aḥmad b. M. al-Qasṭalānī.

39. Hitti, op. cit., mentions the following: pp. 20-21, about Ibn Zāhira, a judge at Makka. Apparently he had been an associate of al-Suyūṭī's father, and therefore expected the son to be subservient to him. al-Suyūṭī tells of attending a lecture by Ibn Zāhir on al-Bukhārī, upon which he began to speak about the virtue of humility, and to criticize the proud. al-Suyūṭī, realizing that this was aimed at himself, began to question the teacher about certain traditions he had been discussing, and, according to his own account, was able to silence Ibn Zāhira. The conflict became so intense that when al-Suyūṭī left Makka, he did not bid his rival farewell. See also p. 27, about al-Nājī; p. 44, al-Shārmasāḥī; p. 152, al-Sakhāwī.

40. al-Muzhir, II, 649.   The answer to al-Sakhāwī was entitled Maqāmāt al-Kāwī ʿalā Tārīkh al-Sakhāwī, of which a manuscript is found in the Dār al-Kutub Library, No. 1512. The same book is mentioned by al-Sakhāwī, op. cit., (note 36), IV, 70 (Meursinge, p. 26). Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, op. cit., p. 6, mentions the following: al-Jawāb al-Zakī ʿan Qumāmat al-Karkī; al-Qawl al-Mujmal fī 'l-Radd ʿalā 'l-Muhmal wa 'l-Ṣāram al-Hindī fī ʿUnuq b. al-Karkī.

governates of Islam, and that in this position he drastically reduced
funds provided for the maintenance of some Sufis at the Baybarasīya
school.[41] Other accounts mention only some argument about funds, per-
haps an accusation of irregularity on the part of al-Suyūṭī.[42] Since
it was an uprising against him which caused the trouble, the former
analysis seems the most plausible. One cannot help but wonder if the
only serious weakness al-Suyūṭī confessed--in mathematics--was also his
downfall.[43]

In any case, the situation was serious enough that the Mamlūk
Sultan Ṭūmān Bey had to intervene,[44] and after the investigation
al-Suyūṭī was discharged from his position (or forced to resign, in some
accounts). All agree that he retired to seclusion in his house on Rawḍa
Island, Cairo, in the year 906/1501, refusing to come out again even
when, at the death of al-Bilbaysī in 909/1503, the man who had been
appointed to replace him,[45] he was offered the same teaching post.

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41. Hitti, op. cit., p. dh, based on an account by a student of al-
    Suyūṭī, Ibn Iyās, in his Tārīkh Miṣr, II, 307.

42. Brockelmann, GAL, II, 135.

43. Ḥusn al-Muhāḍara, I, 190 (p. 6). "As for mathematics, it is the
    most difficult thing for me, and the most remote from my mind.
    If I study any problem related to it, it is as if I were trying to
    carry a mountain." al-Sakhāwī, op. cit., IV, 67 (p. 23),includes
    this to show his disdain for al-Suyūṭī.

44. Hitti, op. cit., p. r, from Ibn Iyās, op. cit., II, 339.

45. al-Sakhāwī, as in Meursinge, p. 26 (the passage does not appear in
    the other text of al-Sakhāwī's work), reports that when certain
    princes came to visit al-Suyūṭī in his home, he refused to stand up
    to greet them; the incident may well have been in connection with
    attempts to convince him about reinstatement in his position.

He remained in seclusion, concentrating on his own writing, until his death in 911/1505.[46]

Some writers prefer to pass lightly over the unpleasant aspects related to al-Suyūṭī's withdrawal from public life, suggesting that it was his own decision to retire, in order that he could devote the rest of his life to prayer, and to his own writing.[47] But from what is known about the violent arguments which surrounded al-Suyūṭī all his life, it would seem that there must be some truth in the unfortunate incident described above. al-Suyūṭī's tomb in Cairo is still revered and visited by people of the surrounding area for blessings to be obtained from it, and for making vows to "Sīdī Jalāl." Another tomb is likewise visited in Asyūṭ, erroneously.[48]

2. The Book

al-Suyūṭī was an unbelievably prolific writer. The list of his books appears in various forms, with the total number of titles ranging

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46. Brockelmann, GAL, II, 135.

47. al-Muzhir, II, 650. "He is described as a man of simple tastes, content with whatever substance he had, with no desire for position or power...When he sensed old age and weakness he fled from giving judicial opinions and teaching, and withdrew from people in his home at al-Rawḍa, to concentrate on worship and writing." See also Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, op. cit., p. 6. One of his books is entitled: al-Tanfīs ‘an al-Fityā wa 'l-Tadrīs, mentioned by Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. The same book is listed in Fluegel, op. cit., No. 115, al-Tanfīs fī 'l-I‘tidhār ‘an Tark al-Iftā’ wa 'l-Tadrīs.

48. Hitti, op. cit., p. r, mentions the two graves.

from about three hundred, in one of al-Suyūṭī's own lists, to as many

as six hundred, in that of his student, Ibn Iyās.[49] The editor of the

Muzhir expresses amazement at the number of books, but explains that it

might be possible, considering how many of them are very brief.[50] Others

preferred to explain the number by saying that al-Suyūṭī took over

other men's work for his own.[51] And yet, even if some consideration is

given to each of these explanations, they cannot detract from the picture

of al-Suyūṭī which emerges--of an incredibly active and capable author

whose writings reached across the whole range of Muslim scholarship.

Because of this, the Itqān stands as the epitome of al-Suyūṭī's

labor. His goal had been to master all fields of learning; the Itqān

in an encyclopaedic work which brings this to fulfillment in a single

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49. al-Suyūṭī's list of the above number is given in Ḥusn al-Muḥādara,
I, 190-5 (pp. 7-12). He adds, "besides what were discarded," so
this may explain the wide divergence of numbers in the different
lists. Brockelmann, GAL, II, 145-159, gives 336 titles, and GALS,
II, 178-198, 333 titles. See also the list of 504 titles in
Fluegel, Gustavus, ed., Lexicon Bibliographicum et Encyclopaedicum
a Mustafa Ben Abdalla, Kātib Jalebi, known as Hajji Khalfa, London:
Oriental Translation Fund, 1852, VI, 666-679, based on a list of
al-Suyūṭī in a Paris manuscript. See the reference to this and to
another, earlier form of the same list, also by Fluegel, with 500
titles, in Brockelmann, GAL, II, 145. Ibn Iyās gives his list of
over 600 titles in his Tārīkh Miṣr, mentioned by Hitti, op. cit.,
p. kh, and al-Muzhir, II, 647.

50. al-Muzhir, II, 649. See also some insignificant subjects appearing
in some titles, as in Hitti, op. cit., p. kh, and the Encyclopaedia
of Islam article on al-Suyūṭī, IV, 573. Further considerations can
modify the total number in Fluegel's list: many titles are marked
"not completed" (Nos. 63, 139, 142, 224, etc.), others are only
partially written (144, 258, 143, 107), and some are commentaries
on the immediately preceeding books in the same list. Moreover,
seven of the books (346-52) are subdivisions of No. 345.

51. See the comments of al-Sakhāwī, note 37.

volume. It was completed not later than 883,[52] so cannot be the last

book which he wrote; many others must have come from his pen during the

final years of seclusion. Nonetheless, by its very nature it represents

the culmination of his life's work. The only comparable book, the Muzhir,

is similarly comprehensive in the field of the Arabic language.[53]

It is also representative of al-Suyūṭī's life that the work is a

collection of what earlier men had said, not an original effort. In this,

al-Suyūṭī was a man of his time. Creative initiative, within the process

of transmission described earlier, was quite limited. Hitti is right in

applying his description of the period to al-Suyūṭī himself:

> al-Suyūṭī flourished...in the middle Mamluk period. It
> was an era of collecting, of writing glosses and commentary,
> not of inventiveness or deductive reasoning. Thus the life of
> al-Suyūṭī came as the finest example of the scholarly life in
> that era. His prolific writings, encyclopaedic in their subject
> matter and vast extent, can be considered the epitome of Islamic
> sciences in the fifteenth century. The genius of al-Suyūṭī,
> never at rest, left no subject whatsoever in the field of
> knowledge, without dealing with it.[54]

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52. The basic manuscript used for comparison with the printed text of
the Itqān is No. 163, of the Arab League Manuscript Dept., Cairo. It
was obtained originally from the Aṣafīya Library, Hyderabad, India,
and was written by a student of al-Suyūṭī, Jarāmard al-Nāṣirī. The
manuscript has the written approval of al-Suyūṭī on its final page,
in his own handwriting, and the above date. This text will appear
as (H); No. 124, tafsīr, of the Azhar Library, Cairo, copied in the
year 1073, is indicated as (A). The printed text used is not the
best, but perhaps the most common, Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Ḥalabī Press
(3rd printing), 1370/1951.

53. al-Suyūṭī, in his al-Radd ‘alā man akhlada fi 'l-ard wa jahala ann
al-ijtihād fī kulli ‘aṣrin fard, mentioned by Hitti, op. cit., pp.
s-sh, claimed he had invented a whole new science for bases of
language, probably referring to the Muzhir.

54. Op. cit., p. kh. The translation is original here.

3. The Sources

Thus, to understand the _Itqān_, it is necessary to look at the earlier sources used by al-Suyūṭī in it. In order to determine the authors quoted, and the extent of material used from them, a careful survey was made of the actual body of the _Itqān_, excluding only the Introduction and the final collection of exegetical traditions.[55] This includes some 380 pages, with 13,398 lines of printed text. Of these, 8,415 (62%), or the equivalent of about 239 pages, is attributed by name to other authors and books. A total of 412 authors are mentioned, and well over 450 book titles.[56] Some authors are mentioned only briefly, but others for the equivalent of anywhere from three to fifteen pages of al-Suyūṭī's text, in the printed edition used.[57]

Even this is not the full picture. al-Suyūṭī also includes much material with various anonymous formulae, "It has been said" (_qīla_), "some of them have said" (_qāla baʻḍuhum_), or "someone else has said" (_qāla ghayruhu_). Though this is not always easy to measure, it amounts to at least 844 lines of the printed text. And as will be seen in the

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55. I, through 8:22, and II, 191 to the end. Both sections were omitted because not representative of the main text: the Introduction, in that it includes an extensive bibliography, the texts of which do not necessarily appear in the body of the _Itqān_; and the final section, because it includes nothing but traditions, and would give an unbalanced picture if added to the rest of the _Itqān_.

56. The complete list of authors and books appear as Appendix I, Part A, with cross references where identification has been possible. Many books also appear there with a description rather than a title; these are not included in the number above.

57. See the authors quoted most frequently, listed in Appendix I, Part B.

more intensive study of dependency upon the Burhān of al-Zarkashī, much

of this anonymous material comes directly from that source, and there-

fore, presumably, also from other books. Moreover, if the results of

the Burhān comparisons are valid for application to al-Suyūṭī's use of

sources generally, it can be assumed that material appearing even without

the anonymous credit is often dependent. One of the curious facts that

must be faced later is that al-Suyūṭī, who at one point insisted that he

never quoted any material without giving credit to the author who first

said it,[58] is found to have done quite the opposite in the Itqān, his

major work.

One other modification of the above totals should be noted. The

authors listed include only what can conceivably be called "written"

cources, in distinction from early Muslim authorities whose names appear

in tradition isnads. Thus a traditionist, like al-Bukhārī, for example,

has been included because al-Suyūṭī used his written collection; but the

names mentioned by al-Bukhārī in any particular isnād, such as early

Companions--Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ibn ‘Abbās, etc.—or even men who appear as later

links in the isnād sequence, are excluded from the list. If these had

also been included, the total number of names mentioned by al-Suyūṭī

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58. al-Muzhir, II, 319. In a section on the importance of giving credit
    for learning to the scholar who said it originally, al-Suyūṭī
    gives some traditions supporting this, after which he adds, "For
    this reason you will not see me mention in any of my books even
    a single word, without acknowledging the scholar who said it,
    making clear in which of his books he mentioned it." A brief refer-
    ence to the same remark is also made by Brockelmann, GALS, II, 178.

would have been perhaps double the above. At the same time, to exclude them does not change figures for extent of quoted material from any of the written sources, since the names of these early Muslim authorities appear within lines already credited to these.

As will be noted later in more detail, the sources fall into two general categories: books of traditions, and those which, for want of a better term, can be called books of "analysis." The former depend almost entirely upon transmission of earlier material, merely collected and arranged by the traditionist. The latter type of book, though it must make use of traditions, involves more of its author's own thinking and analysis of some particular subject. This distinction will be examined more carefully at a later stage.[59] For now it is enough to note , how heavily overbalanced the list of sources is in favor of the first, or traditionist-type authors.[60] It is this area which can be considered al-Suyūṭī's specialty, and in which his particular genius for transmitted knowledge could be most effective.[61] It can also be said that in this area al-Suyūṭī was more careful to give credit, and at least a

59. See Chap. II, Part D.

60. See Appendix I, Part B.

61. Most of the quarrels in which al-Suyūṭī was involved concerned traditions and their isnāds. al-Suyūṭī records the first instance of this when he was still a student and could not accept the statement of his teacher, Taqī al-Dīn al-Sumannī, that a certain tradition had come from Ibn Māja. He went home and read that collection through completely without finding the tradition. To make sure, he read through it a second and third time, with the same result. When he told his teacher, his word was accepted immediately, and the lecture notes changes to read Ibn Qāni' (or Ibn Nāfi'). Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara, I, 189 (p. 5). See also the arguments listed in note 39.

rudimentary isnād.[62] Further dependent material, beyond the total

listed here, and appearing anonymously in the Itqān, would therefore

be almost invariably of the second type, the books of "analysis."

C. The Itqān and the Burhān

    1. al-Zarkashī and his Burhān

The life of al-Suyūṭī has been described in some detail because

an understanding of it is basic to any analysis of the Itqān and its

sources. As the focus now turns to one particular book from among the

written sources, there will be no need to delve as deeply into the life

of its author. Like al-Suyūṭī, al-Zarkashī was a scholar of the Mamlūk

period, living a little more than a century earlier.[63] The Mamlūk slave

dynasty had done its best to attract the loyalty of the Muslim world—

a puppet ʻAbbasid Caliphate had been set up; mosques, schools were built

and endowed. Some of the leading Sultans—Baybars, of the Burji Dynasty

(1260-1277), and Qāʼit-Bāy of the Bahrī succession, who ruled during

much of al-Suyūṭī's active life (1468-1495),—were benevolent patrons

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62. Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, op. cit., p. 10, faults al-Suyūṭī for includ-
ing weak traditions in the Itqān, but adds that he always states
that they are weak, and not to be given much weight as evidence.
The Itqān only rarely gives more than a minimum isnād reference;
some longer ones are seen at I, 22:19, 23:23, 150:5, etc.

63. 745/1344-794/1390. M. Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm is responsible for the
excellent modern edition, printed at the ʻĪsā 'l-Ḥalabī Press,
1376/1957. The full name is given in the editor's introduction as
Badr al-Dīn M. b. ʻAbdillāh b. Bahādur al-Zarkashī. See also the
same in Brockelmann, GAL, II, 112, and GALS, II, 108. The text of
the Burhān (I, 3) gives a slightly different form, Abū ʻAbdillāh
Badr al-Dīn b. ʻAbdillāh...

of architecture and learning. Even the turmoil of this period in Egypt
was relative stability when compared to other parts of the Muslim world,
ravaged first by the Mongul invasion, and then that of the Ottoman Turks.
Other centers for Muslim scholarship were gradually replaced by Cairo;
it is one of the ironies of history that the regime of slaves, noted
primarily for their cruelty and violence, should also have been the means
for preserving Islamic learning during this time.[64]

al-Zarkashī, though also a prolific writer, can hardly be compared
to al-Suyūṭī. The Burhān introduction lists thirty-three books, some
of which have been lost.[65] Also unlike al-Suyūṭī, al-Zarkashī did not
have the colorful personality which attracted students--or enemies. He
was naturally reserved, spending most of the time in his home or in the
bookstores, where he would sit for hours taking notes.[66] His books were
written in his own handwriting, which was apparently atrocious,[67] and this
joined the other factors in destining al-Zarkashī and his books to rela-
tive obscurity.

64. Dodge, Bayard. al-Azhar. Washington: Middle East Institute, 1961,
    pp. 55ff. Hitti, op. cit., and The History of the Arabs. London:
    MacMillan, 1937, p. 683ff. Sell, Edward. The Ayyub and Mamluk
    Sultans. Madras: Diocesan Press, 1929.

65. The Burhān, I, 5-12. Brockelmann, GAL, I, 122, lists 22 titles.

66. Ibid., I, 4.

67. Ibid., I, 5.

2. al-Suyūṭī's Admission of Dependency

It is time now to examine the special problem of Itqān dependency on al-Zarkashī's Burhān. al-Suyūṭī himself sets the stage in his introduction to the Itqān. He tells how he had felt the need for a comprehensive work in the area of the Qur'ānic sciences, similar to what had already been done in the science of Traditions.[68] He had examined other works of this kind, but was dissatisfied with them.[69] Therefore he had written his own work, al-Taḥbīr fī 'Ulūm al-Tafsīr, for which he then describes 102 chapter titles,[70] and concludes, "This is the

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68. I, 3:3.

69. I, 3:5. The first was a small work (no title given) by Muḥy al-Dīn al-Kāfījī, about which al-Suyūṭī comments, "it did not heal my thirst, nor show a way to my goal." 3:8, 33, Mawāqi' al-'Ulūm min Mawāqi' al-Nujūm, by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī (for which Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, op. cit., p. 8, names another author, Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Umar b. Raslān al-'Asqalānī). al-Suyūṭī comments on how insignificant this book was by giving a quotation from Ibn al-Athīr (al-Nihāya), "Anyone who is a pioneer in his subject, or is innovating in what no one else has tried, will start in a small way, and only later expand..."

70. I, 4:6ff. Brockelmann, GAL, II, 145, No. 6, refers to the following manuscript: Leid. 1693; at GALS,II, 180, No. 7, he mentions: Jer. Khāl 6, 37. Two further manuscripts not listed there have been obtained for this study, Nos. 4655 and 5112, from the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ireland. The two manuscripts listed by this title in the Azhar Library, Cairo (Nos. 269, in the Ṣa'āyda branch, and No. 409, a copy of it, in the main library), are incorrectly titled, and are actually copies of the Itqān. The Encyclopaedia of Islam article on al-Suyūṭī, IV, 573, refers erroneously to al-Takhbīr, and this is the form which appears in Fluegel's list, op. cit. (note 50), p. 667, title No. 11. Manuscript (H) of the Itqān, as well as the two of the Taḥbīr, make it clear that this is the correct form for the title.

end of the outline of material in the <u>Tahbīr</u>. The book was completed, praise be to God, in the year seventy-two."[71]

It was only after completion of the <u>Tahbīr</u> that al-Suyūṭī learned of al-Zarkashī's <u>Burhān</u>. He describes his feelings in these words:

> As I was considering myself alone in this field, the first one to make a profound study of it, lo, one man was suddenly pushed forward, and the other displaced. It came to my attention that al-Shaykh al-Imām Badr al-Dīn M. b. ʿAbdillāh al-Zarkashī, one of our more recent scholars of the Shāfiʿite rite, had written a comprehensive book in this field, entitled <u>al-Burhān fī ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān</u>. I searched until I was able to find it.[72]

After quoting at some length from al-Zarkashī's introduction, and giving his chapter outline, al-Suyūṭī goes on to say that he "was filled with joy, and praised God greatly." He determined to carry through with what he had intended to do before this, that is, write a similarly comprehensive compendium of Qurʾānic sciences. The <u>Itqān</u> was the result, "with chapters arranged more appropriately than in the <u>Burhān</u>, combining some chapters and expanding others."[73] His introduction is then brought to a close with a list of chapter headings for the <u>Itqān</u>, and a bibliography of books which he consulted in writing it, divided into various categories.[74]

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71. I, 5:2. The date is soon after al-Suyūṭī's first important appointment, in 871/1466, to the position previously held by his father, at the Shaykhūnīya mosque school. His age was no more than twenty-two at the time.

72. I, 5:4-6.

73. I, 6:2.

74. I, 7:11ff.

This preliminary admission of a limited dependency upon the Burhān is further supported by implications within the Itqān itself. These will be studied in detail later; here it can be noted in brief that the inclusion of al-Zarkashī's name may imply a far wider dependency than the actual material quoted. At one point, al-Zarkashī's name is given as part of the title of a major subdivision, in which many other authors are also quoted, exactly as in the Burhān.[75] It may be that al-Suyūṭī expected his reader to understand that the entire section, including these quotations from other authors, is from the Burhān. Unfortunately, this is not altogether clear for anyone not having the Burhān parallel at hand, and a reader might well assume that the other quotations are directly from the authors named. Also, in a similar extended sequence of material from the Burhān, al-Suyūṭī would seem to have deliberately obscured the fact that all of it is from the Burhān.[76]

Wherever al-Suyūṭī has used an anonymous formula, when the material is, in fact, from the Burhān, it would seem to mean he is purposely concealing the extent of his dependency. The same is also true of

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75. II, 29:5, to the end of p. 30 (II, 54ff, IV, 74ff, II, 46ff). See also II, 182:6-183:1 (II, 164, 294ff), where the sign for "the end" (a. h.) is given to mark the conclusion of material from the Burhān.

76. II, 174:11-175:1 (I, 14-16). al-Zarkashī is named at the outset, but at line 14 al-Suyūṭī breaks into the sequence by inserting a new subdivision (faṣl) and an anonymous formula, "Some of them have said." See also II, 179:9-180:15 (II, 157ff).

material appearing even without this formula. And yet, if this were his major concern, al-Zarkashī's name need not have been included at all. Thus the frequent reference to him, often in extended sequences like those noted above, must weigh heavily on the side of _admitted_ dependence. In any case, there is a kind of naivete about the way the name is included at times and omitted at others, which cannot argue for purposeful concealment of the relationship to the _Burhān_.[77]

3. The Extent of Dependency

It soon becomes clear that al-Suyūṭī's dependency on the _Burhān_ is far more extensive than would be implied from what he says in his

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77. At some points al-Suyūṭī may also be admitting that he has quoted another author by way of the _Burhān_ of al-Zarkashī. The words "...said in the _Burhān_" are used with several names: al-Kirmānī, at I, 62:17 (I, 259) and II, 114:34; al-Zamalkānī, at I, 197:22 (IV, 49); Shaydala, at I, 50:16 (I, 273). In each case the author mentioned has a book the title of which begins with word _al-Burhān_; it was frequently used, because of its rhyme with _al-Qur'ān_. (The reference to al-Burhān al-Rashīdī, at II, 94:26 (II, 505), though it seems to fit into this category, is actually a form of the author's name.) However, when al-Zamakhsharī is mentioned with the same formula at I, 174:16 (IV, 370), the situation is different, since he is not known to have a book of that title. Thus it may be assumed that al-Suyūṭī is quoting him "as in the _Burhān_ [of al-Zarkashī]." The passage may have caused trouble for the copyist of (H), for he has al-Zarkashī's name at that point. This is not likely, since the parallel passage in the _Burhān_ includes the name of al-Zamakhsharī. The two names may also have been confused at two other points, I, 152:8 (IV, 235) and 162:14 (IV, 176), since al-Zamakhsharī is _not_ named in the _Burhān_, but his name appears in the parallel dependent passages of the _Itqān_. The Shaydala reference above may also refer to al-Zarkashī's _Burhān_; the full name is given, Abū 'l-Ma'ālī 'Uzayzī b. 'Abd al-Malik, known as Shaydala. Then a note is added, "[pronounced] with a 'u' vowel over the ' ', as in [al-Zarkashī's] _Burhān_. This is further supported by the fact that the _Itqān_ refers to the man as Shaydala, so would naturally support the full name here by reference to the _Burhān_. See Chap. II, notes 56-7.

introduction, or from the material actually quoted from al-Zarkashī

by name. Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, the editor of the Burhān, has this to

say about the relationship between the two books:

> Unfortunately, this book (the Burhān) has not been
> known to scholars, nor available to students and those
> doing research, except to a very few who are keenly in-
> terested in rare books, or library collectors. Its state
> was that of many books by al-Zarkashī, despite their
> greatness of stature and excellent treatment of their
> subjects...

> Then Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī came along and wrote his
> book, the Itqān. He mentioned this book (the Burhān) in
> his Introduction, including it among the sources used for
> his book. He followed al-Zarkashī's method, going along
> in the path he had mapped out. He took over many of the
> chapters, with credit or without, wrenching words bodily
> from their contexts and abbreviating the material greatly.
> In this way the Itqān achieved a place of recognition among
> scholars, becoming a basic reference work for those doing
> research for all time; the Burhān remained concealed from
> view, relegated to oblivion. This was further complicated
> by the rarity of manuscripts (for the Burhān) and the dif-
> ficulty of obtaining them.[78]

Exactly how much material from the Burhān is actually used in

the Itqān is difficult to determine. Because of its monolithic

traditionalism, Muslim scholarship has a homogeneity which makes

exact identification of sources extremely difficult. Thus sections

of the two books may seem remarkably similar, but careful examination

will show that al-Suyūṭī has actually used another source for that

material.[79] In other instances, the comparison will reveal key terms

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78. The Burhān, I, 13-14.

79. I, 46:5, similar to the Burhān (I, 214), but probably from Ibn
    Qutayba directly; he is mentioned at I, 46:15. See also I, 109:21,
    30 (similar to I, 469), from Abū ʿUbayd. II, 62:11ff, from ʿIzz
    al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Salām, though the quotation from al-Kisāʾī at

or phrases which turn the decision in the other direction, and make it clear that despite the superficial differences, the material actually is dependent on the Burhān.[80]

The picture is further complicated by the freedom with which al-Suyūṭī adapted material used in the Itqān. This is especially true where al-Zarkashī refers to books from within the field of tradition literature, in which al-Suyūṭī excelled. Frequently he will be following a sequence in the Burhān, but substitute his own version of the tradition given there.[81] Thus extreme care must be used in deciding whether a tradition has been taken over from al-Zarkashī's text, or

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line 32 is similar to the parallel Burhān text (III, 144). II, 63:12ff (III, 209) probably from the book mentioned, the Muḥtasab of Ibn Janī.

80. I, 152:16ff (IV, 236ff); the sequence moves into a new subdivision (fā'ida) at line 29, where a quotation from al-Kirmānī is the conclusive evidence. I, 170:13 (IV, 330), where al-Rāghib material has been altered by al-Suyūṭī, but is clearly dependent on the Burhān; see the full text in Appendix IV, No. 5. II, 68:25ff (III, 26ff, where the first few lines are from al-Badr b. Jamā'a, but at line 27, continuing to 69:12, is Burhān text; a key phrase marks the transition, hādhihi 'ādat al-bulaghā'. II, 86:9 (III, 326), where material about Sūrat al-Fātiḥa is much changed, but later becomes identical to the parallel Burhān passage.

81. II, 136:11 (II, 26); a tradition is mentioned briefly in the Burhān; al-Suyūṭī completes it, giving his own source for the full tradition. II, 80:5 (II, 336); the Itqān adds a source (al-Ḥākim) and the characteristic tradition formula (akhrajahu) to the same Ibn Mas'ūd tradition. II, 166:23, 25 (I, 377) has parallel traditions, but different sources; al-Zarkashī adds, "the forms of narration on this subject are many and varied." I, 105:1 (I, 471), the full tradition and source (Abū Dāwūd) are added. II, 132:19 (I, 493), completed from another source, which is not mentioned. See also I, 57:18 (I, 233); 108:10 (I, 464), etc.

is given independently by al-Suyūṭī from one of his regular tradition-
ists, or even from memory.[82]

Further difficulties are due to the terse, compressed style in
which al-Suyūṭī wrote the Itqān, and in which it is still printed.
Names of authors or books, as well as Qur'ānic verses and traditions,
are given in an abbreviated shorthand which is clear only to Muslim
scholars well-trained in Qur'ānic sciences. For those outside that
privilege inner circle--even of the Muslim community itself, so how much
more for a Western student of Islam--the style can be very difficult
indeed.[83] Moreover, the unvowelled Arabic text, though not a problem
for the average reader, can add to the difficulty of measuring the ex-
tent of any quotation. Whether the verb is active or passive deter-
mines whether it is a continuation of material from the previously
mentioned author, or a new quotation introduced without a source.[84]

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82. I, 7:18. al-Suyūṭī does not list tradition collections among the
books consulted, saying merely that of these he used books "beyond
number." See Appendix I, Part B, for the predominance of this type
of book in frequency of use in the Itqān.

83. Even the editor of the Itqān has trouble deciding where to divide
the material, or perhaps he is only careless. At II, 148-150, an
asterisk is occasionally added, as if to separate a verse from its
explanation, but the use is very erratic. At II, 159 the same
method is used for a time, then discarded. At II, 169:1, the aster-
isk has no meaning, since no division is needed; in the rest of the
same passage none are used, where they might have helped. Printing
has been too much bound by the traditional form, following closely
the handwritten manuscript.

84. II, 68:26, wa dhakara, "and he mentioned," or wa dhukira, "it was
mentioned." II, 149:2, 24, sammā, or summiya. I, 13:10, ḥakā or
ḥukiya. I, 15:14, 35, istathnā, or ustuthniya. I, 92:7, wajjaha,
or wujjiha. II, 187:18, 24, 25, akhraja, or ukhrija, etc. See

The student of the _Itqān_ can only hope for an early completion of a new edition of the work, solving many of the problems by the addition of footnotes, indices and vowel markings as necessary.[85]

However, the difficulties mentioned here do not in any way affect the overall picture of dependency; at most they would modify its results slightly. The biggest problem, beyond any of these, is the sheer volume of material to be compared. New parallels between the two books appear constantly. Thus all that can be stated categorically is that at least the following amount of material in the _Itqān_ is dependent on the _Burhān_.

As noted before, the main body of the _Itqān_, in the printed edition chosen for use in this study, covers some 380 pages, with 13,398 lines of text. Of these, a minimum of 2,600 lines, or the equivalent of about 74 pages, has come to the _Itqān_ by way of the _Burhān_.[86] This figure can be further broken down into the following categories: al-Zarkashī is given credit, by name, for 261 lines, at 46 different places; 1,045

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especially I, 197:30, II, 30:9, 111:14, 133:27, where a final vowel changes "and I answer" (_wa ujību_) to "it was answered" (_ujība_).

85. In May, 1967, an edition of this kind was in the first stages of printing, at al-Mashhad al-Ḥusaynī Press, Cairo, and in the hands of the very capable editor of the _Burhān_, M. Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. Apparently the crisis early in June has meant a shortage of paper, or the editor has been so overwhelmed with the technical difficulties of al-Suyūṭī's work that he has been delayed in completion of the project. Only the rough draft of the Introduction was available in May, and has been quoted occasionally.

86. A list of al-Suyūṭī's chapter titles, and the total amount of _Burhān_ material in each, appears as Appendix II.

lines are quoted with credits to other authors, but by way of the Bur-hān;[87] 302 lines of the Itqān text are dependent on the Burhān, but appear with anonymous formulae ("someone else has said," "it has been said," etc.); and the balance, 992 lines, appears without any credit whatsoever, to be taken, by the ordinary reader, as the contribution of al-Suyūṭī himself.[88] Though this is only a minimum, it can certainly be accepted as a valid basis for the study of dependency between the Itqān and its predecessor's text, the Burhān.

Two further comments should be made. From al-Suyūṭī's own remarks in his introduction to the Itqān, it may be assumed that al-Zarkashī's Burhān opened up for him a whole new vision of what an encyclopaedic Qur'ānic analysis might be. As he compared his own brief attempt in the Taḥbīr to the massive collection of scholarly opinion presented in the Burhān, he must have realized how insignificant his attempt had been.[89] It may be that the Itqān is far more deeply indebted to the Burhān than even the above figures indicate, in that the very idea of an extended collection, a compendium of all available writing on the Qur'ānic sciences, came by direct inspiration of al-Zarkashī's work.

Moreover, it should also be clear that a major collection of Qur'ānic studies comes very close to the heart of Islam, and this wider context

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87. See Chap. II, A; Chap. II, A, 2.

88. See Chap. III, E.

89. Chap. 11 in the Taḥbīr, Asbāb al-Nuzūl, covers no more than a single page in Manuscript 5112; the corresponding chapter in the Itqān, No. 9, Sabab al-Nuzūl, begins at I, 28:22, and covers six of the Itqān's larger pages. Comparison is difficult; apparently al-Suyūṭī made very little use of the Taḥbīr in his new attempt.

must be kept constantly in mind. This is not an exercise of proving dependency for its own sake, of making a case against one famous scholar that he "borrowed" material from another. The microscopic examination of a particular incident of dependency can only be meaningful as it contributes to an understanding of the whole process of Islamic history which both men illustrate. To see the forms and patterns with which material moved across from one book to the other, as it is examined in succeeding chapters, will also say much about the mind of scholarship within which both al-Suyūṭī and al-Zarkashī lived and worked.

Thus, in a sense, this is one more attempt to see into the mind of Islam, by focusing upon a single problem within it. And in the last chapters, after the evidence and patterns of dependency have been dealt with from every angle, an analysis will be made of al-Suyūṭī's creative initiative in the Itqān, despite the more predominant picture of dependency, and finally, the essentially Islamic frame of reference for his work.

CHAPTER II

THE EVIDENCE FOR DEPENDENCY

Before going any further in describing the patterns which Burhān
material takes in the Itqān, it is necessary to outline the types of
evidence which combine to make this special dependency relationship
inescapable. This will be discussed in various categories.

A. Comparison with Original Sources

The first and most immediately convincing area of evidence is
found in the comparison of the Itqān version of various quotations with
that of the original sources. The technical difficulties in doing this
have been eased greatly by the modern edition of the Burhān. Frequently
it compares material quoted by al-Zarkashī to its form in the original
book from which he took it, either by restoring the text with added
material in square brackets, or by means of the same in footnotes.
Since the general reliability of the Burhān edition seems unquestion-
able, its restorations of the original become a convenient means for
checking the same quotations when they are used in the Itqān.

A study of several passages of this kind indicates that al-
Zarkashī adapted his material quite freely,[1] and as a result his

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1. At two points the editor of the Burhān seems to despair of complete
   restoration, and comments that the original (al-Khaṭṭābī's book about
   the miraculousness of the Qur'ān, Bayān al-I'jāz) is used "with

quotations frequently differ from the source he is quoting. The consistent rule seems to be that whenever the Burhān differs from its sources, the Itqān follows al-Zarkashī's adapted text.

In one example, al-Zarkashī has omitted an entire line from the Kashshāf of al-Zamakhsharī; the parallel version of the Itqān includes the quotation in the same abbreviated form. The one word omitted from an otherwise exactly duplicated section can be explained as due to al-Suyūṭī's own free adaptation, and need not affect the comparison at hand.[2] Another example is found in an extended quotation from al-Khaṭṭābī, covering an entire page in the Itqān; it demonstrates this same feature at every point.[3]

Occasionally the comparison reveals that al-Suyūṭī has, in fact, used the original, rather than the parallel Burhān version. Another quotation from al-Zamakhsharī is undoubtedly of this type, even though the immediately following quotation, from al-Sakākī, has certainly been taken over from the Burhān.[4] One can only conclude that al-Suyūṭī, while following the Burhān, was dissatisfied with the quotation from al-Zamakhsharī as he found it there, so went back to the Kashshāf for it. This and other examples of the same kind suggest an even wider, indirect

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abbreviation and free adaptation" (II, 101, note 3). Later he adds "with omission" to the other terms (p. 106, note 1).

2. II, 94:33 (II, 507-8; see note 1, p. 508).

3. II, 121:2-35 (II, 101-104). See Appendix IV, Example No. 3, where the full text is given.

4. II, 46:21ff (III, 419). See also I, 57:18 (I, 233, notes 3, 4, 6).

dependence, in that al-Suyūṭī became aware of material to use as it was mentioned only briefly in the <u>Burhān</u>.[5]

However, the conclusion that al-Suyūṭī used the original rather than the <u>Burhān</u> version, is not at all common within the passages which are available for comparison. Usually, when isolated words or phrases in a quotation might seem to argue for use of the original, the weight of evidence for the quotation as a whole is for dependency on the <u>Burhān</u>. Some exceptions to the rule can be seen in the al-Khaṭṭābī material,[6] but they are not enough to outweigh the more generally prevailing evidence for dependency.[7]

Another long passage, a quotation from Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī, can only be explained by al-Suyūṭī's use of the <u>Burhān</u> along with the other text, <u>Iʿjāz al-Qurʾān</u>.[8] One brief section of the sequence is not

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5. Other examples in which al-Suyūṭī has perhaps become aware of material in another book because it is mentioned briefly in the <u>Burhān</u>, but then has returned to the original for his parallel passage, are as follow: I, 62:17-19 (I, 259); the al-Kirmānī quotation has been carried beyond what al-Zarkashī has, probably from the original. I, 120:3 (I, 293); the <u>Burhān</u> mentions the <u>masāʾil</u>, or series of "questions" asked of Ibn ʿAbbās by Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraq, giving Ibn al-Anbārī as the source for them. al-Suyūṭī follows this lead and goes back to find and include the whole series, adding also what he found in the version of al-Ṭabarānī. I, 170:15 (IV, 330); al-Rāghib's quotation is continued, from the original. I, 61:20 (I, 256); al-Zarkashī gives author and book for a brief quotation; al-Suyūṭī uses this, and then goes back to the original for a continuation of it. II, 61:23 (III, 129), al-Andalusī. II, 129: 10 (I, 19), Shaydala.

6. See Appendix IV. No. 3 (II, 102, notes 1, 3).

7. See also II, 30:10 (IV, 74-5), Abū Ḥayyān. II, 120:30 (II, 120), al-Sakākī. II, 167:4 (I, 379, note 3). II, 119:12 (I, 97; note 3).

8. The full passage is II, 97:27-98:22 (I, 54-7).

found in the Burhān, and can only have come from the original source.[9]

Before it, in the Itqān, evidence is all for dependency.[10] But curiously enough, following the I'jāz excerpt, the notes seem to favor al-Suyūṭī's use of the original, at least for a time,[11] after which the evidence returns to the earlier patterns of exact dependency.[12] It is as if al-Suyūṭī **preferred** to use the Burhān wherever possible, and used the original source only when al-Zarkashī had omitted something which he considered important. The curious transition passage noted above shows that the I'jāz was still used for a time until once again al-Suyūṭī found the Burhān material adequate for his purposes. It is a strange hypothesis, but the only one which fits the facts![13] It may even be that at times al-Suyūṭī, in trying to clarify al-Zarkashī's version of some earlier author, quite by chance hit upon the correct word of the original text.[14] But in any case, the picture is too fluid on all sides to

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9. II, 98:9-11.

10. The Burhān, p. 54, note 6; p. 55, notes 1, 2, 7, 10, 11; p. 56, notes 1-6.

11. Ibid., p. 56, notes 7-9.

12. P. 56, notes 7 (the number appears twice; this is the later one), 10, 11; p. 57, notes 1, 2, 4, 6. Only note 5 is doubtful, and contains a very minor detail.

13. Where al-Bāqillānī can be studied again in the same manner, the evidence is ambiguous. II, 118:27 (II, 94, 5); note 3 suggests that al-Zarkashī has changed the original in a way which makes the meaning obscure; al-Suyūṭī clarified the passage, but his change is still closer to the Burhān version, than to the original. Note 4 seems to support the original, but may be a chance agreement with the original. Note 5 supports dependency.

14. II, 118:28 (II, 94, note 4); 119:12 (II, 97, note 2).

support any dogmatic stand in explanation of the ambiguous passages.
Certainly the parallels which are clearly on the side of dependency
are adequate to establish a very convincing overall pattern which makes
one included to judge even the ambiguous passages in its favor.

Care must also be taken in use of the Burhān edition, mainly be-
cause the editor, though aware of the Itqān's relationship to it,[15]
was not consistent in investigating all its ramifications. Thus he
sometimes uses the Itqān text as evidence for what he feels is the
correct reconstruction of the original passage quoted in the Burhān,
even though al-Suyūṭī had himself copied the quotation from the Burhān!
His variations from the Burhān version do not represent his corrections
on the basis of any original source for the quotation, but are simply
his own adaptation of the Burhān text. In one case the quotation is
part of an extended sequence of parallel material which can only be
dependent. But when the Itqān has fa lammā instead of innā, the
Burhān editor suggests that this is the correct original form of the
quotation.[16] When al-Suyūṭī's dependency on the Burhān at this point
is understood, as well as his free adaptation of material throughout,
it becomes clear that he could not be using the original source at
this point.

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15. See the quotation from his introduction to the Burhān, Chap. I,
note 78.

16. II, 108:12 (I, 36; note 2). II, 30:25 (II, 48, note 4). I, 85:8
(I, 354, note 7).

B. Sequence of Material

The next area of evidence is equally inescapable, and far more

extensive in the Itqān. Time and again material includes quotations

from different authors in the same sequence as in the Burhān. The

pattern is so common that it would be impossible to give any more than

a selective sampling.[17] One example covers the entire discussion of

the word 'asā, and has been taken over exactly from the Burhān.[18] It

not only includes many quotations, but also a tradition with its source,

even though the more common pattern is for al-Suyūṭī to give his own

form of these.[19]

Another passage includes two short fragments introduced with the

formula "someone else has said," along with quotations by name, all

in the same order as in the Burhān.[20] Dependent material actually

begins before this point, from the start of Chap. 67 of the Itqān.[21]

The sequence is broken only by one added comment by al-Suyūṭī,[22] a

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17. Three examples are discussed here. Others, chosen at random, are:
    II, 96-8 (I, 53-58, with minor variations, such as the use of the
    quotation from al-Ja'barī, at 97:2). I, 197, the entire page
    (IV, 46, 44-52). II, 7:29ff (IV, 85-86). II, 33:1ff (II, 217-8,
    228-30, 235, 240).

18. I, 164:26-165:15 (IV, 288); it appears in full as Appendix IV,
    No. 2.

19. II, 164:32. al-Suyūṭī has added a second source for the tradition.

20. II, 134:10-21 (III, 42-5).

21. II, 133:23, Aqsām al-Qur'ān.

22. II, 133:27, wa ujību, "I answer" or ujība, "it has been answered,"
    probably the former.

quotation not found in the <u>Burhān</u>,[23] and a tradition supplied directly by al-Suyūṭī, from one of his usual sources.[24]

A similarly parallel sequence of material gives al-Zarkashī credit by name for a very brief comment, even though the whole section follows the <u>Burhān</u> exactly.[25] The passage includes several types of material—quotations from various authors, fragments introduced with anonymous formulae, and others without any introduction. But all of these are arranged in virtually the same sequence as the parallel <u>Burhān</u> segments, the only exception being that al-Suyūṭī at one point uses material from the <u>Burhān</u> a page earlier than the sequence he has been following.[26] The only material not in the <u>Burhān</u> consists of two traditions added by al-Suyūṭī.[27]

When this patterns has been understood, it is logical to pass on from it, by analogy, to passages in which the parallel sequence is not as exact, but in which al-Suyūṭī has drawn from the same general area

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23. II, 134:4, Ibn Abī 'l-Iṣbaʿ. See references to use of his book as a parallel source, along with the <u>Burhān</u>, in Chap. III, note 37.

24. II, 134:8, Ibn Mardawayh. The parallel sequence is consistent until 134:19 (III, 45), where al-Suyūṭī turns back to p. 43 in the <u>Burhān</u>, for a segment introduced by "someone else has said."

25. The whole passage is II, 172:15-35 (I, 476, 478, 477), a series of brief notes on correct forms of behavior for handling the Qurʾān or acting in its presence. At line 23 it reads, "al-Zarkashī has said, 'likewise the stretching of legs toward it'."

26. II, 172:29 (I, 477).

27. Line 23, Ibn Abī Dāwūd, in his book <u>al-Muṣāḥif</u>; line 35, the same source.

of the Burhān, in a slightly modified order. One passage, chosen at random from many, includes al-Zarkashī's name for two lines of the text.[28] Other material on the same page of the Itqān is taken in somewhat confused order from within four pages of the Burhān.[29] Despite the changes in sequence the material is obviously dependent.

C. Duplication of Wording

Thus far evidence of dependency has taken its primary clue from names of authors duplicated in the Itqān and Burhān. But in the final analysis it is the reproduction of the actual words of a Burhān passage which proves its use in the Itqān.

The principle of sequence, mentioned in the last section, is often disrupted by al-Suyūṭī's free adaptation of material for his own use. He may at times choose words and phrases from a single page or paragraph of the Burhān, and then adapt these for his use by adding additional phrases of his own. Thus a passage which because of changes in its word order may seem at first to be used from another source, will be shown by further study of duplicated wording, to be dependent on the Burhān.

One example is the quotation from al-Rāghib in al-Suyūṭī's discussion of the word kayf.[30] The first part of the material is not in the Burhān,

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28. I, 66:7 (I, 265).

29. I, 66:2-33 (I, 264, 265, 264, 265, 268, 267); the Burhān material continues after a comment and tradition added by al-Suyūṭī, at line 33 (268, 251, 249).

30. Beginning at I, 170:11 (IV, 330).

and may be either al-Suyūṭī's own contribution, or directly from al-Rāghib's book. But duplicated wording, leading to and including the quotation from al-Rāghib,[31] seems to make it clear that at this point al-Suyūṭī moved to use of the _Burhān_ version.[32]

The matter of duplicated wording is of special importanee when no names are included in the text. In a discussion of one form of the metaphor, al-Suyūṭī begins with material from some other source,[33] then introduces a section from the second page of al-Zarkashī's parallel chapter with the anonymous formula, "some of them have said."[34] al-Suyūṭī's changes in wording are almost negligible: at two points he omits the pious phrase used before Qur'ānic verses;[35] at another he adds a word.[36]

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31. At line 13, wa '1-istifhām (IV, 430, first word). See Appendix IV, No. 5, for the full text.

32. This is an extremely complicated passage, probably impossible to explain fully. al-Zarkashī has named al-Rāghib for a quotation, but only at the end of his page (IV, 430). al-Suyūṭī inserts the name at an earlier point in material on the same page, for text which al-Zarkashī has given as his own, then completes the al-Rāghib quotation as in the _Burhān_. It may be that al-Suyūṭī did this arbitrarily; but he may also have compared the _Burhān_ passage with the original book by al-Rāghib, and finding that al-Zarkashī had used more than he indicated, corrected this in the _Itqān_. Is the duplicated wording explained by both men's use of the same original? See the passage in Appendix IV, No. 5.

33. II, 43:34, al-isti'āra.

34. II, 44:15 (I, 433, at the beginning of the second line); the first page of al-Zarkashī's section appears later, at II, 46:11ff.

35. Lines 7, 10, qawluhu ta'ālā.

36. Line 14; lafẓ is inserted.

It is sometimes possible to guess at reasons for changes of this kind. They may be due to errors in reading al-Zarkashī's manuscript;[37] others are attempts at correction or improvement.[38] But most changes are purely arbitrary,[39] and do not seem to modify the text in any significant way. There may be a conclusion to be drawn here about the whole relationship between the two books. Duplication of wording confirms dependency beyond a shadow of a doubt,[40] but no consistent pattern of adaptation has been used by al-Suyūṭī. Perhaps this very unconcern for details is a description of his methods, and therefore of the Islamic scholarship he represents.

D. Other Criteria

The three elements mentioned above constitute most of the evidence for dependency; a few minor items can be noted in conclusion. One has

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37. II, 44:8 (III, 433, end of fifth line), ka inshā' may be a misreading of kamā tansha'u; line 16 (433, end of last full paragraph), bi 'l-arḍ, from bi 'l-ibṭ.

38. Line 11 (433, mid-page), li 'l-dhall for li 'l-wild; line 15, al-jānib for al-janāh; line 13, mumakkanan for murakkaban, etc.

39. Line 10, fa inn for li ann. Line 14, min for fī. Line 15, yumay-yil for mayyala. Line 16, bi dhikr for bi khafḍ.

40. Other random examples where duplicated wording is important, are: I, 155:19 (IV, 221), a series of verses, with duplicated material introducing them. I, 142:5-14 (I, 103ff), a list of different meanings for the word al-hudā, each with a Qur'ānic verse; these are given in slightly changed sequence, but closely parallel wording throughout. II, 85:23ff (III, 318ff), a long section on forms of direct address. I, 169:17 (IV, 324), material adopted as a special section, with the heading, mas'ala.

been mentioned briefly in Chap. I, the striking difference which can be observed between two kinds of material in the Itqān--series of traditions gathered by al-Suyūṭī himself from the large collections, each given with its source and a partial isnād; and material derived from later books, like that of al-Zarkashī.

al-Suyūṭī also indicates this distinction in his style of presentation. Traditions are introduced with a particular formula which uses the name of the traditionist and the verbs akhraja, "extracted," or "derived," ḥakā, "related," or rawā, "narrated."[41] Other writers are introduced with the verb qāla, the difference being that they are thought of as speaking on their own responsibility, whereas the traditionist is no more than the final link in a pattern of transmission.

One brief example can illustrate this further clue to possible areas of dependency in the Itqān. al-Suyūṭī has been giving traditions about whether various surās were revealed at Makka or al-Madīna,[42] the last of which are two from Abū 'Ubayd in his book al-Faḍā'il.[43] Then the type of material changes, and the next few quotations are of the non-tradition writers, introduced by qāla.[44] Following these, with the formula "someone else has said," comes material from the Burhān,[45]

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41. See I, 16, 17, for many examples.

42. Beginning I, 14:28.

43. I, 17:17, wa akhraja 'an... with the final name in the isnād.

44. Line 19, Ibn 'Aṭīya and Ibn al-Ghars; line 30, Ibn al-Ḥiṣār.

45. Lines 22, 24 (I, 191). The quotations from Makkī, al-Qāḍī and al-Imām Fakhr al-Dīn, are all included in the Burhān sequence, part of which is from p. 189.

broken only by one bit of material of the first type, a tradition

inserted by al-Suyūṭī and introduced by wa akhraja.[46] Thus the style

which can be an indication of differing types of material, can also,

for the purposes of this study, be a clue to possible points of de-

pendency.[47]

Another indication is given when al-Suyūṭī seems to have forgot-

ten himself, and uses expressions in material presented as his own

indicating that it is, in fact, from another writer. Usually, this

takes the form of a comment made about what has been said, in disagree-

ment, correction or addition to it, thus implying that another person

has actually made the statement.[48] The same may be suggested by

single words within material given without credit. In one case qāla

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46. I, 17:28.

47. See also I, 55:21 (I, 270), where al-Zarkashī's name is mentioned
    for the quotation beginning the new pattern; see Appendix IV, No.
    6. I, 61:19, where the tradition sequence is broken by a quotation
    from Makkī, and another from al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr in al-Intisār, both
    as in the Burhān (I, 256); the latter quotation is then continued,
    from the original source, and following a tradition, the material
    returns to the quotation pattern, with al-Baghawī. I, 64-5;
    traditions about the number of sūras; quoted material begins at
    66:1, most of it from the Burhān (I, 264ff), broken only by
    traditions inserted at lines 19, 33, 67:5, 10ff.

48. II, 85:27. "And I said, I have seen in some of the predecessors
    (al-salaf) a preference for the opposite of that." What was be-
    fore it is from the Burhān (III, 318) given as if original to al-
    Suyūṭī. II, 162:1, again after Burhān material (I, 446), "And I
    said, and what Ibn al-Mundhir has reported follows this." II,
    169:11, "And I said that in my opinion these three are not excep-
    tions." No Burhān material is found here, but the phenomenon can
    be applied be analogy; surely the Itqān is dependent on some source
    here, probably al-Marākashī, whose book is mentioned at II, 166:20,

appears in the midst of a section for whom no author has been named,[49] in another, wa ʿabbara, "and he expressed it..."[50] In a more complicated example, al-Suyūṭī has quoted Abū ʿUbayda, by way of the Burhān, then says, wa taʿaqqaba, "and he added to," as if another writer had commented on what Abū ʿUbayda had said. Actually, it was al-Zarkashī who had done so.[51] Again, al-Suyūṭī mentions that a previous point has been made by the Burhān, but only because he wants to answer it, indicating indirectly how much of the adjacent material is dependent on al-Zarkashī.[52]

The perfectly natural way in which al-Suyūṭī includes these unintended bits of evidence for dependency may also indicate his apparent unconcern about the whole matter. Like the arbitrary freedom he used in adaptation, these additional hints throw light on his attitude toward the material he quoted, especially in the area of non-tradition writers.

Indications of dependency may also be found in characteristic expressions of the Burhān which have found their way into the Itqān. This is not common, but occasionally points the way for further investigation.

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and his name again at 168:11. II, 7:7, al-Suyūṭī refutes the last few lines, which are from the Burhān (II, 81) without credit.

49. II, 33:20 (II, 229-30).

50. II, 78:22 (II, 402).

51. II, 37:4 (II, 267)

52. II, 42:19 (III, 420). 24 of the 36 lines on the page are from the Burhān, (III, 414 (514ff, 416ff).

al-Suyūṭī usually speaks of al-Zamakhsharī's exegesis simply as al-Kashshāf, so when he adds the adjective, al-Qadīm, the passage is almost certain to be from the Burhān, where that form is frequently found.[53] Again, al-Suyūṭī often speaks of al-Bukhārī and his Ṣaḥīḥ, but the expression, fassara ṣāḥib al-Ṣiḥāḥ, seems curiously out of place in the Itqān, and turns out to be from the Burhān.[54] al-Suyūṭī also gives names of authors and their books in abbreviated forms, making them difficult to trace. But that in turn is a help to this study, because it means that where a name appears in full--though not invariably-- it has come from some other, intermediate source. The first quotation in the Itqān is from al-Nīsābūrī, usually referred to by al-Suyūṭī as Abū 'l-Qāsim, or Ibn Ḥabīb. Here his full name and book title are given, and suggest--rightly, it turns out--that the same material will be found in the Burhān.[55] When the name of Abū 'l-Maʿālī ʿUzayzī b. ʿAbd al-Malik appears in the Itqān, al-Suyūṭī adds a phrase, "who is

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53. II, 105:11 (I, 72), II, 65:30 (II, 417). See also the same expression elsewhere in the Burhān (I, 304, 347; III, 145, 146, 287; IV, 197, 385).

54. I, 151:9 (IV, 248). The expression differs from other variations in the Itqān in that it uses ṣāḥib in the singular, but ṣiḥāḥ, in the plural; also the verb fassara is never used by al-Suyūṭī to describe a traditionist's opinion. Other variations in the Itqān are: I, 44:26, fī 'l-Sahīh, without the name; I, 45:34, fī 'l-Sahīhayn, implying Muslim, along with al-Bukhārī; I, 61:5, al-shaykhayn, referring to the same two men, not their books; I, 68: 32, aṣḥāb al-Sunan, meaning the six main tradition collections; I, 31:11, al-a'imma 'l-sitta, referring to the same by number.

55. I, 8:25 (I, 192).

known as 'Shaydala'."[56] This seems strange, since the same author has been mentioned only two pages before that in the Itqān, as well as many times after that, always by the latter nickname.[57] The use of the full name at this point makes it clear that al-Suyūṭī is adapting Burhān material for his own use.

On the other hand, al-Suyūṭī, though brief, is usually faithful in recording accurately some identifiable reference to his sources, at least what he considered adequate. So when a completely undefined and unidentifiable names appears in the Itqān, it is usually a sign of de-pendent material. al-Suyūṭī has been unable to identify the name as used by al-Zarkashī, so has simply passed it on as he found it. Thus at one point he refers to al-Imām,[58] at another, to al-Qāḍī Ḥusayn,[59] and several times simply, al-Qāḍī,[60] probably referring to an entirely

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56. I, 50:16 (I, 273).

57. I, 48:19 (I, 225).

58. II, 42:21 (III, 420). The reference may be to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, or Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, or several other men who are given that honorific title. The editor of the Burhān makes no attempt to designate who is meant.

59. II, 172:33 (I, 477). The book mentioned, al-Taʿlīq, is listed in the index of books referred to in the Burhān (IV, 508), but with-out further identification.

60. I, 17:25 (I, 191). The page reference is listed by the Burhān editor under Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī, but the title simply means "judge," and is used of other scholars quoted by al-Suyūṭī and al-Zarkashī, as, for example, Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī, at II, 128:31. At II, 123:12 (II, 108) the title is again listed under al-Bāqil-lānī, because the subject is that of his book, Iʿjāz al-Qurʾān.

different man. In all but one case, of the above, the quotations

which include this kind of brief reference can be traced to the

Burhān.[61]

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61. The exception is II, 124:31, where al-Suyūṭī's usage may still be
    influenced by the Burhān passage on the page before, mentioned in
    the preceding note, II, 123:12 (II, 108).

CHAPTER III

PATTERNS OF DEPENDENCY

On the basis of the available evidence, it is possible to deter-
mine exactly which parts of the Itqān are dependent on the Burhān; it
is now time to examine the forms which this material takes in the Itqān.
An analysis of these patterns will open the way for an understanding of
al-Suyūṭī, and of the collective "mind of scholarship" within which he
lived and wrote.

A. Quotations

    1. From al-Zarkashī

In one way, a quotation attributed to al-Zarkashī or his books[1]
in the Itqān can be treated in the same way as a reference to any other
author used by al-Suyūṭī.   His name is often mentioned in a sequence
with other writers, not distinguished in any discernible way from them.
What makes the mention of al-Zarkashī entirely unique is that most of
the forty-six separate quotations for which al-Suyūṭī gives him credit
appear in the midst of other material dependent on the Burhān.   The

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1. One book besides the Burhān is mentioned, Sharh al-Tanbīh, at II,
   158:11, for a three-line quotation. It is identified by the
   editor of the Burhān as an explanatory discussion of al-Tanbīh
   fī Furū' al-Shāfi'īya. See the Burhān, I, 10, and pp. 5-10 for
   the list of thirty-three books known to have been written by al-
   Zarkashī.

question arises of why al-Suyūṭī included the name of al-Zarkashī at certain points and not at others.[2]

Several possibilities might be investigated. Is the material for which credit is given of particular importance--that is, can any qualitative difference be noted between that which appears with the name of al-Zarkashī and what does not? Or, can some distinction be discovered in the form taken by these quoted passages in the Itqān? In other words, does the transfer from the Burhān seem to be done more carefully, with less change or adaptation, when al-Zarkashī's name accompanies it? A third possibility has been discussed earlier, that to include the name may be al-Suyūṭī's way of admitting at least a degree of dependency.[3]

All these illustrate the dilemma involved in sorting out the threads and patterns of dependency, and even more, the motives behind them. Unfortunately, an affirmative answer to any of the above questions seems impossible. As regards the relative importance of material quoted by name, certainly the brief comment about "stretching the legs toward" the Qur'ān[4] can hardly be considered more important than the other items in the same list, included without any credit, but also

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2. See the annotated list of quotations, Appendix III. Of these, II, 171:2 (I, 380) and 172:23 (I, 478) are examples of quotations isolated from other Burhān material; II, 174 (I, 13) and 181:34 (II, 180) illustrate quotations which cannot be separated from the far wider context of dependent material of which they are a part.

3. Chap. I, p. 24.

4. II, 172:23 (I, 478).

from the Burhān.[5] In another passage the Burhān contributes many

kinds of material, some of it quoted from other writers, other frag-

ments introduced with "someone else has said," and only one small item

quoted by name from al-Zarkashī.[6] It is certainly of no more--nor

less--importance than other material taken from the Burhān, all of

which, like the quotation, is about the benefits of Qur'ānic parables.[7]

Again, in a discussion of inscrutable passages of the Qur'ān, a series

of reasons for the presence of these is given, all from the Burhān,

and constituting the bulk of the passage.[8] The only exceptions are

some personal comments added by al-Suyūṭī. Yet the name of al-Zarkashī

is mentioned only in a special subdivision (tanbīh) concluding the

numbered series, as if to suggest that the previous material had not

been from him. In fact, it seems likely that al-Zarkashī's name was

included at that point only because al-Suyūṭī wanted to refute what

he had said![9] But leaving that aside for the moment, it can at least

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5. The subdivision is about correct behavior toward, or in the pres-
   ence of the Qur'ān. Other excerpts are: line 18, about kissing
   the text of the Qur'ān; line 22, placing it upon a stand; line 29,
   disposing of worn pages.

6. II, 131:33 (I, 487). "Some of the wisdom for [using proverbs] is
   in the teaching of evidence, that being one of the special attri-
   butes of this Law (that is, the Qur'ānic revelation)."

7. II, 131:28 (I, 486). "And someone else has said, 'the use of
   parables has many benefits: reminding, preaching, encouragement,
   warning...'"

8. The chapter begins at II, 145:7 (I, 155), the numbered reasons
   at line 10. The material from the opening of al-Zarkashī's
   corresponding chapter begins a line earlier.

9. II, 145:21 (I, 155), the quotation from al-Zarkashī; al-Suyūṭī's
   answer starts at line 23. See also II, 42:19 (III, 420), where

be stated that the anonymous fragments are of far greater significance
than the brief quotation from al-Zarkashī.

Nor does a close study of techniques used in adaptation of the
text lead to any satisfactory answer. al-Suyūṭī's freedom to change
or modify the material he uses is not affected in any way by the fact
that he has added al-Zarkashī's name. One quotation, about a type of
word deletion, might be given as an example.[10] al-Suyūṭī has made
several changes--words are added,[11] others omitted,[12] or altered.[13]
A Qur'ānic verse is not only abbreviated, but printed with a minor
error.[14] Besides this, the quotation is not given exactly as found
in the Burhān, but is formed into a composite unit for the Itqān by
selecting isolated sentences and verses from a two-page section of the
Burhān. For the particular purposes of comparison here, this is all
strikingly similar to what al-Suyūṭī has done earlier on the same page,

an admission, "thus it has been said in the Burhān" occurs for
the same reason.

10. al-hadhf al-muqābilī, introduced by al-Suyūṭī with a reference to
al-Zarkashī, at II, 61:23 (III, 129), and continued at line 30
with several lines of quotation, repeating the name.

11. II, 61:31 (III, 129), kullihi; line 34, ay.

12. Line 23, ta'ālā, after qawluhu, and kamā qāla 'l-mufassirūn, after
taqdīr; line 34, the first part of the verse quoted, al-Baqara 2:
222, and the same at line 35 for al-Tawba 9:102. Qur'ānic refer-
ences are to the Arabic name of the sūra, its number and verse
according to the usual Arabic versification.

13. Line 32, al-taqdīr for al-aṣl; line 33, taqdīruhu for al-taqdīr;
62:1 (III, 130), ay for the longer phrase, aṣlu 'l-kalām khalaṭū.

14. Line 34: al-Baqara 2:222 has no fa before lā taqrabūhunna.

with material all from the Burhān, but given without any credit to al-Zarkashī.[15]

One further example of how freely al-Suyūṭī adapts material quoted by name from al-Zarkashī is given in full as Appendix IV, Example No. 6.[16] A careful examination of the texts provided will dispel any idea that the enclusion of al-Zarkashī's name ensures accuracy of transmission!

Some tentative reasons why al-Suyūṭī includes the name of al-Zarkashī have been suggested before this, but evidence for them is very limited, and they offer little help. In two places, al-Suyūṭī is apparently concerned to answer what al-Zarkashī has said, so includes his name.[17] Again, in the full subdivision which includes the name in its title, the motive may have been to indicate that all the material there, even if from other authors, is dependent on the Burhān, and to imply, secondarily, that this happens elsewhere.[18]

The one fairly consistent rule which can be traced through the forty-six passages quoted by name is that the material is usually the personal opinion or analysis of al-Zarkashī.[19] A few exceptions

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15. Beginning with a subdivision (faṣl) at II, 61:2 (III, 117) and continuing with some interruptions through line 21 (III, 120).

16. I, 55:21ff (I, 270-1).

17. See this chapter, note 9.

18. Chap. I, note 76.

19. See Appendix III. This seems to be a factor in most of the quotations analyzed there.

occur even within these quotations, where al-Zarkashī is clearly transmitting another man's opinion, but is still quoted by name.[20] A more serious objection is that material which might be described as al-Zarkashī's personal opinion or analysis is not limited to these quotations; much that is introduced anonymously also fits into that category.[21] So even though this may explain why al-Suyūṭī felt he should give credit to al-Zarkashī at some points, it does not answer the question of why he neglected to do so elsewhere. This related problem of the anonymous material will be discussed at a later point.

2. From Other Authors

This next pattern for dependency need not be studied at length here, since it came under discussion in the analysis of evidence.[22] Attention is drawn to it once more for the light it sheds on al-Suyūṭī's attitude toward and use of his sources. It becomes clear that he did not distinguish between "primary" and "secondary" sources for his quotations. If material from an earlier writer had been included by al-Zarkashī, it had the same validity for his use in the Itqān as if he had found it in the primary source.

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20. See the following examples in Appendix III: I, 108:22 (I, 463); 137:33, 34 (I, 288, 9); 150:19 (IV, 188), etc.

21. The material at II, 16:27 (II, 217) also appears as a "someone else" passage at II, 33:1! See also II, 145:21 (I, 155), a quotation in the midst of other anonymous material which is also al-Zarkashī's own analysis.

22. Chap. II, Part A includes several examples.

Thus, for example, five different authors are quoted by name in a passage of a few lines in length, all freely adapted by al-Suyūṭī from the Burhān.[23] To introduce the passage an entire line is added, perhaps from some other parallel source, and the first word of the Burhān excerpt is changed for the sake of continuity.[24] Then the text moves to a near-exact parallel for several lines, including quotations from Ibn Fāris and al-Kisā'ī.[25] al-Suyūṭī has either misunderstood the words of Abū ʿUbayda which follow, or used some other source for them. The two verbs he substitutes are quite unrelated in meaning to the first part of the quotation in both books.[26] The first alternative seems the most likely possibility, since the dependent material continues following the Abū ʿUbayda material, with a tradition identifiably the

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23. I, 164:26 (IV, 288). See Appendix IV, No. 2.

24. At line 27. The parallel source upon which the Itqān is dependent at this point, along with the Burhān, is uncertain. The immediately preceding material, from I, 164:17-26, follows al-Zarkashī's outline (IV, 286-7), but diverges too widely from it to be from him alone. It seems to be from some other source, used with the Burhān. For further examples of the same kind, see the next section.

25. A characteristic change is made in introducing a Qur'ānic verse, at lines 29, 30: naḥw for ka qawlihī taʿālā. Instead of repeating the verse, at line 30, al-Suyūṭī says, "like the preceding verse."

26. Line 21 (IV, 288), ʿaraftum...akhbartumūhu from ʿadawtum...juztumūhu. Note 4 in the Burhān comments "quoted with freedom and abbreviation." Could al-Suyūṭī be correcting al-Zarkashī's work, then?

same in both texts.[27] then a saying of al-Shāfi'ī, duplicated exactly, and one from Ibn al-Anbārī, changed only slightly.[28]

B. Parallel Dependency

Another very extensive pattern for use of material from the Burhan is in combination with another source on the same subject. Since the Burhān was the only other encyclopaedic work consulted by al-Suyūṭī, it could be used in parallel dependency with many other, more specific books, or sometimes a sequence of different ones, on the same subject.

Thus in one passage, the sources used with the Burhān seems to change every few pages. For the first part it is probably Ibn Hishām, though quotations also appear from al-Zamaksharī.[29] 'Izz al-Dīn is quoted for a few lines, but then the Itqān returns to the same type of material as before,[30] probably still from Ibn Hishām, used along with excerpts from the Burhān.[31] The name of 'Izz al-Dīn appears again

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27. Line 32, al-Suyūṭī adds a second source for the tradition, but omits the book title mentioned in the Burhān.

28. At line 23, a phrase is omitted, "from some of the exegetes," and the preliminary verb changed to fit the omission; qāla is substituted for ḥakā to fit the change; jamī' is omitted; two verses appear as examples, but phrases to introduce them are abbreviated.

29. II, 58:10, starting with a new subdivision (qā'ida). Burhān parallels appear at line 28, for one line, at 34, for two, at 59, for three. The quotation from Ibn Hishām at line 27 may be dependent on the Burhān, or may be an example of al-Suyūṭī's having been led to use an original author by mention of his name in the Burhān.

30. II, 60:17-25.

31. Sections marked qā'ida, II, 60:12-15, 25-31.

later, with the title of his book; this probably becomes the main source at that point.[32] One reference is made to Ibn Janī, in a quotation taken from the Burhān;[33] then when material is quoted from him again, it is not in the Burhān. Apparently al-Suyūṭī has returned to the original work, and is using it in parallel dependency with al-Zarkashī's text.[34]

It seems almost a rule that when a book is singled out for special mention, it will become the basic text for the subject at hand, along with the Burhān. Thus for several pages after the point where Ibn al-Labbān and a description of his book are included,[35] almost all the material is based either on the Burhān,[36] or quoted from Ibn al-Labbān.[37] The only exceptions are traditions added by al-Suyūṭī from various traditionists.[38]

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32. II, 62:11, until the end of the chapter at 64:14, where a brief section from the Burhān is used to conclude it.

33. II, 62:11 (III, 146).

34. II, 63:12. A few lines may have their parallel in the Burhān (III, 209), and again, al-Suyūṭī may have gotten his clue for use of the original from Ibn Janī's name in the Burhān.

35. II, 6:6. No title is given, but the book is described with a phrase meaning a small monograph on a specific subject (tasnīf mufrad).

36. II, 6:21-25 (II, 78-9); lines 29-30 (II, 80); lines 35-7:7 (II, 81ff); lines 11-14 (II, 83); 18-19 (II, 87); 27-8:2 (II, 85-6).

37. II, 7:9-11, 14-18, 20-26, 8:2-5.

38. II, 6:9-20, 33-34.

The same can be observed when other book titles appear, such as
that of Ibn Abī 'l-Iṣbaʿ in several chapters,[39] or Ibn Qayyim, about
divisions of the Qur'ān,[40] or Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, in two different chap-
ters,[41] or Makkī, in the chapter on abrogation.[42] Once the pattern
is understood, it can be traced even when the book is not actually

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39. His is the only book named at the start of the chapter on
   Badā'iʿ al-Qur'ān, at II, 83:14. Then at 84:6 and 25, his
   name appears, after which Burhān material begins, at 86:30. He
   is quoted again after that segment ends, and repeatedly, at
   87:12, 26, 88:3, 89:11, 34, etc. See also II, 105:30, for a
   book about the opening phrases of Qur'ānic sūras; the same title
   is given at II, 134:4, and a large section taken from it (pre-
   sumably, though the book is not named), starting at 137:4.

40. Ibn Qayyim is named at the first of the chapter, II, 133:33,
   following which the material is all taken from the Burhān. When
   the dependent text ends, at 134:22, the same author is named
   again, and his material continues to the end of the chapter, at
   135:17.

41. II, 79:12ff (II, 328ff), about forms of interrogation in the
   Arabic language. See Appendix IV, Example No. 7, for parallel
   outlines in the Itqān and Burhān. The book is mentioned at the
   first of the chapter, and not again throughout, even though much
   of its material is probably from it. See also II, 14:7, a book
   about verses revealed before the situations take place on which
   they are to pass judgment; the book is the basic source through
   16:2, where al-Suyūṭī concludes, "this is what Ibn al-Ṣā'igh has
   mentioned." See Appendix I, p. 158, for the different form this
   name takes in the Burhān.

42. At II, 20:30, Makkī is named among other authors, many of whose
   names also appear in the chapter. Thus the picture is not alto-
   gether clear, as is the case with examples given above. However,
   Makkī's material occurs at several points where the Burhān parallel
   ends, at 21:24, 33, 22:6. His name also appears once in a Burhān
   passage itself, at the end of line 35 (though the name has been
   dropped from the printed edition used), suggesting that the
   Burhān may have led the way to a fuller use of the original work
   of Makkī. See also Ibn al-Anbārī on pronouns, at I, 186:31ff,
   and with another title, at I, 183:3.

named. One excellent example is the parallel dependency with al-Rāghib

in a section differentiating between shades of meaning in closely re-

lated synonyms. When al-Rāghib's name first appears, it is in material

which is clearly dependent on the Burhān.[43] The next section is diffi-

cult to place because, though similar to the parallel passage in the

Burhān, it differs from it quite radically at several points.[44] The

definition which follows has no parallel in the Burhān, so can only

have come from al-Rāghib's book directly.[45] Following this the influence

of both books can be seen, in a perfect example of parallel dependency.[46]

It may be that the patterns described here are also applicable to

the Itqān generally, and that whenever a sudden break occurs in material

from the Burhān, it can be assumed that some other source has been used,

even if not actually named.[47] As will be discussed in Chap. V, al-Suyūṭī

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43. I, 194:29ff (IV, 79ff), about two words for "miserliness," al-shuḥ
    and al-bukhl.

44. Line 32, on the two words for "road," al-sabīl and al-ṭarīq.

45. Line 34, the second half, an additional definition for the two
    words in note 44.

46. Line 5, "to come," al-ityān and al-majī', not included in the Bur-
    hān, so from al-Rāghib only; line 6, "to stretch," madd and amadd,
    al-Rāghib, as quoted in the Burhān; line 8, "to give a drink,"
    saqā and asqā, found in al-Rāghib only; line 10, "to do," faʿala
    and ʿamala, in the Burhān, with no mention of al-Rāghib; line 16,
    "to sit," al-quʿūd and al-julūs, al-Rāghib only; line 19, "to com-
    plete," al-tamām and al-kamāl, in the Burhān only; line 24, "to give,"
    al-ītā' and al-iʿṭā', in the Burhān.

47. II, 180:27. al-Suyūṭī breaks into material from the Burhān to give
    a series of fifteen sciences required of an exegete; the new ma-
    terial continues, interspersed with Burhān excerpts at 181:8, 21,
    until the Ibn Abī 'l-Dunya quotation at 181:28. Could this be the

has certain characteristic ways of marking his own contributions, and when material is not thus marked and fits into the forms described here, it is probably dependent upon some source.

C. Composite Passages

Similar to the above is al-Suyūṭī's way of taking fragments of material from here and there in the Burhān and fitting them together into a reconstructed continuity for his own book.[48] It is difficult to detect or analyze these new composite sequences, because they include tiny segments or isolated examples from anywhere within several adjacent pages of the Burhān,[49] or occasionally from more widely

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source used along with the Burhān? See also II, 169:11, where al-Suyūṭī refutes material given as his own, indicating that the section has some other source, probably al-Marākashī, mentioned at 168:11, 23, or perhaps al-Kirmānī, who, with his book al-'Ajā'ib, is the last author named.

48. See Chap. II, p. 39, note 29, and earlier in this chapter, note 15, for other examples of this type.

49. Some examples: II, 43:15. The passage starts with an error on al-Suyūṭī's part. He has been giving alternative ways of describing the simile (tashbīh) by dividing it into its component parts. These have been given, at 42:16, 23, 43:3, and the latter subdivided into five parts, all from al-Zarkashī (III, 416-21), who concludes, "these five kinds include all the similes of the Qur'ān," (III, 422). al-Suyūṭī is confused by the last number, and in going on to the next alternate division for the simile, gives it as the sixth, not the fourth. The text then moves through al-Zarkashī's text as follows: (III, 422, 418, 426, 425, 429). II, 70 uses excerpts from the following pages in the Burhān, (II, 436, 439-40, 429, 446-8, 453, 455-8, 457, 459, 454) picking isolated verses from the mass of evidence given by al-Zarkashī. I, 88:12ff, from the Burhān pages (I, 357-8, 356-7, 369-71, 373-5). I, 62:4ff, (from I, 258-60, 259, 257-8). See also the confused parallels resulting from

separated locations.[50] The fact that reconstructed passages are usu-

ally limited to a single area of the Burhān is explained by the sheer

technical difficulties under which al-Suyūṭī worked--using handwritten

manuscripts with only very limited indices. The same explanation ap-

plies to his use of a single major source, along with the Burhān, in

most examples of parallel dependency.

One of al-Suyūṭī's late chapters, No. 78, on the prerequisites

for exegesis, is the best illustration of fragments combined from widely

separated locations in the Burhān. al-Suyūṭī had come to the end of

his book, and now could gather up and include all the isolated comments

on exegesis he had noted in his reading of al-Zarkashī's text.[51]

D. Special Sections

Material adopted from the Burhān also takes the form of special

sections added to al-Suyūṭī's chapters or subdivisions. He includes

this under any of the different headings used, set off with parentheses

in the printed edition of the Itqān.[52] At times these titles are

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al-Suyūṭī's dual dependence on Ibn al-Ṣā'igh for his outline, but
the Burhān for many quotations; other authors may have been quot-
ed also directly from Ibn al-Ṣā'igh's text. See this chapter,
note 41, and Appendix IV, No. 7.

50. See one example in Appendix IV, No. 2: I, 164:26ff (IV, 288, 158).

51. II, 175:34 (II, 175; 178:34-180:15 (II, 156-163); 180:21ff (II,
150, 164); 181:8ff (I, 311 and again at II, 100, in slightly
different form; the former is the correct parallel here). 181:24ff
(II, 180); 182:6-183:1 (I, 294); 183:16-30 (II, 171-2), etc.

52. I, 40:33 (I, 230), 77:30 (II, 125), tanbīhāt, "announcements," as
if calling attention to what follows; I, 45:15, 18, 20; 146:16

adopted by al-Suyūṭī exactly as found in the Burhān;[53] at others they may be changed,[54] or even inserted to make a separation in material which al-Zarkashī has given as a single unit.[55] There seems to be no differentiation of the terms, and little consistency of correlation between the type of material included under any particular heading and its literal meaning. But for purposes of this study it is at least helpful to note how frequently Burhān text appears under one of these titles. al-Zarkashī's name may be included at the start of the section,[56] but even without it, as is more often the case, the heading itself can be taken as a fairly consistent guide to Burhān material.

(IV, 178), fāʼida, either "appendix," from one root, or "benefit," from another; I, 197:11, 16 (IV, 46-7), qāʻida, a "principle;" II, 169:17 (IV, 423), masʼala, a "matter," that is, a separate item in a discussion; or perhaps from the root "to question," as in the long series of masāʼil asked of Ibn ʻAbbās by Nāfiʻ b. al-Azraq, about difficult words in the Qurʼān, at I, 120:2 (I, 293-4), 133:21; II, 41:29 (II, 298), khātima, a "conclusion," usually a final comment added to any section (see Appendix IV, No. 8); II, 184:10 (II, 170), 174:14 (I, 14; see Appendix IV, No. 1), faṣl, a major subdivision; II, 77:11 (II, 375), farʻ, a "division" or "branch" of material.

53. I, 169:17 (IV, 324), masʼala; I, 197:16 (IV, 47), qāʻida.

54. I, 146:16 (IV, 178), fāʼida from masʼala; 168:15 (IV, 139), fāʼida for qāʻida, but at 197:11 (IV, 46), the reverse, perhaps to make a consistent sequence using the same term, "principle," as in 197:16 (IV, 47); II, 172:16ff (I, 476ff), farʻ used for masʼala in a series.

55. II, 41:29 (II, 298), khātima is added; I, 40:33, 41:15, 26 (I, 230-1), 77:31ff (II, 125), some tanbīhāt titles have been added in a series.

56. II, 29:5ff (II, 54ff), the entire subdivision (faṣl); 145:21 (I, 155), tanbīh; 112:34 (I, 271), faṣl.

One example might be singled out as typical of many more. A section entitled khātima[57] is given without any credit; the only quotation within it is a brief one by Ibn al-Sayyid.[58] It is not difficult to find the Burhān passage which has been taken over in its entirety, including the quotation. Of course the usual rearrangement and minor adaptation have taken place.

E. The Problem of Anonymous Material

This last example leads on to a basic dilemma within all the patterns of Itqān/Burhān dependency, that is, the quantity of Burhān text which is included anonymously. Total figures were given earlier:[59] within the material from the Burhān are included passages introduced with various anonymous formulae, and others which are included with nothing to indicate they are dependent.

In fact, if the quotations from other authors which al-Suyūṭī has taken over from the Burhān without acknowledging it were included under this heading, there is really nothing which can be excluded from the dilemma here except the 261 lines for which al-Zarkashī is given credit

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57. II, 41:29 (II, 298-9, where the title does not appear). The whole subdivision (faṣl) begins at line 24, and discusses a type of simile midway between the literal and the figurative. The texts are given in Appendix IV, No. 8. See also the tanbīhāt section, II, 101:18 (I, 84-5).

58. II, 41:35.

59. Chap. I, pp. 29-30.

by name! On the other hand, the authors quoted by way of the Burhān do fall into a somewhat different category than the anonymous material under study here; customs of the scholarly world of that day may not have required al-Suyūṭī to acknowledge a secondary source for quoted material. A more important extension of the anonymous material would be to other sources used by al-Suyūṭī; if they were investigated as the Burhān has been here, the limits of the Itqān dependency might be extended almost indefinitely.[60]

Two alternative answers suggest themselves: either (1) that al-Suyūṭī, though willing to admit a degree of dependency, hesitated to be perfectly frank about its extent, and therefore concealed it with these anonymous quotations; or (2) that, given the customs and attitudes of his day about the use of other men's material, it never actually occurred to al-Suyūṭī to be consistent about giving credit at every point. As noted in the discussion of al-Suyūṭī's life, there were those of his colleagues who were sensitive to his use of other men's writings,[61] so there cannot have been a complete lack of scholarly awareness on the subject. Unfortunately, there seems to be no mention of specific types

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60. Some indications of this wider dependency were noted in Part B of this chapter, where the analogy of the Burhān/Itqān relationship is applied to parallel dependency. See also II, 110:17, where the credit line is "some recent scholars have said," but the quotation is concluded with intahā, at line 23, as if the passage had come from some source.

61. Chap. I, note 36.

of plagiarism which were condemned, nor, more specifically, of the _Itqān_

Burhān dependency problem.[62]

On the basis of evidence to be found within this study itself,

there is much to support the first alternative mentioned above. This is

the only possible explanation for the curious attempt to obscure the ex-

tent of a quotation from al-Zarkashī by making a new subdivision with

"Some of the scholars have said" only three lines from its start.[63]

Some dependency on al-Zarkashī is admitted by the inclusion of his name,

but the full extent of it is concealed. What is seen so clearly in

this example may also be noted in other instances where material is

introduced anonymously. Thus in one passage of only fifteen lines,[64]

three fragments of this type appear,[65] along with quotations from two

authors by name, also from the _Burhān_.[66] What is particularly signifi-

cant is that the anonymous introductions are not to be found in the

Burhān text. If they did occur there, it might conceivably be justi-

fied that they should be brought over along with other material from

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62. But note the resentment expressed about al-Suyūṭī's use of the
    Burhān by a modern Muslim writer, Chap. I, note 78.

63. The passage begins at II, 174:14 (I, 14); _faṣl_ is added, and the
    quotation ends with an _a. h._ sign after seventeen lines of text.
    See full text in Appendix IV, No. 1.

64. II, 134:7 (III, 42-5). The _Burhān_ sequence is interrupted only by
    a tradition inserted at line 8. See Appendix IV, No. 4.

65. Line 7, "Scholars have said;" lines 11, 19, "someone else has said."

66. Line 10, Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī; line 15, Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī.

the _Burhān_. But to add them, instead of naming al-Zarkashī as source for the material. must look suspicious under any standards.[67]

A few further items should also be mentioned. At one point al-Suyūṭī omits al-Zarkashī's comment of personal preference and introduces the same material with the "someone else" formula.[68] To this should be added the passage in which al-Suyūṭī included al-Zarkashī's name only to refute him;[69] one can sense a kind of antagonism toward al-Zarkashī, a desire to expose his inadequacy by refuting him. Again, at several points al-Suyūṭī includes al-Zarkashī's personal opinions as if they were his own. After quoting an author he adds, "Some have said, 'if it is said that...then we answer'." The wording is exactly as in the _Burhān_, except that it has been introduced with an anonymous credit.[70] Another time al-Suyūṭī uses the word characteristic of his

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67. Other random examples are II, 156:14 (I, 438), "others have concluded;" line 32, "someone else...;" line 33, "it has been said;" 44:5-16, (III, 433) "some of them...;" 77:25 (II, 379), "some of them have asserted," and line 34, "the expression of someone else is," when most of the page is from the _Burhān_; the _tanbīhāt_ divisions indicate dependent material also. Of particular difficulty are passages including quotations from al-Zarkashī by name as well as material introduced with anonymous formula. Some examples are: II, 13-33 (I, 486); material is introduced at lines 25, 28, with "someone else has said." I, 150 (IV, 187-8); al-Zarkashī is named at line 19, but "someone else" appears at line 9. II, 172:16ff (I, 486ff), which includes various quotations, with or without credit, all from the _Burhān_; al-Zarkashī's name appears at line 23.

68. I, 197:6 (IV, 46): "There occurred to me..." opens al-Zarkashī's remark.

69. II, 42:19. See also Chap. III, note 9.

70. II, 12:24 (II, 75).

own remarks, "I said", and adds, "I answer that...;" both the word qult and the answer are duplicated in the Burhān as al-Zarkashī's remark.[71] It is true that the Itqān expands on the remark, adding a full tradition which al-Zarkashī has only mentioned. But this does not change the fact that the remark is taken from the Burhān and that the Itqān makes it seem to be al-Suyūṭī's personal comment. The same confusion results in another extended dependent passage, given without credit and including a characteristic pattern for al-Suyūṭī's personal additions, "so we say."[72]

It has already been noted that tanbīhāt sections are likely to be based on the Burhān. One of these takes over an anonymous formula as given by al-Zarkashī, "some of them have asserted," then continues through a phrase used by al-Zarkashī to show his personal preference, "And the best..." (wa 'l-ṣawāb).[73] The ordinary reader of the Itqān might assume this is the opinion of some unknown author, but is more likely to accept it as al-Suyūṭī's own choice. The same occurs once more, in the midst of material certainly from the Burhān, with only the key word changed, "the first is correct" for "...is to be chosen."[74]

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71. I, 30:2 (I, 28).

72. II, 108:34 (I, 40); the subdivision begins at line 31 (I, 35), and continues through 109:25.

73. II, 77:27 (II, 377).

74. I, 168:11 (IV, 136), wa 'l-ṣahīh al-awwil, for wa 'l-mukhtār....
The whole excerpt begins at line 9, with "it has been said" inserted into the Burhān passage, as well as at line 10.

The decision about whether or not al-Suyūṭī intended that these should

be taken as his opinion is exactly the one under discussion here.

All these examples weigh heavily in favor of the first alterna-

tive, that al-Suyūṭī purposely covered the extend of dependency, even

that he resented the heavy debt he owed to al-Zarkashī. And yet most

of these could just as well be explained by the other alternative—a

curious indifference to detail, as if the whole issue did not really

matter. The very fact that it is "curious" to modern scholarship indi-

cates that standards used to measure the Itqān are quite different

from those within which al-Suyūṭī wrote. On the basis of this second

hypothesis, the examples noted above might be accidental lapses which

occurred not out of purposeful deceit, but rather a total unconcern

about the technical aspects of who should get credit and in what form.

Supporting this analysis is al-Suyūṭī's general carelessness in

all transfers of material to his Itqān. Perhaps he felt no more bound

to acknowledge the source of all his material than he did to be accu-

rate in his reproduction of it. The next chapter, which deals with

the variations occurring even within the framework of dependency, may

contribute further support for this second possible answer to the

dilemma of anonymous material in the Itqān.

CHAPTER IV

DIVERGENCE WITHIN DEPENDENCY

In the foregoing chapters the emphasis has necessarily been upon
the elements of similarity between parallel passages of the Itqān and
Burhān. Now it is time to examine the differences which have come to
exist in the same dependent material. This chapter describes the vari-
ous types of change which occur in the Burhān text as it passes over
into the Itqān, and the probable reasons for them. Chapter V goes one
step further to examine the creative role played by al-Suyūṭī himself in
the Itqān, despite the overall picture of dependency which is character-
istic of it.

A. Misprints

Many of the variations which seem to exist in this material can
be disposed of quickly as misprints in the printed text used for this
study. It has not been necessary to survey the whole text of the Itqān
for such misprints, but wherever there has been reason to suspect that
significant differences between the Itqān and Burhān parallels might
be explained in this way, other manuscripts have been compared.[1]

Thus, for example, a single word added to a Burhān passage gives
a meaning in the Itqān exactly opposite to that intended by al-Zarkashī.

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1. See Chap. I, note 52.

One would be inclined to think that al-Suyūṭī had completely misunderstood the text, but the word does not occur in manuscript (H).[2] At another place, one word seems to have been omitted by al-Suyūṭī, according to the printed text, and a styllistic device used by al-Zarkashī has been rendered ineffective; again, the word is found in the other manuscripts.[3] Again, the name of Makkī has been dropped out at the end of a page in the printed edition, leaving the verb "he said" without any subject; the name appears in (H).[4]

Frequently a misprint is due to the fact that two words are written almost identically in the Arabic script. Either one of the two words al-takhfīf and al-taḥqīq would fit equally well into certain discussions about the hamza; the fact that the Itqān edition has the former and the Burhān, the latter, might suggest that al-Suyūṭī misread al-Zarkashī's handwriting. It was al-Suyūṭī's editor who made the error, since other manuscripts show that al-Suyūṭī was accurate in his transcription of the Burhān at this point.[5] A similar problem--a confusion between the words qirā'a and qurrā', which are similar in orthography but quite different in meaning--can also be resolved as a

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2. II, 37:21 (II, 279), "except" (illā).

3. II, 180:8 (II, 163) al-taḥlīl is necessary for the series of parallel word pairs; it is found in (H) and (A).

4. II, 20:35.

5. I, 80:20 (II, 320). See also I, 174:34 (IV, 373), li 'l-taʻlīl in the Burhān and (H), but li 'l-taqlīl in the Itqān edition.

misprint.[6] One curious irregularity makes the _Itqān_ read "al-Zamakhsharī has replied to that in the _Burhān_," as if al-Suyūṭī were admitting his dependency on al-Zarkashī's text for quotations from other men. However, manuscript (H) has al-Zarkashī's own name at that point.[7] Several other names as printed in the _Itqān_ edition differ from their form in the _Burhān_; in many instances (H) provides a corrective by agreeing with the _Burhān_.[8]

If the _Itqān_ edition were to be taken as authentic, it would be necessary to assume that al-Suyūṭī had not understood al-Zarkashī's text at many points,[9] or had been careless in his use of it.[10] These

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6. I, 66:15 (I, 265). (H) and the _Burhān_ read al-qurrā', See Appendix IV, No. 10.

7. I, 174:16 (IV, 370). The _Burhān_ actually refers to al-Zamakhsharī in the parallel passage, so the problem is not as simple as it may seem. Perhaps other early manuscripts do have that name. Other passages which suggest the two names may be confused are mentioned in Chap. I, note 77.

8. I, 161:4 (IV, 270), al-Ṭabarī in the _Burhān_ and (H) becomes al-Ṭabarānī. II, 185:31 (I, 432), al-Kirmānī in the _Burhān_, (H) and (A) becomes al-Kirsānī. I, 114:5 (I, 292) should read Ibn Ṭarīf, not Ibn Zarīf. 135:34 (I, 288) Ibn Aws should read Ibn Fāris. II, 12:20 (II, 76) al-Ñakrabādhī should read al-Bikrābādhī.

9. I, 197:28 (IV, 49). An extra dot changes fa ḥariyyun, as in the Burhān and (H) to fa jarā. II, 30:10 (IV, 75). A changed form for the final "t" changes al-ṣilāt to al-ṣalāt. 45:10 (III, 443). A slight orthographic change makes al-takthīr from the more meaningful al-takabbur. I, 84:20 (I, 351) An added "l" on huwa makes no sense. 78:8 (II, 126). Two adjacent letters are confused, so al-wāḥid dūna becomes al-wāḥidūna. 197:29 (IV, 50). The particle in lam yastafhamū becomes lā, which is impossible, grammatically. II, 21:3 (II, 29) An added dot changes naḥwa mā to nujūman.

10. II, 85:6 (III, 315) takhsīs becomes takhtaṣṣ. 119:8 (II, 95) 'illa is written as a verb. 71:22 (II, 465), one added dot changes

conclusions may still be necessary for other changes made by al-Suyūṭī, but at least some are explained more easily, as misprints in the Itqān.

B. Arbitrary, Minor Changes

A second category of variations includes all the apparently irrelevant and quite arbitrary changes which occur so often in Burhān material as it appears in the Itqān. These are not very significant in themselves, except as they illustrate a general attitude on the part of al-Suyūṭī. Good examples are to be found in the pious phrases and invocations which are frequently used in Muslim writing.

Generally speaking, al-Suyūṭī's tendency is toward deletion of these phrases, for the sake of abbreviation. However, he is not at all consistent in this; the changes frequently seem purely arbitrary. Thus, for example, the opposite change can be seen from one line to the next in the Itqān, as when ta'ālā is omitted after the pronoun for God in qawluhu, where it is found in the Burhān, then added when al-Zarkashī has not made use of it![11] Substitutions for the forms used in the Burhān occur in almost any conceivable pattern or combination.[12] The

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tafsīlan to tafdīlan, either of which would fit in the context. 136:23 (II, 25), a preposition li, necessary to the meaning, is omitted before al-'ālam.

11. Compare I, 165:8 and 9 (IV, 159); (see Appendix IV, No. 2); II, 166:29 and 30 (I, 377); 157:14 (I, 438) and 158:25 (I, 442); 136:15 and 23 (II, 24, 25).

12. Examples are: ta'ālā for subḥāna, at I, 162:22 (IV, 279), II, 13:34 (III, 276), 133:25 (III, 41); subḥāna wa ta'ālā for the latter only, at 136:13 (II, 26), 156:11 (I, 438); both added, where the Burhān has nothing, at 136:7 (II, 26), etc.

most nearly consistent form of abbreviation used by al-Suyūṭī is the
substitution of a simple nahw for the more pious formula usually used
to introduce a verse in the Burhān. But even here the reverse substi-
tution can also be observed.[13]

The same pattern of omission can be seen in other areas--the
respectful adjectives modifying the Qur'ān,[14] and more frequently,
the invocations used after the names of prophets or respected Muslim
predecessors.[15] And when, at one point, al-Suyūṭī also ignores the
phrase usually added to express awe or ignorance before a particularly
difficult dilemma,[16] one is tempted to see a kind of arrogance in al-
Suyūṭī, apparent in this use of the Burhān material. However, one must
be careful about drawing such a conclusion; again, the evidence is far
from consistent. The pious phrases are used from time to time, and
respectful titles do frequently appear in the Itqān for names of
scholars quoted by al-Suyūṭī.

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13. II, 136:9 (II, 26) qāla ta‘ālā for nahw. For examples of the
    usual substitution, see Appendix IV, No. 2.

14. II, 109:6 (I, 40), al-‘aẓīm; 108:15 (I, 36), 109:31 (I, 43) al-
    karīm.

15. II, 166:31 (I, 378), "on him peace," after the name of Adam; 172:
    27 (I, 478), "may God be pleased with him,‘ after ‘Uthmān; 174:26
    (I, 15), the same, with a feminine pronoun, after ‘Ā’isha; 167:1
    (II, 379), "may God have mercy on him," after Mālik, or 167:4
    (I, 379), after Aḥmad, or 174:31 (I, 16), al-Khuwaybī.

16. II, 108:31 (I, 53), wa 'llāhu a‘lam. See also indications of this
    same arrogance in the life of al-Suyūṭī, Chap. I, pp. 10-11. But
    see the expression at II, 37:20, after a perplexing series of
    alternate possibilities.

C. Verse Changes

The explanation for variations which occur in the Qur'ānic verses used may probably be found in the Muslim writer's dependence on memory for his Qur'ānic references. This is not to imply that memories were inaccurate or undependable—though this may have been a factor at times—but only that an author using another man's text would probably only glance at the verses given as evidence, then write them on his own. Verses at parallel points in the Itqān and Burhān may seem to be the same, but on closer examination will be found to differ in minor details. It is clear that at these points an entirely different verse has been used by al-Suyūṭī, probably supplied from his own memory.

The difference may be as little as innā instead of innī,[17] or bashshirūhu rather than nubashshiruka,[18] but in either case, the two verses are from separate locations in the Qur'ān. The frequency with which this occurs is further explained by the repetitive nature of the Qur'ān, especially in verse endings or refrains. These make it quite understandable that some confusion would result as material moved from the Burhān to the Itqān.[19]

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17. II, 37:9 (II, 270, note 5). The Itqān uses the former word, from al-Shu'arā' 26:16; the parallel verse in the Burhān is al-Zukhruf 43:46.

18. II, 37:22 (II, 279, note 8), al-Ḥijr 15:53 and al-Dhāriyāt 51:28; both verses continue bi ghulāmin 'alīm.

19. al-Zarkashī has a chapter which is not used for the Itqān, about verses or phrases appearing more than once in the Qur'ān. Some occur as many as thirteen times, exactly duplicated, though these

At times al-Suyūṭī may have had some reason for the changing of a verse. In at least one instance he seems to have used a slightly different verse because it was a better example of what the man quoted had been saying.[20] At other points he may be correcting what he feels is an error in the Burhān.[21] However, the Itqān verse may also be the one which is incorrect, when compared with that used in the Burhān.[22] Whereas some of the verse changes fall under the category of misprints in the printed edition,[23] most can only be explained by the hypothesis suggested above, a careless dependence on memory, rather than an attentive reporduction of what the other author has written.[24]

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are only brief segments. (See Chap. 5, at I, 111ff, ʻIlm al-Mutashābih, not to be confused with the "ambiguous" or "obscure" verses, al-mutashābihāt, Chap. 36, used in part by al-Suyūṭī for his Chap. 43, II, 2ff.)

20. I, 198:20 (IV, 71). The key difference is mukhrij, in the Itqān, from al-Anʻām 6:95, and yukhrij, al-Rūm 30:19.

21. II, 38:2 (II, 293) al-Baqara 2:232 is correct as in the Itqān. I, 89:1 (I, 374) balā wa rabbī is the same, from Sabaʼ 34:3.

22. I, 50:26 (I, 275) al-Raʻd 13:37 has no min before baʻd mā. I, 197:2 (IV, 47) Yūnus 9:34 is repeated incorrectly in the Itqān, with fa added before man. II, 61:34 (III, 130) al-Baqara 2:222 has no fa before lā taqrabūhunna.

23. I, 41:27 (I, 231), unzila should be nuzzila, as in the Burhān and (H), al-Furqān 25:32. I, 197:2 (IV, 45) taʻbudu should be naʻbudu, as in the Burhān and (H), al-Shuʻarāʼ 26:71.

24. Further examples are: II, 42:26 (III, 422), where the Itqān has Yūnus 10:24, but the Burhān, al-Kahf 18:45. II, 43:10 (III, 421) al-Hadīd 57:21 for Āl ʻImrān 4:132. II, 37:9 (II, 270) al-Shuʻarāʼ 26:16 for al-Zukhruf 43:46. II, 73:15 (II, 493) Yūnus 10:17 for al-Anʻām 6:21. In some cases a parallel source may have contributed the different verse, as in II, 82:19 (II, 323) al-Shuʻarāʼ 26:102 for al-Zumr 39:158)

D. Basic Changes

To this point the divergences within the dependent relationship of the _Itqān_ and _Burhān_ have been relatively insignificant, both in their effect on the material, but even more because they seem largely un-planned. Some of the changes under consideration in this section may not seem any more important, but in almost all of them al-Suyūṭī has consciously adapted material to his own use and patterns. A study of these will therefore prepare the way for further examination of al-Suyūṭī's personal initiative, in Chap. V.

1. Verb Forms

Purposeful adaptation can be illustrated first in a very simple matter—al-Suyūṭī's apparent preference for the masculine verb form whenever the sentence structure permitted its use. Where a subject of feminine gender comes _after_ its verb, al-Zarkashī is most likely to use a verb form of the same gender. Time and again al-Suyūṭī uses the other option open in such a subject-verb situation and changes the verb slightly to make it masculine.

Many examples might be given. When the subject, _al-barā'a_, follows its verb, the form is changed to _yatabayyan_.[25] A plural subject, _al-shawāhid_, which, because non-articulate, would usually take a feminine singular verb, has its verb changed to real _law ṣaḥabaha_.[26] Sometimes

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25. II, 119:16 (II, 97), the _Burhān_ has _tatabayyan_.

26. II, 179:36 (II, 162), _law ṣahabatha_. See also II, 180:7 (II, 163), _yaqsara_, with the subject _afhām al-mujtahidīn_.

the same change may occur when the subject has been mentioned <u>before</u>
the verb, but at some distance from it; al-Suyūṭī still makes the same
substitution for al-Zarkashī's feminine verb form.[27] At one point
three examples of the variation occur within as many lines.[28]

Of course there are exceptions to this rule. In a single line of
the <u>Itqān</u> al-Suyūṭī first follows al-Zarkashī in using a feminine verb,
but then changes another verb to the feminine![29] But even without abso-
lute consistency at every point, an overall pattern is clear. al-Suyūṭī
feels free enough about his use of the dependent material to make con-
scious changes which are, to his mind, improvements on the work of his
predecessor.

2. Word Changes

What has been seen so clearly in verb forms can also be traced in
other types of material. Quite often al-Suyūṭī's change <u>does</u> make more
sense, or fits into the context more naturally, than does the parallel
text from the <u>Burhān</u>. One series in the <u>Burhān</u> uses the two titles
<u>fāʾida</u> and <u>qāʿida</u> interchangeably, perhaps to differentiate between
types of material included under each, though this is not at all clear.

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27. I, 146:16 (IV, 178), <u>al-hamza</u> is the subject; the <u>Burhān</u> has <u>ṣārat</u>,
the <u>Itqān</u>, <u>ṣāra</u>.

28. II, 167:1, 3, 4 (I, 379), <u>yaktub, yughayyir, yuharram</u>. Other random
examples are: II, 136:25 (II, 25), <u>fa yatanāqad</u>; II, 179:16 (II,
160), <u>yumaththal</u>; II, 179:34 (II, 162), <u>fa yakūn</u>. See also II, 174:32
(I, 16) where the printed <u>Itqān</u> has <u>lam tasil al-nās</u>, but (H) has
the masculine verb.

29. II, 135:24 (II, 24) <u>li tafham</u> (H) <u>al-jamāʿa</u>, and <u>tulzimahum al-Ḥujja</u>.

al-Suyūṭī corrects the irregularity, making a sequence using the one term, "principle" (qāʿida).[30]

In another example, two changes within a few lines are intentional improvements. The word al-ʿaql fits the verse illustrating it far better than al-Zarkashī's al-fiʿl.[31] And to speak of the tongue as the "sign of mentioning" (the name of God) is not as meaningful as al-Suyūṭī's "its instrument."[32] In a quotation about the faʿlān pattern as seen in al-Rahmān, a name for God, al-Suhaylī comments that it is a tanbīh form, which is hardly very helpful. al-Suyūṭī's change, to al-tathniya, "the dual," is much more helpful in the context.[33]

These corrective changes of al-Suyūṭī are important enough to warrant a few more examples. In a discussion of "greediness," al-hibāt seems to be more appropriate than al-Zarkashī's bi 'l-hay'āt.[34] A dual pronoun nahwahumā is certainly correct, and agrees with the source quoted by al-Zarkashī. This is probably fortuitous, and does not mean that al-Suyūṭī has used the original source; the rest of the passage clearly follows the Burhān version of the material.[35] To speak of the

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30. I, 197:11 (IV, 46) and 198:10, to be consistent with the Burhān's qāʿida, at 16 (IV, 47).

31. II, 37:26 (II, 271). The whole passage reads, "And to speak of the mind ("action" or "deed," in the Burhān) by saying the heart, as in, 'They have hearts but do not understand'," al-Aʿrāf 7:167.

32. II, 37:30, ālatuhu for āyat al-dhikr.

33. II, 94:23 (II, 505).

34. II, 194:30 (IV, 79).

35. II, 97:30 (I, 55, note 1). Note 3, li makān, supports use of the original; notes 2, 7, 8, 10, 11, are all strongly for dependency.

"craft" or "art" (ṣinā'a) of rhetoric is to use a better word than jamā'a.[36] "At the union (al-ittiḥād) of the two they become one kind" seems to make more sense than "the inimitability" (al-i'jāz), though that may be what is intended in the larger context.[37] And in a passage speaking about whether exegesis is permitted or not, "feasible" may be more suitable than "obligatory."[38]

One explanation for these corrections might be that al-Suyūṭī was more successful in deciphering the Burhān manuscript than the modern editor, or that he had other manuscripts available. Thus he might represent a more accurate picture of the Burhān at these points than the present edition does. It is true that occasionally the Itqān seems to follow one or other of the manuscripts used in editing the Burhān, whenever a footnote gives an alternate reading. But not enough consistent evidence appears to make a case for the use of any particular one of the manuscripts; and it may well be al-Suyūṭī used one altogether different from those available now.[39] It is at least an interesting hypothesis that through al-Suyūṭī's dependency on the Burhān, he may at times have restored a better text than is now available.

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36. I, 197:23 (IV, 49).

37. II, 70:20 (II, 447).

38. II, 180:12 (II, 163), in lam yajuz for yajib.

39. I, 43:15 (I, 229, note 2), the Itqān has al-malakīya, following manuscripts Ṭ and M; I, 40:34 (I, 230, note 5), Ṭ only; II, 76:33 (II, 317, note 5), M; I, 197:8 (IV, 44), the change in book title, from al-Iḍāḥ in the Burhān to al-Ifṣāh in the Itqān, corresponds to M. Of course there would be no record if al-Suyūṭī followed a manuscript not used by the modern editor of the Burhān.

E. Errors

Unfortunately, for all the improvements listed here, there are quite as many points where the opposite is true, and al-Suyūṭī's change confuses or detracts from the clarity of al-Zarkashī's expressions. Thus a reversal of two words changes the meaning from "another tradition" to "the last tradition," though the first is clearly meant by the context in both books.[40] "Deletion of answer" has almost the same orthography as "with letters of answer," but since the next word is "in abbreviation," surely the first, as used by the Burhān, must be correct.[41]

In the latter example al-Suyūṭī may have had trouble with the Arabic script, and confused two words. Many other illustrations can be given where orthography has been a factor. "Trust" (al-thiqa) makes far less natural reading than the Burhān's "training" or "education" (al-tafaqquh) in the context.[42] Another passage is curious in that al-Suyūṭī has discarded a verb which he uses frequently in connection with traditions and substituted another, quite unlikely one.[43] A

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40. I, 111:35 (I, 481), fī ḥadīth ākhar, the Burhān text, is surely correct; fī ākhir ḥadīth is the Itqān reading.

41. I, 197:13 (IV, 46), maḥdhūf al-jawāb in the Burhān becomes bi ḥurūf al-jawāb; the following word is ikhtiṣāran.

42. II, 183:20 (II, 171). The passage speaks of "achieving...in a recognized way." It could possibly refer to the respect and trust which the exegete should win from the people, but the other is more likely.

43. II, 179:28 (II, 162) yasniduhu burhān, "supported by evidence," becomes yashidduhu, "pushed" or "stretched" by it.

phrase used to describe the level of Companions in exegesis apparently caused the copyist of the (H) manuscript some trouble, and he added vowels to clarify it. Even so, the Burhān passage has a much more appropriate word at this point.[44]

As always, evidence has fallen in line on both sides of the picture. The examples given are only representative of many more. Variations within the framework of duplicated material are everywhere; at times they show al-Suyūṭī as a careful scholar, clarifying, correcting. At others he seems to stumble his way through al-Zarkashī's orderly text, making a shambles of it. What is the dominant impression?

Surely the answer must include both elements, and must take into account an attitude of basic unconcern for detail or consistency, an attitude so fluid that it could lead to corrections but also to abberations!

One thing to be learned from this study is the need for extreme caution in use of any writer whose work was done within this atmosphere of free and even careless adaptation of earlier material.

F. Changes in Names Used

Finally, reference should be made to the problem of names in the Burhān and Itqān. al-Suyūṭī has made innumerable changes in the names or book titles taken over in material used from the Burhān. The changes

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44. II, 178:35 (II, 156). al-ṭirāz al-muʿlam (as vowelled in H) reads al-ṭirāz al-awwil, in the Burhān.

here follow naturally upon the last discussion, since there seems to be more purposeful variation here than in almost any other area. Several examples might be given.

In a list of books about the Arabic language, al-Suyūṭī adopts a book title, al-Bāriʿ, from the parallel list in the Burhān, but carefully changes the name of its author.[45] The editor of the Burhān gives a biographical note about the man mentioned, with a reference to al-Suyūṭī's own book, Baghyat al-Wuʿaʾ.[46] The same series of books includes another difficulty for an "outsider" to the world of Muslim scholarship, where names can be so elusively similar. Both books speak of the largest text on the subject[47] as that of Ibn al-Sayyid (in the Itqān) or Ibn Sayyid (in the Burhān).[48] Later in the same list they both speak of the Muḥkam, by Ibn Sayyidihi, apparently an entirely different author.[49] A similar confusion arises from the names Abū ʿUbayda and Abū ʿUbayd.[50] Orthographic confusion is also a factor in identifying the name printed as al-Khuwaybī in the Itqān. It

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45. I, 114:4 (I, 291) al-Fārābī, for Abū ʿAlī al-Qālī.

46. p. 198.

47. I, 114:3, "the biggest of them is..." in the Itqān; "the one having the most subjects is...", in the Burhān.

48. The editor of the Burhān (I, 291, note 4) gives the correct form as that with the definite article. See Appendix I for the full name.

49. The Burhān (I, 292, note 2).

50. I, 51:8 (I, 277), where the Burhān has Abū ʿUbayd, but the Itqān, Abū ʿUbayda. At II, 184:30 (II, 169), the exact opposite occurs!

usually appears in (H) as al-Khūbī,[51] and parallel references in the Burhān identify him as al-Khuwīy,[52] or once even as al-Qāḍī Ibn al-Jawzī.[53]

One change is of special significance: al-Dadhmārī becomes al-Kamāl al-Dhamārī,[54] and an erasure in manuscript (H) suggests that its copyist, a pupil of al-Suyūṭī, only omitted the extra letter (dh) after reading his manuscript to his teacher for approval.[55] The substitution of al-Zarkashī's name for that of al-Zamakhsharī, noted earlier,[56] may also have taken place in this final reading. One can sense a certain dogmatic certainty on the part of al-Suyūṭī that he knew better than others how names and book titles should be written.

Another substitution is equally deliberate. Both books agree on a first name, al-ʿImād, but there the difference ends. al-Zarkashī has al-Nayhī, ṣāhib al-Baghawī (the "friend" or "colleague of"); al-Suyūṭī changes this to al-Bayhaqī, tilmīdh al-Baghawī (the "student of...").[57]

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51. I, 150:26 (IV, 188), I, 149:30, II, 77:17 (II, 378). The orthography of the name makes it impossible to be dogmatic about how it should be read in (H).

52. II, 156:24 (I, 439), II, 174:31 (I, 16).

53. I, 150:26 (IV, 188).

54. I, 63:33 (I, 246).

55. See Chap. I, note 53, for details about the manuscript.

56. I, 174:16. See Chap. I, note 78; this chapter, note 7.

57. I, 112:34 (I, 483).

The change is clearly deliberate. The editor of the <u>Burhān</u> identifies the name al-Zarkashī uses;[58] al-Suyūṭī's reference remains obscure.[59]

The confusion here is of only secondary concern for this study, and could be sorted out by further research in Arabic encyclopaedic sources. Very likely the anticipated new edition of the <u>Itqān</u>[60] will also answer many questions of this kind. A more perplexing problem here relates to the material which al-Zarkashī has given as his own, but which the <u>Itqān</u> quotes from an author by name. The suggestion that al-Zamakhsharī's name has been confused with that of al-Zarkashī has been mentioned above, and is confirmed in one case by comparison with (H).[61] Other passages, unexplained in this way, remain a mystery. The same problem occurs again with other names: al-Badr b. Jamāʻa,[62]

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58. The <u>Burhān</u> (I, 476).

59. al-Bayhaqī is named frequently, as the author of books within the area of tradition collections, but his death date puts him in another generation from the al-Baghawī quoted here. See Appendix I for details. Other name changes are: I, 153:14 (IV, 234), Abū Ḥayyān for Ibn Ḥibban. II, 46:13 (III, 432) al-Ṭarṭūshī for al-Ṭarṭūsī. 71:20 (II, 464) Abū Ḥayyān for Athīr al-Dīn (another name for the same person). 70:2 (II, 436). Where the <u>Burhān</u> has Abū 'l-Ḥasan, the <u>Itqān</u> gives two names, al-Akhfash and al-Fārisī; apparently the former is Abū 'l-Ḥasan, as in 76:3 (II, 316).

60. See Chap. I, note 86.

61. I, 174:16 (IV, 370), but not at I, 162:14 (IV, 276), I, 152:8 (IV, 235). See also this chapter, p. 14, note 57.

62. II, 68:25 (III, 25).

Fakhr al-Din,[63] al-Marākashī,[64] and al-Iṣbahānī.[65] Could it be that al-Suyūṭī recognized material which al-Zarkashī had used from other men, without giving credit, and therefore restored the name of the original authors? Or did al-Suyūṭī deliberately supply names to al-Zarkashī's own material in the Burhān? The only possible motive for the latter would be to conceal the extent of dependency on the Burhān. And yet al-Suyūṭī seems to have been deliberate and purposeful in other author changes he has made in Burhān material, so it seems unlikely that he would have supplied names to it unless he had sound basis for doing so.

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63. II, 105:22 (I, 72).

64. II, 168:11 (I, 397).

65. II, 173:22 (II, 149), though al-Rāghib (another name for the same man) is mentioned earlier on the same page, at line 12.

CHAPTER V

INITIATIVE WITHIN DEPENDENCY

No one can seriously doubt, after examination of the evidence presented thus far, that the predominant characteristic of al-Suyūṭī's Itqān is its dependency upon other sources. But it is necessary, at the close of this study, to examine the matter of al-Suyūṭī's own role as an author. What creative part does he still play, despite the patterns of dependency? How does his personality show through, against the background of other men's material?

A. Collection, Arrangement

It should be stated from the start that any rigid distinction between encyclopaedic collecting, on the one hand, and creative initiative, on the other, is not altogether valid. The author's personality and all his ability are also involved in the decisions about which material to use and how it will be arranged. And though the present chapter will not deal with this area, some recognition of it must be made in passing.

That collection of material required much endeavor and perseverance was particularly true of the time in which al-Suyūṭī lived. The technical difficulties of sorting through the Itqān's sources, as they existed then, was extremely exacting. All were handwritten manuscripts, few in number and difficult to obtain. al-Sakhāwī commented about books

which al-Suyūṭī had borrowed from his own personal library.[1] Sometimes

the manuscripts were so valuable that they were not to be taken out of

a library, a rule which infuriated men as proud as al-Suyūṭī.[2] It is

recorded that al-Zarkashī rarely went out of his house except to go to

the market where manuscripts were sold; while there he did not buy

anything, but sat for hours transferring items of interest to his note-

books.[3] The same scarcity of manuscripts explains why al-Suyūṭī, even

though he lived in the same city as his predecessor, a little more than

a century later, should have heard of his major work only belatedly,

and had to search diligently to find a copy.

Manuscripts were expensive to produce, as was the material on which

they were written. There could be no hasty first draft dashed off on a

typewriter and duplicated by mimeograph or xerox copier for circula-

tion among colleagues and for later revision. Indices were rudimentary;

an author had to depend on his own memory to locate a piece of material

he had read previously, and wanted to quote. Hours of searching might

be required to locate the relevant passage. This also meant relative

impunity for those who "borrowed" other men's material; the case for

dependency established here would have been far more difficult if only

handwritten manuscripts for the Itqān and Burhān had been available.

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1. Chap. I, note 36.

2. Goldziher, op. cit., p. 24, records the following: "al-Subkī became
   angry and said, ' Men like me do not need the books of this library;
   rather this library needs men like me'."

3. Introduction to the Burhān, (I, 4), in a quotation from Ibn Ḥajar.

But it also made the gathering of material a far more exacting job than anything done in scholarship today.

Thus one must be careful not to write off the encyclopaedic gathering of the Itqān as irrelevant to an understanding of al-Suyūṭī's own effort and initiative. Considerable skill was needed simply to piece the fragments together into a meaningful whole. Chap. 78 has been mentioned before as an example of this.[4] The segment about the fifteen sciences needed for an exegete, taken from some unknown source, is fitted perfectly to the Burhān's statement, "People have differed about the exegesis of the Qur'ān, whether it is permissible for just anyone to go deeply into it."[5] The intricate harmonizing of an outline and some quotations from Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, with material from the parallel outline of the Burhān,[6] is quite readable, and stands on its own as a basic survey of Muslim thinking about the various meanings of a question

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4. II, 175:34ff. See Chap. III, note 51.

5. II, 180:26 (II, 164), introduced with "Some of them have said." The next segment also begins with an anonymous formula (line 26), "One of the groups has said that no one may venture into exegesis without going back to what is transmitted from the Prophet...Another group has said that exegesis is permitted to anyone who has mastered all the sciences required of an exegete, which are fifteen in number." The whole anonymous passage, beginning with the two alternate opinions and continuing through the series of sciences, is from some unidentified source. From here on it is used with the Burhān, text from which is inserted at 181:8-21 (II, 100, 124: I, 311). The list of sciences is not in the Burhān, but it must have been fairly common in other Muslim writings about exegesis. It has been taken over from the Itqān with minor changes, in al-Dhahabī, op. cit. (Chap. I, note 21), I, pp. 266-8.

6. II, 79 (II, 328ff). See Appendix IV, No. 7.

in the Arabic language. The chapter on Abrogation weaves together
fragments of material from almost all the sources named at its outset,
and is an excellent summary of Muslim thinking on the subject.[7] It
need not necessarily detract from the skill required for arranging the
material that most of the first two pages comes by way of the Burhān,[8]
and that al-Zarkashī's name never appears. Despite this, the text reads
well, and al-Suyūṭī has provided what he intended, a reference article
on the subject. Credit must be given him for this achievement, even if
it is not exactly within the area of personal creativity.

B. Additions

1. After qult, or aqūl

Turning now to al-Suyūṭī's own contributions to the Itqān, the most
natural point of departure is the characteristic phrase, "I have said"
or "I say," used by al-Suyūṭī to mark his additions to material used
from other sources. As a clue to his original comments it needs to be
used with some care. Often it simply introduces a further quotation or
tradition in support of the previous opinion mentioned,[9] or in opposition

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7. II, 20:29ff.

8. From the beginning through II, 21:11 (II, 29-32); the quotation from
   al-Nīsābūrī completes the Burhān material. The words of al-Shāfi'ī
   are not in the Burhān, but at lines 16-24 (II, 41), 26-29 (II, 33)
   and 22:1-6 (II, 35, 39), a series of points is continued as in the
   Burhān. These are interspersed with Makkī quotations, at 21:24, 33,
   and 22:6, since he is probably the parallel source at this point.

9. I, 15:11, "I said, 'Supporting that (yu'ayyiduhu) is what al-Bazār
   has transmitted from Ibn 'Abbās'." Other random examples: I, 21:8,
   48:29, 57:4; II, 162:1.

to it.[10] In this case the word is no more than a transition into a new

piece of dependent material; its use would have been far more significant

if it had been reserved consistently for al-Suyūṭī's personal comments.

However, this element can be eliminated from those instances where

the word appears, and the original contributions introduced by it isolat-

ed for study. At times a further idea or solution which has occured to

al-Suyūṭī is given in this way.[11] The word is used twice to present

some lines of al-Suyūṭī's own poetry.[12] It may also mark the beginning

of his answer to an opinion just mentioned,[13] or his solution to a

problem which has just been stated,[14] or simply his additional comment

10. II, 61:16. "I said, 'Opposed to that (yuʿāriduhu) is what Ibn Abī
    Dāwūd has transmitted..." I, 65:34, yarudduhu.

11. I, 184:25. "I said, 'And there occurred to me another aspect'," an
    explanation in addition to the five already given for a verse from
    Ṭaha 20:63. II, 89:15, "...Another verse like it is..." 69:13,
    "...a fourth answer occurs to me..." (the answer uses a quotation
    from al-Ḥākim in his Mustadrak), and at line 15, "...a fifth an-
    swer, which is the strongest..." These are added to the three
    answers already given, in material taken from the Burhān (III, 29).
    I, 177:24, a third and fourth example are given.

12. II, 141:8-19, about arabicized foreign vocabulary in the Qur'ān;
    al-Suyūṭī's poetry is an extension of verses on the same subject
    given from Ibn al-Subkī, at 140:32 and Ibn Ḥajar, at 141:3. See
    also the poetic arrangement of abrogating and abrogated verses,
    at II, 23:21, introduced, "I have arranged them into lines of
    poetry, so I said..."

13. I, 192:14 (aqūl) . "There is no contradiction here at all..." 196:
    16, "Oh, how I wish I knew where they get the idea that this an-
    swer does not fit the question asked" (about the waning of the moon
    at al-Baqara 2:189). The intensity may be because al-Suyūṭī was
    rejecting a Burhān passage (IV, 142-3), but more likely because the
    analysis seems to question the veracity of God. I, 145:10, an ex-
    ception is added. 182:22, another answer.

14. I, 91:6. After explaining the previous saying, he adds, "But a
    better explanation is..." 41:16. He shows preference for the

on a subject.[15] Whatever follows _qult_, it is usually a brief comment,
rarely more than a line or two. In one case where the _qult_ passage ex-
tends to a full six lines, in support of the opinion of al-Juwaynī, it
ends, "And I have seen in [what is transmitted] from the predecessors
what supports the saying of al-Juwaynī."[16] Thus it might be concluded
that the comments are extended only when based, even indirectly, upon
another source; the pattern for al-Suyūṭī's own _qult_ additions is
much more consistently brief.[17]

The same brevity will be noted in other categories to be examined
now. No exact count has been kept of the total amount of material to
be found in these brief remarks of al-Suyūṭī, in number of lines. But
certainly it is not at all extensive, and indicates again the limited
range within which al-Suyūṭī's personal initiative is allowed to show
through.

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second alternative. I, 35:36, an explanation of how _Sūrat al-
Fātiḥa_ might have been revealed at two different times. 23:8,
showing a preference.

15. I, 80:17. "In that, there are several points of view, as will
come later." II, 21:13, a cross-reference to a book by al-Suyūṭī
on the subject. 179:2. "...What is correct from that is very
little indeed; indeed, traditions raised to the Prophet (al-marfūʿ)
in it are extremely rare, and I will include them at the end of
this book, if the Lord (be exalted) is willing."

16. I, 44:15-21.

17. See the following _qult_ passages, based on other sources: I, 45:
22-26, the names of Companions who related the tradition about
seven _aḥruf_, probably meaning alternative ways of reading the
Qurʾān. 63:10-13, leading into a tradition from al-Bayhaqī. But
see the extended _qult_ passage about sūra names, at I, 56:1, which
seems to be al-Suyūṭī's own!

2. Explanatory Glosses

Similarly brief additions appear after the word ay, "that is,"

ya'nī, "meaning," or their equivalent. Material which al-Suyūṭī has

found difficult in his sources is clarified by these explanatory notes.

Thus a quotation from Sībawayhi is longer than its parallel in the Bur-

hān, and might at first seem to be directly from the original source.

On closer examination it becomes clear that the additional phrase is

only al-Suyūṭī's gloss, following the word ay.[18] Again, an explanation

with ya'nī is introduced with the formula qult, noted above. Then, after

its clarification of the subject under study, al-Suyūṭī adds a further

alternative, "And better than that is..."[19] A ya'nī gloss slipped into

a quotation from Ibn Munayyir is the only part of that passage that is

not found in the Burhān.[20]

At times the explanation may appear without either of the words

usually used to identify it (ay and ya'nī). al-Sa'īdī has described

Sūrat al-Ḥajj (22) as most amazing because of the widely different kinds

of verses to be found in it.[21] al-Suyūṭī, feeling that the designation

of these types was not altogether clear, added his own explanation,

after qult, the more general word for personal comments. The gloss may

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18. I, 173:35 (IV, 363).

19. I, 91:6.

20. II, 102:27 (I, 86).

21. II, 162:34. "It contains Makkan and Madīnan verses, some revealed
    while [he was] travelling and others while he was at rest, some
    revealed at night, and others by day."

also be no more than a phrase added to the Burhān text. When al-Zarkashī suggests that al-Namrūdh is the one who opposed Abraham in Sūrat al-Baqara 2:258,[22] and al-Suyūṭī inserts the words "because that is well-known" (li shuhrat dhālika) between the name and the phrase which follows it in the Burhān.

3. Inserted Words

The latter example leads on to another, slightly different area— additional words or phrases other than the above glosses. The substitution or insertion of traditions, mentioned earlier, might seem to be a part of this category, but is quite different, in that al-Suyūṭī brings in the traditions on the authority of some written source, not as his own contributions. At this point the focus is on al-Suyūṭī's personal additions—the isolated phrases or words which mark the touch of his personality.

Of course these would not be evident at all except for the Burhān comparison. For example, al-Zarkashī explains a metaphor used to describe the "Garden," saying, "its purpose is to attract [people] to the Garden by the beauty of [its] description." Since the metaphor under discussion has to do with size, or extent, al-Suyūṭī is not satisfied with the above explanation of it, and adds, "...and its overwhelming spaciousness."[23] The additional phrase would not seem at all out of

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22. II, 145:13 (I, 157), changed to Namrūdh, without the definite article, in the Itqān.

23. I, 43:11 (III, 421. A slightly different verse is used in the two books: the Itqān uses al-Ḥadīd 21:157, jannatun 'arduhā ka 'ard al-samā' wa 'l-ard. The Burhān has Āl 'Imrān 4:132, wa jannatun 'arduhā 'l-samāwāt wa 'l-ard.

place in the context, for anyone not aware of the <u>Itqān</u>'s dependency
on the <u>Burhān</u>. However, in the light of it, the two words can be seen
as al-Suyūṭī's personal contribution to the clarity of material taken
from that source. In another passage al-Suyūṭī selects isolated exam-
ples from many given in one section of the <u>Burhān</u>, inserting only some
occasional transitional phrases.[24] But he also adds a further example
to those of the <u>Burhān</u>, adapting it to the text exactly as if it be-
longed there.[25] One might even suspect the presence of another paral-
lel source here, except that the example fits perfectly into the se-
quence of material in the <u>Burhān</u>--following a quotation from Ibn al-
Shajarī and before a segment for which credit is given to al-Zarkashī.[26]
In another similar sequence, al-Suyūṭī's contribution is an expanded
explanation,[27] following which he continues with later <u>Burhān</u> text,
making the usual adaptations.[28] At another point, the addition made

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24. II, 40:7. Fragments of the <u>Burhān</u> material (III, 307, 309), are
   united with the phrase, "And another verse uses <u>man</u> (instead of <u>mā</u>,
   used for a non-personal subject), because the living being domi-
   nates, being more honorable..." Then the next example from the
   <u>Burhān</u> is given.

25. Line 11 (III, 312).

26. At line 13. The whole sequence can be seen on one page of the
   <u>Burhān</u> (III, 312).

27. II, 103:23 (I, 91). al-Suyūṭī's addition begins with the words
   <u>wa 'l-jawāb</u>..., and continues to line 27, where a new example from
   the <u>Burhān</u> (I, 92) begins with the words <u>wa min dhālika</u>.

28. II, 103:29 (I, 92), the phrase beginning <u>ghayru ẓāhir</u>...; line 32
   (I, 92), almost the entire line, following <u>qīla</u>; and line 35
   (I, 93), an explanatory phrase, <u>haythu dhukira ʿaqaba dhikr
   ramaḍān</u>.

by al-Suyūṭī corresponds to the restoration of the Burhān text by the editor, who comments, "the context requires it."[29] Both he and al-Suyūṭī have come to the same conclusion about al-Zarkashī's passage, that it is not clear except with this addition of a single word.

Many other examples of this kind might be given; all changes made by al-Suyūṭī in adapting Burhān material for his own use are included within it. One, at least, should be mentioned, since it represents a rare instance in the Itqān of frankly abusive language used toward another author. Most of the expression has been taken over from al-Zarkashī, "al-Zamakhsharī did not observe the matters [worthy] of God in [commenting on] this verse," and is not original with al-Suyūṭī. But he hardly needed to add, "as was his custom of bad manners."[30] In justification of both authors it should be added that al-Zamakhsharī had the reputation of supporting the Muʿtazilite position, and it is therefore quite common to find derogatory remarks about him in more orthodox Muslim writing.[31] Despite this, his exegesis is used widely even by

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29. II, 105:33 (I, 164, note 3), a part of Chap. 60, on sūra openings. This passage discusses the different forms of praise which are used. One of them, tabārak, was omitted by al-Zarkashī, but in the context must have been intended, so it is added as described above.

30. II, 80:7 (II, 336).

31. See II, 190:23, where the Kashshāf of al-Zamakhsharī is listed among the sectarian, or innovating commentaries on the Qur'ān and described very harshly as a Muʿtazilite work in a quotation from al-Bulqīnī. See also al-Dhahabī, op. cit. I, pp. 429ff, for a recent discussion. The author makes a distinction between works of exegesis based on private opinion (ra'y), but within acceptable limits (Chap. 3, I, 288ff), and the same, but unacceptable (Chap. 4, 363ff). al-Zamakhsharī's work is one of the principal books examined under the latter heading.

traditional scholars of Islam, because of its valuable insights into intricacies of the Arabic language. The _Kashshāf_ is one of the books most frequently quoted by al-Suyūṭī, from within the "analysis" type; it is for this reason that the remark seem so out of place.[32]

C. Opinions

1. On the validity of isnāds

Among the opinions expressed by al-Suyūṭī in the _Itqān_, a large majority are his evaluations of tradition isnāds; in these it is not clear whether he is expressing his own opinion or the general consensus of Muslim scholarship. The principle of _ijmāʿ_, used for support of other types of preference, does not seem to be invoked in these opinions about isnād evaluation. In this area the decision usually rests on the assertion of a single man; the causative verb is used with the name of the traditionist, meaning that he "declared it to be correct," or "...weak," etc.[33] Two different opinions may be expressed about the same tradition, one authority declaring it only "good," the other, "correct," but this is rare.[34]

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32. The only other criticisms in the _Itqān_ are mild evaluations of books listed at the head of some chapters: I, 28:22 (on occasions of revelation), about al-Wāḥidī's book, "...despite its inadequacy." I, 179:28 (grammar of the Qurʼān), about the book of al-Samīn, "it is the finest, despite its padding and excessive length."

33. I, 33:2, _wa ṣaḥḥaḥahu_, literally, "made" or "caused to be correct;" see also 33:36, 52:36, 104:22, etc. I, 33:22, 68:32, II, 161:17, _ḥassanahu_. I, 32:18, _daʿʿafahu_ and II, 188:29, _daʿʿafūhu_, in the plural, expressing the consensus of scholarly opinion.

34. I, 90:15, _akhrajahu ʼl-Tirmidhī wa ḥassanahu wa ʼl-Ḥākim wa ṣaḥḥaḥahu._

Whenever a traditionist is not mentioned, the decision appears in the Itqān as al-Suyūṭī's own. However, even then it is clear that he is making his evaluation within the framework of a community outlook on the whole system of the isnād, as it had developed over the centuries. For this reason the initiative of al-Suyūṭī is somewhat less clearly defined here, than in opinions to be analyzed in the next section.

Certainly al-Suyūṭī is faithful in giving these isnād opinions; the Itqān is full of examples which might be given. Usually the isnād is classified within one of the accepted categories;[35] occasionally the decision adds other criteria, about the men who form the chain of authority.[36] At times a condition accompanies the opinion, such as "provided it appears in the two 'shaykhs'."[37] Isnād criticism can also be severe, especially in the area of "invented" traditions (mawḍūʿ, literally, "placed").[38] On the subject of excellencies of the Qur'ān, several

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35. See Chap. I, note17 for examples.

36. I, 10:5, 24:28, 96:26, "its men are trustworthy" (rijāluhu thiqāt). The same appears at I, 91:26, 70:12, with the additional phrase, "except for...," naming certain weak or unreliable links. I, 183: 21, II, 178:37, the chain is "broken," that is, the men are not contemporaneous with those next to them in the isnād. I, 32:12, II, 164:25, "men who are not known" weaken the sequence.

37. I, 78:31, 182:37. Or, at I, 72:21, "on condition of [its inclusion in] al-Bukhārī. I, 23:21, "on condition of al-Ṣaḥīḥ . I, 37:29, "on condition of Muslim."

38. I, 32:22-3; several degrees of weakness are listed. I, 43:7, 52:8, a "weak" isnād. I, 37:29, a comment of al-Dhahabī, "It includes a broken sequence, and I think it is invented." I, 52:18, "Ibn al-Jawzī claimed it was invented." I, 183:21, "The traditions related from ʿUthmān in that cannot be used as evidence, because they are broken, and are not overlapping." II, 189:1ff, a list of sequences with varying degrees of weakness, one being "a chain of lying."

early authorities admit that they had invented traditions, "in order to encourage eagerness for it (the Qur'ān)."[39]

Traditions are also classified according to how widely they were known or transmitted, and this becomes a factor in whether or not they should hold much weight as evidence.[40] al-Suyūṭī has a whole chapter on these classifications, which he claims is unique in tradition analysis until his time.[41] And it can be fairly assumed from the Itqān, with what is known about al-Suyūṭī through other sources, that in this area of isnād evaluation, his opinions at least represent an intense personal interest on his part, but within the basic orthodox point of view of the tradition literature.

2. On other issues

Although isnād evaluation is perhaps more typical of al-Suyūṭī's thinking generally, it is in his opinions offered on other matters that his own personal initiative is best demonstrated. The comments, though

39. II, 155:30ff. Several versions of the tradition are given. At line 34, Ibn al-Mahdawī asks Maysara b. 'Abd Rabbihi, "Where did you get these traditions that he who reads such and such [a sūra] will get such and such [a reward]?" He answered, "I invented them, to attract people to them (the respective sūras)." Another answer to a similar question is, "I saw people had turned away from the Qur'ān and were busy with the [book of] Jurisprudence of Abī Ḥanīfa and the [book of] battles, by Ibn Isḥāq, so I simply invented this tradition."

40. I, 77:7ff. Five kinds are listed and discussed, in material from Ibn al-Jazarī: al-mutawātir; line 8, al-mashhūr; 13, al-āhād; 19, al-shādhdh; 20, al-mawḍū'. al-Suyūṭī adds a sixth, which he calls al-mudraj.

41. Chapters 22-27 are gathered into a single unit, beginning at I, 75: 2. al-Suyūṭī's remark is at 74:31. He has based his work on that of Ibn al-Jazarī, then organized it into "principles of traditions

brief, are clearly personal preferences, evidence that al-Suyūṭī was truly involved in the material he collected. They lift him out of the category of editor and arranger, to that of a scholar in his own right, one who gives reasoned, intelligent opinions when these are needed.

Again, a characteristic expression is usually found introducing these preferential comments, *indī, best rendered as "on my part," or more freely, "in my opinion." It does not signify a new segment of material to be added, but rather, a choice of alternatives already given in what has been quoted from another author. Thus, for example, when he analyzes a series of explanations about which sūra was revealed first, he rejects the fourth of these, saying, "In my opinion, it does not stand on its own, as an independent alternative."[42] In the same way al-Suyūṭī chooses to explain the preposition *alā in Sūrat al-Furqān 25:58, as bi, in the sense of "seeking help."[43] He confirms this with another verse where, in his opinion, the same usage occurs.[44] This passage is of special significance for its implications to this study, since the comment of al-Suyūṭī here is the only break in a section which is otherwise entirely dependent on the Burhān.[45] Thus it is a graphic

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...and readings." He concludes, "And no one has preceded me to it, praise be to God."

42. I, 24:33.

43. I, 164:13.

44. al-Anʿām 6:12. "He has written *alā himself mercy," that is, "upon," in the sense of "against " or "made obligatory upon." al-Suyūṭī wants to avoid any implication that compulsion is laid upon God.

45. The Burhān (IV, 284).

illustration of how al-Suyūṭī's own contributions fit into the larger,

overall picture of dependency.

The choice may be for one of two alternatives, already given in

material quoted by al-Suyūṭī,[46] or in favor of one out of many possible

answers.[47] It may be that al-Suyūṭī is harmonizing what have seemed to

be conflicting opinions or points of view.[48] Of special interest is

al-Suyūṭī's description of his own dilemma about a verse which seemed

to imply that Adam had been guilty of idolatry; the passage will be

discussed more fully in the last chapter.[49]

Certain words of preference appear in the opinions; al-ṣawāb, "the

right;" al-mukhtār, "the choice;" al-aṣaḥḥ, "the best;" al-awlā, "the

preferred," and others like them. Many of these have already appeared

in examples given thus far; others are found throughout the Itqān.[50]

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46. I, 29:26, using the plural, 'indanā, rather than the more common 'indī. 14:26, "Then there appeared to me the preference for," without the word 'ind in any form. II, 173:1, "The way of our group (madhhabinā , meaning the Shāfi'ite school of law) and all the scholars is that one under age may not touch the Qur'ān."

47. I, 24:18, "The best of these answers are the first and the last." 51:12, "I said, 'The choice (al-mukhtār) in my opinion is what al-Shāfi'ī has laid down'." II, 172:13, "And it is the most correct in our opinion."

48. I, 27:11, "And I said, 'In my opinion there is no contradiction between these narrated traditions...'" II, 16:29, where he harmonizes the sayings of al-Bulqīnī and al-Zarkashī. 175:17, "...the meaning of these transmitted evidences (al-āthār) in my opinion is..."

49. I, 90:25-29. See Chap. VI, note 18.

50. I, 14:17, "The best known [opinion] is that it (Sūrat al-Takāthur, 102) is Makkan, but proof that it is Madīnan, which is preferred (al-mukhtār) is..." 34:3, "It is the right one" (al-ṣawāb). 41:16, "The obvious [choice] is the second one (al-ẓāhir). II, 18:20,

Among the most interesting of the comments are those in which al-Suyūṭī reacts with some severity to a statement or opinion which for some reason he feels is dangerous to some of the basic principles of Islam. For example, he resents the suggestion that when people asked about the meaning of the changing moon, they received an answer other than intended by their answer. The intention was good--to say that God had answered them more deeply than they knew to ask--but al-Suyūṭī senses in it an implication of irregularity on the part of God, so answers severely.[51] He also criticizes those who exaggerate the number of abrogated verses in the Qur'ān, sensitive to the fact that that may seem to invalidate much of the Qur'ān.[52] He is equally adamant at another point to avoid any suggestion of contradiction between Qur'ānic verses.[53] At other times an opinion is rejected for lack of evidence in the Qur'ān,[54] or because al-Suyūṭī does not recognize as valid the illustrations given from the Qur'ān for some particular opinion.[55] Or, the lack of evidence may be within the tradition literature, rather

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"The best (al-aṣahh) is to forbid it..." and line 21, "The best of them" (aṣahhihā), and held by most, is..." 148:14, "the best of the sayings." 32:26, "The best, as a whole." 69:21, "Preferable to that is..." (al-awlā). 96:9, "Better than that is..." (ahsan min).

51. I, 196:16.

52. II, 22:9.

53. I, 192:4.

54. I, 14:1, 35.

55. I, 30:20. The verse rejected has been given in a quotation from Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; al-Suyūṭī replies to what has been said with a simple, "This is a mistake."

than the Qur'ān.[56] Sometimes it is the community consensus which he invokes in reply;[57] at other points it is an opposing tradition.[58] Occasionally no reasons for the rejection are given, only, "it is strange,"[59] or "the weakest of the answers,"[60] or, in one case, the answer was "not fully thought out."[61]

In most of these remarks, and many others that might be noted, the defence is against anything which would seem to endanger orthodox positions, or against any opinion not based adequately upon the traditional sources of transmitted knowledge. Thus the way is prepared for a study, in Chapter VI, of the world-view of Islam within which al-Suyūṭī wrote, the bases which motivated him to make the choices and decisions studied here. The bitter quotation from Abī Ḥayyān, though it is not al-Suyūṭī's own, surely expresses his mistrust of any group that would turn aside from the straight line of majority consensus within Islam. "We are not devoted to following what the Baṣra group has said, but to the following of sound guidance."[62]

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56. I, 18:32, 20:15, lam aqif ʿalā dalīl, "I have not come across any evidence." 69:22, "I have not seen anyone mention it." 52:35, "This has no basis at all in the books of tradition." 103:8, "I have not seen naqlan about that (that is, anything transmitted)."

57. I, 36:35, "I said, 'al-ijmāʿ that the verse was revealed at al-Madīna refutes this." 161:36, "Most are against it" (al-aktharūn).

58. I, 17:11, 61:16, 38:19.

59. I, 25:24, 40:28.

60. I, 44:34, wa huwa ahwanahu ʿalāya.

61. II, 91:31, ghayr nādij.

62. I, 200:22, literally, "we do not worship" (nataʿabbad).

D. References to his own Books

One further aspect of al-Suyūṭī's personal contribution should be mentioned--the many books on specific subjects to which he refers the reader from time to time. A complete list follows as Appendix V. al-Suyūṭī's concept of the relation between the Itqān and these other books is expressed at the end of Chap. 40, about "tools" of the Arabic language.[63]

> I have given the meaning of language tools occuring in the Qur'ān in a concise, useful form, adequate to fulfil its purpose. I have not explained them fully, because the place for that is in my [other] writings about the Arabic language, and our grammatical books. The purpose of all the chapters of this book is to survey the rules and principles, including all the branches and subdivisions.[64]

Thus wherever appropriate al-Suyūṭī added a cross-reference to his fuller treatment of the limited or summarized discussion in the Itqān. The book on "Occasions of Revelation," for example, includes only a brief introduction, then proceeds directly through the Qur'ān, listing the contexts within which verses were revealed, wherever traditions have been passed on about them. The book in its printed edition is difficult to compare to the Itqān chapter, since its pages are much smaller than those of the Itqān; it covers well over two-hundred of these pages, compared to seven in the Itqān chapter.[65] The more crucial

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63. The term is adawāt, and refers to the smaller words or particles of the language, arranged alphabetically. Two examples appear in Appendix IV: No. 2, on ʿasā and No. 5, on kayf.

64. I, 179:22-25.

65. Lubāb al-Nuqūl fī Asbāb al-Nuzūl, Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Ḥalabī Press, n. d. The Itqān chapter is I, 28:22-35:20.

difference is that in the Itqān al-Suyūṭī selected his material from many authors, and aimed at giving an analysis of the subject, whereas in the separate book, he simply gives the relevant traditions.

But the picture would not be complete without at least a brief reference to the pride with which al-Suyūṭī introduces his own works, or his chapters in the Itqān. One expression of defiance appears again and again, "No one else has preceded me to it." His "charming treatise" about inscrutable verses (al-mubhamāt), includes all traditions worthy of transmission, "so that it has become an exhaustive book, without peer on the subject."[66] At the end of the chapter on "occasions of revelation," mentioned above, he gives this advice, "Meditate on this, and strengthen your hands with it, for I have edited it and deduced it with my own thinking from what early leaders (al-a'imma) have given in their separate sayings. No one else has done it before me."[67] Virtually the same challenge is issued about the chapter on evaluation of traditions,[68] or about foreign words taken over in the Arabic language and used in the Qur'ān,[69] or about the names of the Qur'ānic sūras.[70] These are only further echoes of al-Suyūṭī's firm conviction, described in connection with his life, that God had called

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66. II, 145:8, 31-2.

67. I, 34:26.

68. I, 74:32-3.

69. I, 140:29.

70. I, 53:36.

him to a special place of honor and leadership, as the reviver and
defender of orthodox Islam in the ninth Muslim century.

CHAPTER VI

THE MIND OF ISLAM

Is it presumptuous to assume that by understanding the mind of
Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī one can also move on to perceive the " mind" of
Islam? Can anyone dare to make such a generalization on the basis of
as narrow a focus as this study--a single man, one book out of the
hundreds which he wrote, and even more specifically, its relation to
only one of its many sources? Perhaps not. And yet the possibility is
not as remote as it may seem. The man chosen for study was a person
who with his active, retentive mind covered the whole range of Islamic
scholarship and by the very nature of his dependent, transmitted stud-
ies, absorbed into himself and his work the essence of what others
before him had said. The book selected from his many volumes had as
its subject the Qur'ān, that center for all Muslim life, worship and
study; moreover, one which, like its author, is encyclopaedic in nature,
and therefore absorbs and distils the whole panorama of what Islam had
to say about its sacred Scripture. Even a focus on the primary source-
dependency of the book is not idle or meaningless, because it chooses
the quality not only most characteristic of the book--its use of earlier
Muslim scholars--but also of traditional Muslim scholarship at its
best.

In addition to all this is the fact that the man under study was himself concerned to make the equation between his mind and that of Islam. He was convinced that he was called by God to represent the best of Islamic learning, and, in that capacity, to lead the people of Islam to renewal and revival. Whatever faults of arrogance or pride may have accompanied this, at least it must be said in all honesty that the conviction, the sense of call, led him on to become as nearly representative of that mystic "mind" of Islam as any one man could be.

A. Transmission (al-naql) and Consensus (al-ijmā')

Certainly the first clue to an understanding of al-Suyūṭī and the Itqān must be his loyalty to faithful transmission of what the community of Islam had decided over the centuries. In a sense it is that to which al-Suyūṭī felt his particular call--to challenge his people not to new areas of knowledge, but to a faithful understanding of what was correctly transmitted from vital, early Islam.

The centrality of the twin concepts of al-naql and al-ijmā' is evident everywhere in the Itqān. At one point he speaks of a fourth type of variant reading which is correct grammatically and corresponds to the consonant text of the 'Uthmān recension of the Qur'ān, but is not supported by any transmitted tradition.[1] He continues, "To reject is more justified (than the others), its prohibition is more severe, and he who makes use of it is guilty of one of the most heinous mortal

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1. I, 77:2-3.

sins (ʿaẓīmin min al-kabāʾir)." Again, in a discussion of verses which seem to contradict each other in their demands on a believer, the last resort is to "look for the ijmāʿ on either verse and follow it."[2] A quotation from al-Ṭarṭūshī may be taken to describe al-Suyūṭī's attitude:

> If Muslims have decided that the metaphor (al-istiʿāra) is to be found in the Qurʾān, we also find it there; if they have refrained from finding it, we also refrain. This is like saying that God is knowing and that "knowing" is equivalent to the "intellect;" but we do not go on to describe God in that way because no statement about it has been found among the early believers.[3]

It is the "predecessors" (al-salaf), that is, the early leaders of Islam—Companions and Followers—who have given this authoritative corpus of material to be passed on to later generations of Islam. In one instance, al-Suyūṭī accepts as quite enough validation for studying a subject, that the salaf concerned themselves with it.[4] Again, he says, "And I saw among the salaf a preference for the opposite of that," and then, at the completion of a quoted tradition, adds, "By God, the richness of the salaf! What revealed to them so readily the lovely meanings for which modern commentators strive for years, and spend their lives to reach... :"[5] In several chapters he reports having collected everything

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2. II, 30:27.

3. II, 46:13 (III, 432). The name is al-Ṭarṭūsī in the Burhān, but otherwise the quotation is taken over exactly. The last long phrase is only a few words, li ʿadam al-tawqīf, but its meaning is as translated above.

4. II, 13:20.

5. II, 85:31. See the same for al-mubhamāt, at II, 145:8.

valid from the Companions and Followers,[6] adding in one case, "As for what is given without any basis in transmitted tradition (athar), people have mentioned a very great deal of it, and only God knows whether or not it is valid."[7]

It is important, in this connection, to comment once more on the distinction made frequently in this study, between al-Suyūṭī's traditionist material and that which comes in other, so-called "analysis" books. al-Suyūṭī's freedom to adapt or change material for use in the Itqān has been given free rein only in that which comes from the second type of source. In the area of traditions, al-Suyūṭī has been overly cautious, not only to give his sources, but also to include the full tradition where al-Zarkashī has made only a passing reference to it. In the latter cases, al-Suyūṭī was careful to find the tradition in a valid collection, and to give it directly from there, by name of its author.

In other words, al-Suyūṭī made a crucial distinction between knowledge gained by transmission, in the technical sense, and that which is passed on from later writers, who speak more nearly on their own authority. The classification is close to what modern scholarship calls "primary" and "secondary" sources, with the distinction that many non-Muslim students of Islam would not accept the position that all the

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6. I, 34:25, about occasions of revelation. 53:36, the names of sūras. 74:33, principles of the science of traditions. 140:29, arabicized words of foreign origin in the Qur'ān. II, 190:35, the closing exegetical collection, limited to traditions raised directly to the Prophet.

7. II, 165:29. See also his criticism of those who write exegesis without going back to al-athar wa 'l-naql, II, 180:18.

transmitted traditions are actually "primary," that is, said by the
early authorities from whom they are related. Still, that critical
note need not enter into the analysis here. What is important to recog-
nize is that in the area of "secondary" level sources, al-Suyūṭī felt
perfectly free to treat the material in any way he wanted: with or
without credit, changing, adapting, adding to or deleting. He still
respected and felt the need for what renowned analytic scholars before
him had said[8]—to this extent the importance of transmission carried
over—but he felt a quite different quality of respect and reverence
for traditions passed on from the salaf.

B. Dogmatic Presuppositions

Related to this is the acceptance of certain bases (uṣūl) or
assumptions to which the ijmāʿ of Islam had come over the centuries,
and which therefore became normative for al-Suyūṭī. Among the pre-
requisites for anyone wanting to do exegesis are Uṣūl al-Dīn (No. 9)
and Uṣūl al-Fiqh (No. 10).[9] The necessity for the former is described
as follows:

> ...for verses in the Qur'ān which on the surface seem
> to indicate something which is inappropriate to say about
> God (be exalted); the one trained in these bases (al-uṣūlī)

8. II, 6:5. Referring to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, he said, "And this say-
   ing of the Imām is enough for you (as evidence)." But note also the
   criticism levelled at the same man in al-Suyūṭī's evaluation of
   various works of exegesis, at II, 190:19; see Chap. I, note 8.

9. Within jurisprudence the term uṣūl came to have a specific technical
   meaning, referring to the successive levels of evidence for the
   making of judicial decisions: the Qur'ān, the sunna, ijmāʿ and
   qiyās. See Encyclopaedia of Islam, "Ḥadīth," IV, Part 2, 1054ff.

reinterprets that, and finds evidence for which meanings
are unthinkable, or necessary, or possible.[10]

For the purposes of this study the term is thought of not in any
limited technical sense, but as descriptive of those prevailing dog-
matic presuppositions about God, the Qur'ān and Prophethood, which were
so influential upon the life of al-Suyūṭī--and of Islam generally--that
to diverge from them would be unthinkable.

al-Suyūṭī has described the first of these assumptions above--an
absolute position about God which places its emphasis almost wholly upon
transcendence, and therefore, secondarily, upon the qualitative differ-
ence between God and man. Illustrations have been given earlier of al-
Suyūṭī's reactions against exegesis which would in any way compromise
this exalted attitude toward the Almighty God.[11]

A dilemma described in the Itqān is of interest in this connection.
It relates to the question of how the divine could have met the human in
the revelation of the Qur'ān. The answer, given in the words of al-Iṣba-
hānī's exegesis, gives two alternatives: "either the Prophet (ṣ) divested
himself of the form of humanity, and took that of an angel...or Gabriel
divested himself of his heavenly form and took on humanity in order to
give it (the Qur'ān) to the Apostle." No solution is offered; the quota-
tion concludes, "and the first is the most difficult of the two."[12]

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10. II, 181: 23-24.

11. Chap. V, note 51.

12. I, 43:15 (I, 229). The use of two different words is of interest:
    al-nabī and al-rasūl.

This is not the place to discuss the solutions reached within

Islam and other faiths about this basic problem for any religious

system--the meeting of the Divine and human, which are, by definition,

mutually exclusive.[13] For the purposes of immediate concern here it

is enough to note that once Islam came to its presupposition about the

transcendent uniqueness of God, it could hardly excape the subsequent

dilemma about the Qur'ān as a point of contact between God and man.

The next presupposition follows naturally upon the first, and con-

coneerns the Qur'ān itself. It is significant that the early debate

within Islam, about whether or not the Qur'ān was "uncreated," finds no

expression in the Itqān. By the time al-Suyūṭī wrote it was no longer

a matter of discussion and had long since been settled, in favor of

the "uncreated" Qur'ān.[14] It is this exalted view of the Qur'ān as

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13. In many ways the solution within traditional Christianity, that
    both Divine and human are found in the mediator, Jesus Christ, is
    not as different as might be expected from Muslim definitions of
    the Qur'ān. Islam came to distinguish carefully between the "un-
    created" Qur'ān, the eternal speech of God, and the physical
    (words, ink, paper) or human (its recitation) elements by which
    the eternal found expression in the world. See this distinction
    in Muslim creeds, in Wensinck, A. J., The Muslim Creed, Cambridge:
    University Press, 1932, p. 127 (Art. 9) and 189 (Art. 3).

14. It is of interest that those who supported the alternative point
    of view were the Muʿtazilites, the party of early Islam which was
    the most careful in pursuing the principle of God's uniqueness to
    its ultimate logical conclusions. They sensed the danger to tran-
    scendence in any doctrine which would raise the Qur'ān to even
    apparent co-eternity with God. Perhaps the insistence of Islam on
    this exalted view of the Qur'ān--despite a view of God which would
    seem to make it unthinkable--is an inevitable human reaction to-
    ward modification of absolute transcendence. See a similar reac-
    tion within popular Islam, in connection with devotional express-
    ions about the Prophet, in Padwick, Constance, Muslim Devotions,
    London: S. P. C. K., 1961, pp. 152ff, 254ff, and esp. p. 45, in a

the eternal, immutable Speech of God which was therefore influential upon al-Suyūṭī's attitudes toward it. This explains his rigorous demands upon any who would dare to do exegesis of the Qur'ān, and his reaction against analyses of it which were in any way unworthy.[15]

Another presupposition which is seen frequently in the Itqān is the impeccability of the prophets (ʿiṣmat al-anbiyāʾ). Several Qur'ānic texts are interpreted quite differently from their most natural meanings because, on the basis of this principle, they could not imply that a prophet had sinned. "The mind knows that the subject must have been omitted [from the verse], because Joseph could not be described as blameworthy."[16] A similar discussion about Adam is particularly revealing.

> But the last of the verse[17] is a problem in that it imputes association of other gods with God (al-ishrāk) to Adam and Eve, though Adam was a prophet speaking [the word of God] and prophets are protected (maʿṣūmūn) from shirk both before prophethood and after it, according to ijmāʿ.[18]

al-Suyūṭī describes how he still remained hesitant about the dilemma until he became aware of the principle that some passages contain

discussion of the Prophet's intercession: "Strange irony, that a development of devotion so precariously based on the Qur'ān, so different from its general trend, should have found a home within Islam; and yet what more pathetically natural than that sinful human nature confronted with the Godhead should feel its need of a mediator."

15. See Chap. IV, notes 52-4.

16. II, 59:3; the verse under discussion is Yūsuf 12:32.

17. al-Aʿrāf 7:190.

18. I, 90:18. The various stages of development through which the ʿiṣma doctrine passed in early Islam are not of immediate concern

elements which, though contiguous in the Qur'ān, may be interpreted as if widely separated in meaning. Thus the first part of the verse deals with the story of Adam, which has preceded it, but the last of it, concerning the sin of shirk, actually refers instead to the Arabs at the time of Islam.

The same ty.e of interpretation is of course more prevalent for the Prophet of Islam, since the question is of far greater significance and sensitivity for Islam. The warning, "Oh Prophet, do not obey unbelievers," is interpreted as if addressed tr, the whole people of Islam, since "he was pious, and God forbid that he would obey them."[19] Again, the words, "If you are in doubt about what we have revealed to you, then ask those who were reading the Book before you," even though addressed to an individual, could not apply to the Prophet, because by very definition he was not open to doubt.[20] When shirk seems to be imputed to the Prophet, the explanation is "it is impossible for him shar'an," that is, according to the fixed principles of revealed Law.[21]

Thus the premise that prophets are protected from sin, whether before or after their call to prophethood,[22] becomes a norm by which the

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here. As in other presuppositions discussed here, al-Suyūṭī represents a later stage, when positions within Islam had become effectively finalized. See Birkeland, The Lord Guideth, Oslo: Aschehoug, 1956, for a discussion of early Qur'ānic sūras and the development through which their exegesis passed.

19. II, 34:9, al-Ahzāb 33:1.

20. II, 42:3, Yūnus 10:94.

21. II, 49:2.

22. I, 90:18.

Qur'ān is interpreted, no matter what its actual text might most naturally read. The same 'iṣma is applied to the ijmā' of the community, who are "protected from straying," or "error" (ma'ṣūmūna min al-dalāla).[23] Thus a closed system of unassailable absolutes becomes a fortress of strength for the faith as it is transmitted through the eenturies, but also leaves no room for creativity on the part of later thinkers, no opportunity for freedom to reevaluate the bases upon which their faith is built.

C. Indifference to Other Truth

It follows that al-Suyūṭī also finds it impossible to consider the possibility of truth outside these Muslim presuppositions. Of course he would be quite ready to accept this analysis of himself—implicit in his willingness to be controlled by the absolutes of Islam is a corresponding conviction that all else is simply irrelevant.

The Christian sees this tendency most clearly reflected in matters relating to his faith and to the Biblical heritage. al-Suyūṭī shows awareness of the "former books;"[24] they can hardly be avoided in a study of the Qur'ān, which makes frequent reference to them. But that they are "former" has become more important than that they are also "books" of revelation, like the Qur'ān. With its coming they are not necessarily wrong; they just do not matter any longer. Of the ṣuḥuf of Abraham and Moses it is said that "nothing at all is known today."[25] Exegesis is

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23. I, 50:3.

24. I, 191:35, "the other books." I, 51:20, "all the books, and the former nations (wa 'l-umam al-sālifa).

25. II, 26:12, al-'Alā' 78:18, "the first ṣuḥuf, of Abraham and Moses."

rejected because it is filled with "Israelitish histories,"[26] a concern
which still preoccupies a modern writer about exegesis.[27]

The former scriptures hardly ever enter the picture except for com-
parison with the final revelation, the Qur'ān. Thus the fact that the
Qur'ān was "sent down" in successive fragments is compared to the Tawrāt,
which was revealed as a whole, at a single point in history. Several
explanations for this difference from the Qur'ān revealing are given.[28]
Different sections of the Qur'ān are said to have replaced the earlier
books--the seven long sūras took the place of the Tawrāt, the group of
sūras with about a hundred verses, that of the Zubūr, and the mathānī
sūras, the Injīl.[29] The division of these books into chapters is men-
tioned, but only as further explanation of why the Qur'ān is similarly
divided.[30] The miracle of Qur'ānic eloquence is compared to the forms
which God's presence with His earlier prophets took in each other era.
In the time of Moses, sorcery was important, so his miracles were of
that kind. When Jesus came, it was medicine which filled the minds of
people, so he did acts of healing. However, by the time of the Prophet
Muḥammad, the Arab people had moved beyond the level of these, and had

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26. II, 186:11, tawārīkh isrā'īlīya, in a quotation from Abī Ḥayyān.

27. al-Dhahabī, op. cit., I, pp. 165ff. When discussing various books
    of exegesis he also includes a section on "the point of view
    toward al-isrā'īlīyāt," as at 214ff, on al-Ṭabarī, or 308ff, on
    al-Nasafī, etc.

28. I, 41:1ff, 26 (I, 231); 42:9.

29. I, 56:34ff. For a discussion of al-mathānī, see I, 51:22ff.

30. I, 66:10ff.

come to place the highest value upon eloquence of words, so God's final miracle took that form for them, and all the world.[31] In all these cases, the Biblical heritage has no meaning in itself, is thought of only as a background for the more important revelation, the Qur'ān.

This persistent and purposeful neglect of the former books cannot but show itself in frequent errors and misunderstandings about them. In a passage about divisions of the Qur'ān, the Zubūr are said to have 150 sūras, "and the Injīl had in it a sūra named 'the Proverbs' (al-amthāl)."[32] Biblical narratives in the Qur'ān are interpreted according to preconceived ideas about what they say. "The word 'after' (ba'd) in the Qur'ān never means 'before' except in the verse, 'Surely we wrote the Psalms min ba'd al-Dhikr'." The assumption is that only the Qur'ān could be called al-Dhikr, "the Reminder," so the word "after" must be interpreted exactly opposite from its true meaning. Of course the book to which the verse refers is the Tawrāt, in which case no violence need be done to the text.[33] In a discussion of passages to be understood in a way different from that in which they are written, the same presuppositions twist a passage about Jesus. "'Raising you' (rāfi'uka) is really to be understood as if it came after 'putting you to death,' (mutawaffīka)," even though the Gospel sequence of events

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31. II, 119:19, in a quotation from Ibn 'Aṭīya.

32. I, 66:18. The description of the Zubūr continues: "...all sermons and praise, without any mention of right and wrong, rites, or legal limits."

33. I, 144:12, al-Anbiyā'. See also al-Naḥl 16:43, al-Anbiyā' 21:7, al-Ḥijr 15:10, where al-dhikr refers to earlier scriptures.

explains the Qur'ānic word order quite naturally.[34] The chapter on names in the Qur'ān has much material about the Bible which is curious indeed. Note, for example, the names of the disciples of Jesus, including one "on whom the likeness was cast," named Sarjiyōs.[35] In a discussion of word derivation (al-ishtiqāq), one of the sciences needed by the exegete, the example given is "like al-masīh ("the Christ"), is it derived from al-siyāha ("to wander") or al-mash ("to anoint")?"[36]

One cannot help but notice that much of the above has come to Islamic traditions of exegesis from extra-Biblical sources . It is one of the tragedies of history that these were more influential upon Islam in its formative years than the actual text of the "former books" of which the Qur'ān speaks. The picture of the Tawrāt coming to Moses as a whole, on Mt. Sinai, was the commonly accepted view of Judaism when Islam came on the scene of history, and, as has been seen above, this was the view which was taken over by Islam and became normative for its idea of all revelation among the "People of the Book."[37] The curious

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34. II, 13:27, Al 'Imrān 3:55.

35. II, 149:5, in a section of the chapter on inscrutable passages (al-mubhamāt), starting at II, 145:28.

36. II, 181:4.

37. Danby, Herbert, The Mishnah, London: The Oxford University Press , p. XVII, says, "At the same time that the written Law was given from Sinai, the Oral Law, too, was delivered to Moses, and handed down, (orally) in turn to the leaders of successive generations." The concept of "giving the law on Mt. Sinai" was the basic Jewish belief with which the early Muslims came in contact. See the phrase also in Strack, Herman L., Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash, New York: Meridan Books, 1959, p. 16.

information about Biblical names is from the same extra-Biblical legends, probably coming to Islam early in its history through Jews and Christians won over to the new faith.[38] All this information was absorbed by early Muslims and then transmitted on to later generations with isnāds to the Companions or Followers, becoming therefore the authoritative mind of Islam. It is noteworthy that in the passage about names in the Qur'ān, al-Suyūṭī is particularly careful to say, "The source for this can be nothing but pure transmission (al-naql al-maḥḍ); there is no place for private opinion in it."[39] And when it is stated that "Gabriel used to bring down the sunna just as he brought down the Qur'ān,"[40] the seriousness of these "blind spots" of misinformation can be fully realized.

Even the tension which developed between early Muslims and the followers of the previous faiths has found its way into this body of authoritative transmitted knowledge. In speaking of the need to depend on traditions for exegesis, al-Suyūṭī adds,

> I have even seen related in exegesis of His word "...nor of those upon whom He is angry, nor of those who stray," about ten different explanations, whereas the exegesis that this refers to the Jews and Christians is the one traced to the Prophet (ṣ), as well as to the Companions, the Followers, and those after them, so that Ibn Abī Ḥātim has said, "I know no difference of opinion about that among the exegetes."[41]

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38. See the names in al-Dhahabī, op. cit., pp. 184ff.

39. II, 145:28.

40. I, 44:15-16.

41. II, 190:10-13, Sūrat al-Fātiha 1:7. See also the resentment at I, 56:6, about the large debt owed by the Qur'ān to the former Scriptures, "It is as if the Qur'ān were all Moses!" And note the

Of course Christians must also accept their share of guilt for the tensions which exist in relationships with the people of Islam. The traditions about the Sūrat al-Fātiha verse may also echo a reaction against the use of that sūra in early Christian apologetic against the new faith of Islam. And yet it still must be said that until Muslims are willing to modify their position about traditions, and especially those elements of them which record early misunderstandings about the Biblical backgrounds of Islam, there can be little hope for any serious Muslim-Christian interreligious thinking.[42]

D. Devotion to the Qur'ān

Finally, the same factors that limit initiative within Muslim scholarship have also forced its efforts inward, to focus upon that which is the center and heart of its existence, the Qur'ān. As the scope of creative endeavor gradually narrowed, over the years, the intensity increased, much as a magnifying glass centers the sun's light into a radiant, burning spot, and scholarship came to expend its energy in a fervent poring over and over the Qur'ānic text. It is this quality of interest and attention to God's word which describes the Itqān--and Islam--at their best.

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derogatory implications in the following warning: "Read the Qur'ān with the intonations of the Arabs and their voices; and beware of the voices of lewdness (al-fisq) and those of the People of the two Books."

42. Such encounter can only succeed if based on mutual respect, and, above all, acceptance by each side of the other's scripture as a valid basis for discussion. For the traditional Christian this will be a difficult, even agonizing decision; the Muslim, on the other

It was this "intoxication" with the Qur'ān which came as a ground swell of devotion among ordinary Muslim believers in the early centuries of Islam, and finally forced the near-deification of the Qur'ān, and that, despite the fact that everything basic in Islam would ordinarily have resisted this union of Divine and human elements, in an "uncreated" Scripture.[43] In the realm of scholarship each aspect of the Qur'ān was isolated and microscopically, lovingly examined. The results may at times seem totally irrelevant, as, for example, the amazing discovery that two phrases in the Qur'ān can be read identically, backwards or forwards,[44] or what the total number of its words and letters are,[45] or what magical results can be obtained by reciting various sūras or verses,[46] or whether the Qur'ān can be written with a non-Arabic pen![47]

The endlessly complicated grammatical descriptions are also evidence of the same intensity of focus. Many examples might be given: the complex uses or forms of the question in Qur'ānic Arabic,[48] or the

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hand, need only return to the generally cordial view of his Qur'ān toward the "former books," reevaluating only the accretions from tradition about them and about elements of the Qur'ān which relate to them.

43. But see the distinction made in note 13, between the "uncreated" Qur'ān and the "created" elements by which it is expressed in the world.

44. II, 93:4, al-Mudaththir 74:3, wa rabbuka fa kabbir wa (taking the wa from the following verse): Yā Sīn 36:40, kullun fī falak (which does not turn out well in transliteration!).

45. Chap. 19, I, 64:35ff.

46. Chap. 71, II, 151:14ff

47. II, 171:2.

48. II, 79:12ff. See Appendix IV, No. 8, for the outline.

different kinds of direct address,[49] or the twenty types of figurative speech, each with innumerable subdivisions.[50] A search for styllistic devices to explain the miracle of Qur'ānic eloquence leads to a series of names for the metaphor that defy translation.[51] The superfluity of much of this is illustrated with wry irony after an exhaustive study of how the particle aw is used in the Qur'ān. A tradition from Ibn 'Abbās then says, "Whenever aw appears in the Qur'ān it means a choice of alternatives (mukhayyar)," a concise statement that makes what went before it completely unnecessary.[52] And yet is there not in all these attempts to exhaust the meanings of the Qur'ān, an implicit acknowledgement of the Inexhaustible? The spirit of devotion and reverence for the Qur'ān is deeply moving for the sympathetic observer of Islam, and a source of life and vigor for the people within that faith.

The spirit of reverence is also seen in meticulous attention paid to the recitation of the Qur'ān. A whole chapter is devoted to the science of where to pause or resume the recitation, and many other books on the subject are listed at its head.[53] Some chapters deal with the technical aspects of lengthening certain sounds, or the absorption of some into others, etc.[54] Recitation must not be attempted except with

49. Chap. 51, II, 32:35ff.

50. Chap. 52, The Literal and Figurative, II, 36:1ff (II, 256ff), esp. pp. 37-8.

51. Chapters 53-6, II, 42:2ff.

52. I, 157:34, introduced in a fā'ida section, an extra addition·
53. Chap. 28, al-Waqf wa 'l-Ibtidā', I, 83:12ff.

54. See Chapters 29-32 in the list given as Appendix II.

severe training (al-riyāḍa al-shadīda).[55] Sounds must be given full
value and beauty, worthy of the Word of God,[56] but exaggeration is to
be avoided.[57] In answer to whether or not the Qur'ān should be decorated
with gold, the answer is, "The best way to decorate the Qur'ān is to read
it correctly" (bi 'l-ḥaqq).[58] Weeping at the recitation is permissible,
as the listener thinks of his shortcomings.[59]

The supreme example of this devotion to the Qur'ān is the Chapter
entitled I'jāz al-Qur'ān.[60] The concept is based on the Qur'ān's own
claim to incomparability, and is literally translated "miraculousness."
Again, a discussion of it can also degenerate into meticulous hair-
splitting about which aspects of the Qur'ān qualify it to defy imita-
tion. But at its best the chapter can be almost ecstatic in its glowing
description of the Qur'ān—its style, composition and impact on its
hearers. One quotation from al-Khaṭṭābī may be given at some length,
as an example.

> So if you meditate on the Qur'ān, you will find all these
> things in it, to an ultimate degree of honor and virtue, so
> that you will not be able to imagine any words more eloquent

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55. I, 101:24.

56. I, 110:1. The reasoning is significant: "...so that all that is
    qur'ān will be included."

57. I, 99:36ff. The warning is given in a tradition: "Do you not know
    that what is more than white complexion is leprosy, and what is more
    than curly hair is kinky, and what is more than reading is not read-
    ing at all." At I, 102:1ff, several extreme types of recitation are
    condemned, one of which includes shivering as if with cold.

58. I, 170:36.

59. I, 107:21.

60. Chap. 64, II, 116:27ff.

or powerful or lovely than those in it, nor will you be able to imagine any composition better organized, or with a greater impact in recitation; as for its meanings, anyone with a sensitive heart testifies to the careful progression in its chapters and a development to the highest possible levels. You might have expected to find these three virtues separately, in various pieces of literature, but to find them all in a single book, this could not be except in the Word of the Knowing, the Powerful. And from this the only possible conclusion to be drawn is that the Qur'ān has truly become a miracle, in that it came with the most eloquent words, has the finest patterns of composition, and includes the most correct meanings. Some of these are: about the Unity of God (be exalted), raising Him above all comparisons in His attributes; its call to obedience of Him; its gracious exposition of His worship, including what is permitted and forbidden, what is warned against and allowed; its preaching and call to upright living; its command of the right and denial of the wrong; its guidance to the highest of moral values and warning against anything less. All these are put in their proper place, so that no more appropriate location can be imagined for anything, nor could the mind conceive of any form more suitable than it...[61]

Some may feel this passage is overdone, or naive. The modern secular world is not much in harmony with an emotional expression of this kind. And yet this does not necessarily change the point to be made here--the Muslim's sense of awe and ecstatic reverence for this, his Scripture. Because of it, the Muslim scholar has a real sense of being on holy ground when he studies the Qur'ān, in an arena which calls forth the best and most devout of his efforts. Even after mastering the sciences necessary for exegesis, the scholar is still

...in danger, and must say no more than 'it might mean such and such,' not being dogmatic except when compelled to make a legal decision. In that case, he can only endeavor

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61. II, 121:14-22 (II, 102-3); see the Arabic text in Appendix IV, No. 3, as it appears in the Burhān and Itqān. A quotation from al-Zar-kashī, at II, 122:9-15 (II, 106-7) has also been translated, in Appendix III; it expresses much the same ideas as given here.

to do his best, and be firm in his statement, though still aware that it might be otherwise.[62]

The exegete is reminded that his work is impossible if any kind of impurity mars his life or devotion. One warning speaks of the many and varied facets of the Qur'ānic revelation, then adds, "Anyone who will submerge himself in it gently, will be saved; but he who does so violently, will be lost..."[63]   al-Zarkashī is also quoted for a similar word of warning:

> Know that no student can attain an understanding of revelation's meanings, nor will its secrets become clear to him, if there is in his heart any heresy, or pride, or foolish whim, or love of the world, or if he is obstinantly persistent about a particular sin, or if he is not sure of his faith, or weak in his research, or if he depends on an exegete who is unlearned or dependent solely on his own insight. All these are obstacles and hindrances, each one more deadly than the one before it.[64]

The high reverence with which men of Islam have approached the Qur'ān and its exegesis is beautifully reflected in these remarks. The scholar is called to rise above any false self-confidence or impurity, and reminded that he cannot dare to handle the Sacred Text except as he dedicates himself completely to God. This is islām at its best, a total submission to God and His revelation. Surely it is this kind of devotion which has been and will continue to be the main source of strength for the faith of Islam.

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62. II, 182:36ff (II, 168).

63. II, 185:2-5. See also the saying of Abī Tālib al-Tabarī, at II, 176:7ff.

64. II, 181:34-6 (II, 180).

APPENDIX I

AUTHORS AND BOOKS MENTIONED IN THE ITQĀN

The following list includes all authors to whom al-Suyūṭī refers
in his Itqān, with the exception of early Muslim authorities whose
names appear in tradition isnāds. The names are arranged in order of
the Arabic alphabet, and are given as in the Itqān except as the full
name has been restored from other sources; in this case the addition
appears in parentheses.

Titles of books are mentioned only if alluded to by al-Suyūṭī,
though occasionally the full title has been restored, in place of his
more abbreviated reference. Numbers appearing immediately after the
book titles (or after the name, if no book is given), indicate at least
one location in the Itqān where the book (or name) is mentioned.

The Burhān edition used for this study has been of particular help
in the identification of names. Its author, M. Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm,
has added careful biographical notes for authors mentioned by al-Zarkashī;
and because the Itqān is dependent for many quotations upon the Burhān,
there is considerable duplication of names in the two books. Thus,
where the Burhān supplies further information about any author, and
refers the reader to Arabic biographical encyclopaedias, the page in
the Burhān has been noted in the second column.

Dates are also supplied from the Burhān edition. When additional
or alternate dates are given in Brockelmann, C., Geschichte der Arab-
ischen litteratur, these have also been included, marked with an ater-
isk. A further reference work, Fuat Sezgin, Geschichte des Arabischen
Schrifttums, Leiden: Brill, 1967, has been completed only through its
first volume, but this was helpful for some of the earlier authors. The
dates follow the Muslim calendar (A. H.); the corresponding A. D. dates
can be determined by adding 622 years, then subtracting the result of
the A. H. date divided by 33. Or, the dates can be compared in Hazard,
Harry W., Atlas of Islamic History, Princeton University Press, 1954,
pp. 44-5.

The material attributed to each author in the Itqān is listed on
the right in the following columns: (T), the number of times the author
is mentioned; (L), the total number of lines in the printed Itqān which
are quoted from that author; and (D), the lines from among those which
are dependent on the Burhān, as an intermediate source.

PART A. THE COMPLETE LIST

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Ādam b. Abī Iyās		220*	1		
Tafsīr (Early) II, 190:3					
Ibn al-Athīr (al-Jazarī)	IV, 455		10	50	

al-Falak al-Dā'ir ʻalā
    'l-Muthul al-Sā'ir Kanz
    al-Barāʻa
    I, 8:8					

al-Ājurrī		360*	3	6	
Akhlāq Hamalat al-Qur'ān I, 7:17					
Ahmad (b. Hanbal), al-Imām . . .		241*	65	104	3
al-Musnad I, 13:14					
al-Zuhd I, 71:20					
al-Tārīkh I, 45:5					
Ahmad b. Jubayr al-Kūfī . . . . . I, 73:24			1		
al-Akhfash, (Saʻīd b. Musʻada). .	IV, 456		18	37	5
K. al-Wāhid wa 'l-Jamʻ II, 142:27					
Tafsīr I, 113:18					
Ibn Akhī Maymī			1	2	
al-Fawā'id I, 35:6					
al-Azharī, (Abū Mansūr M. b. Ahmad b. al-Azhar...)	I, 218	370 or 371*	1		

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
al-Tahdhīb I, 114:4					
Isḥāq			1		
Tafsīr (early) II, 178:7					
Ibn Isḥāq		151	6	9	
al-Mabda' II, 140:27					
Ibn Abī Isḥāq . . . . II, 10:13			1	15	
al-Isfarāynī, al-Ustādh Abū Isḥāq (Ibrāhīm b. M. b. Ibrāhīm) . . . . II, 48 II, 30:25	II, 48	418	2	5	5
Ismā'īl b. Isḥāq al-Mālikī			1		
(Book about variant readings) I, 73:25					
Ismā'īl al-Ḍarīr, al-Qāḍī (...b. Ahmad b. 'Abdillāh al-Ḥayrī Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān) . . . . II, 81	II, 81	430 after 430*	4	2	2
Tafsīr II, 7:2					
Ahkām al-Qur'ān I, 7:28					
Asmā' man nazala fīhim al-Qur'ān I, 8:13					
(Book about variant readings) I, 80:4					
Ismā'īl b. al-Muqri' al-Yamanī . . .			1	9	
Mukhtaṣar al-Rawḍa I, 112:3					
al-Ismā'īlī			1	1	

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
al-Ṣaḥīḥ al-Ismāʿīlī (Based on that of al-Bukhārī) I, 21:36					
Ibn Ashta			34	142	7
K. al-Muṣāḥif I, 7:16					
al-Ashnānī . . . . I, 88:7			1	1	
al-Ashʿarī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan (ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl...) . . . . I, 51:1	II, 82	324	7	6	6
Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ, (Abū M. ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid...)	II, 482	654*	1	28	
Badāʾiʿ al-Qurʾān I, 8:1					
al-Burhān I, 7:34					
al-Taḥbīr I, 8:1					
al-Khawāṭir al-Sawāniḥ fī Asrār al-Fawātiḥ I, 8:1					
al-Iṣbahānī	III, 366		6	61	8
Tafsīr I, 8:19					
al-Aṣmaʿī, (ʿAbd al-Malik b. Qurayb) . . . . I, 158:3	IV, 458	215, 216 or 217*	3	3	1
Imām al-Ḥaramayn (See al-Juwaynī)					
Ibn Umm Qāsim		749*	1		
al-Janī 'l-Dānī fī Ḥurūf al-Maʿānī I, 7:25					

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Ibn al-Anbārī, Abū Bakr (...M. b. al-Qāsim...)	III, 52	328*	35	529	11
al-Waqf wa 'l-Ibtidā' I, 7:20					
Bayān al-Damā'ir al-Wāqi'a fī 'l-Qur'ān I, 186:31					
al-Radd 'alā man khālafa Mushaf 'Uthmān I, 7:13					
al-Nāsikh wa 'l-Mansūkh II, 20:30					
al-Andalusī			2	6	
Sharh Badī'īyat al-A'mā II, 61:23					
Ibn Aws (Misprint in the _Itqān_; see Ibn Fāris)					
Ibn Bābashādh, (Abu 'l-Hasan Tāhir...al-Nahwī) . . . . III, 448 I, 163:14	III, 448	454 469*	1	2	2
al-Bārazī, al-Sharaf			2	19	
Anwār al-Tahsīl fī Asrār al-Tanzīl I, 8:2; II, 125:7					
al-Bāqillānī (See Abū Bakr, al-Qādī)					
al-Bukhārī, (Abū 'Abdillāh M. b. Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm) . . . . I, 133	I, 133	257	106	217	10
al-Sahīh I, 36:23					
Badr al-Dīn b. Jamā'a		730*	7	21	14

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
al-Tibyān fī Mubhimāt al-Qur'ān I, 8:13; II, 145:7					
Kashf al-Ma'ānī 'an Mutasha-bih al-Mathānī I, 8:11; II, 115:1					
, al-Muqtanas fī Fawā'id Tikrār al-Qasas II, 68:25					
Badr al-Dīn b. al-Ṣāḥib . . . . . . II, 92:31			1	4	
Badr al-Dīn b. Mālik, (M. b. M. b. 'Abdillāh Jamāl al-Dīn, "Ibn al-Nāẓim")	II, 59	686	3	5	
al-Miṣbāḥ I, 8:3					
Ibn Burjān, (Abu 'l-Ḥukm 'Abd al-Salām b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān...) . . .	I, 81	627	1		
Tafsīr I, 8:21					
K. fī Mu'ādidat al-Ahādīth II, 130:10					
Burhān al-Dīn al-Biqā'ī	I, 35	885	2		
K. fī Ḥadhf al-Iḥtibāk II, 6:24					
Naẓm al-Durar fī Tanāsub al-Āyy wa 'l-Suwar II, 108:5					
Ibn Burhān al-Nahwī, (Abu 'l-Fatḥ Aḥmad b. 'Alī...)	II, 79	520	3	9	2
Ibn Barakāt (See al-Sa'dī, M.)					
Ibn Burayza					

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Tafsīr (Bibliography only) I, 8:21					
al-Bazār, (Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. 'Abū al-Khāliq al-Baṣrī) . . .	I, 190	292 or 291*	22	24	
al-Musnad I, 13:18					
al-Bazdawī, ('Alī b. M. b. al-Ḥusayn)	I, 465	482	1	1	1
Shārih al-Bazdawī I, 109:10					
Ibn Baṭṭāl . . . . II, 166:3			1	2	
al-Baghawī, (Abū M. al-Ḥasan b. Mas'ūd b. M....)	I, 33	510 or 516*	12	25	17
Sharḥ al-Sunna I, 50:11					
Abu 'l-Baqā' al-'Akbarī ('Abdillāh b. Ḥusayn...)	I, 63 II, 352	616	8	17	3
I'rāb al-Qur'ān I, 7:25					
al-Bikrabādhī, Abū 'Abdillāh, (M. b. Ahmad)	II, 76		1	4	4
II, 12:30					
Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī, al-Qāḍī (...M. b. al-Ṭayyib...)	I, 23	403	32	101	49
al-Intisār I, 27:32					
al-Taqrīb I, 28:30					
I'jāz al-Qur'ān I, 7:33					

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, (al-Imām...Ahmad b. ʿAlī "al-Jaṣṣāṣ")	II, 3	370	2	9	5
Aḥkām al-Qurʾān I, 7:29					
Abū Bakr (See Ibn al-ʿArabī)					
Bakr b. al-ʿUlāʾ (al-Qushayrī) . . .	II, 3	182			
Aḥkām al-Qurʾān (Bibliography) I, 7:29					
Abū Bakr (b.) Mujānid (Ahmad b. Mūsā b. al-ʿAbbās...)	I, 327	324	6	7	2
(Book about variant readings) I, 73:26					
Abū Bakr (See al-Nīsābūrī)					
Abū Bakr M. b. al-Ḥārith b. Abyaḍ .			1	16	
Tafsīr (early) I, 25:8					
al-Bulqīnī, al-Qāḍī Jalāl al-Dīn . . I, 75:3			9	15	
al-Bulqīnī, Sirāj al-Dīn . . . . . . II, 184:20			1	2	
al-Bindhārī (See Abu 'l-Qāsim)					
Bahāʾ al-Dīn b. al-Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī			30	68	9
ʿUrūs al-Afrāḥ I, 8:5					
Manʿ al-Mawāniʿ I, 81:32					
Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ I, 82:31					

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣar I, 82:31					
Bahā' al-Dīn b. Shadād			1	1	
Tafsīr (early) II, 55:1					
al-Bayḍāwī		684*	2	1	
Tafsīr: (Anwār al-Tanzīl)					
al-Bayhaqī, (al-Imām Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʻAlī b. ʻAbdillāh...)	I, 190	458	115	229	22
Dalā'il al-Nubūwa I, 10:6					
Sha'b al-Īmān I, 19:4					
K. al-Sunan I, 83:22					
al-Madkhal I, 62:27					
al-Maʻrifa I, 78:20					
al-Daʻwāt II, 104:23					
Sharḥ al-Asmā' al-Ḥusnā II, 72:22					

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Tāj al-Dīn b. al-Subkī		771*	4	11	
al-Tadhkira II, 114:13					
al-Ṭabaqāt I, 112:12					

Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Tāj al-Dīn (See Ibn al-Furkāḥ)					
Tadhkirat al-Badr (See al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍī)					
al-Tirmidhī		279*	68	94	
al-Jāmiʿ I, 77:14					
al-Taftazānī		780*	2	5	
al-Sharḥ II, 184:16					
Taqī al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, al-Sharīf. . I, 113:1			1	4	
Taqī al-Dīn b. Daqīq al-ʿĪd	II, 204	702	3	4	1
II, 6:25					
Taqī al-Dīn b. Ruzayn, al-Qāḍī . . .			1	1	1
Tafsīr I, 8:21					
Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī		756*	10	77	

al-Iqtinās fī 'l-Farq bayn
     al-Ḥaṣr wa 'l-Ikhtiṣāṣ
     I, 8:4					

al-Aghrīd fī 'l-Farq bayn
     al-Kināya wa 'l-Taʿrīḍ
     I, 8:5					

Sharḥ al-Manhāj I, 8:24					
Taqī b. Mukhallad . . . . I, 52:32			1	1	
al-Tamīmī			1		
(A book about khawāṣṣ al-Qurʼān) II, 163:20					

Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
al-Tanūkhī, (M. b. M. Zayn al-Dīn)	IV, 491	7th cent.*	10	37	13
al-Aqṣā 'l-Qarīb I, 8:2					
al-Tawḥīdī (See Abū Ḥayān)					
Ibn Taymīya		728*	7	94	
Qawā'id fī 'l-Tafsīr I, 8:22; II, 176:26					
Ibn al-Tīn . . . . I, 19:14			4	10	
Tha'lab, (Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā) . . . . . . I, 138:16	IV, 456	291*	10	11	
al-Tha'labī, Abū Ṭālib (Aḥmad b. M. b. Ibrāhīm)	I, 13	427	10	11	
Tafsīr: (al-Kashf wa 'l-Bayān) II, 173:17					
al-Tha'ālabī		876	6	3	
Fiqh al-Lugha I, 137:13					
Thawr b. Jarīr . . . . II, 10:10			1	1	
Ibn Thawr, M. . . . . II, 188:23			1	1	
al-Thawrī, Sufyān (...b. Sa'īd b. Masrūq..) . . . . II, 189:27	I, 6	161	2	3	
Ibn Jābir			1	1	
Sharh Badi'īyat b. Jābir II, 41:28					

Name and Book	The <u>Burhān</u>	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
al-Jāḥiẓ, ('Amr. b. 'Umar) . . . . . II, 117:31		255*	2	20	
al-Jubbā'ī		303*	1		
<u>Tafsīr</u> (Mu'tazilite) I, 178:19					
Ibn Jabāra					
<u>Sharḥ</u> <u>Sharḥ</u> <u>al-Rā'iya</u> <u>li</u> <u>'l-</u> <u>Sakhāwī</u> (Bibliography) I, 8:16					
Ibn Jabr al-Makkī			3	4	
(Book about variant readings) I, 81:12					
Jubayr			1	1	
<u>Tafsīr</u> I, 17:7					
al-Jurjānī, (Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. M...)	I, 456		2	2	
<u>al-Shāfī</u> <u>fī</u> <u>Furū'</u> <u>al-Shāfi'ī</u> I, 99:13					
al-Jurjānī, 'Abd al-Qāhir (b. 'Abd al-Qādir...)	IV, 478	471*	9	21	
<u>I'jāz</u> <u>al-Qur'ān</u> I, 7:34					
Ibn Jurayḥ			1		
<u>Tafsīr</u> (Early) II, 188:28					
Ibn Jarīr (See al-Ṭabarī)					
al-Jazarī (See al-Ṣadr Mawhūb)					
Ibn al-Jazarī, Shams al-Dīn . . . . I, 99:26			1		

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Ibn al-Jazarī, Abū 'l-Khayr(ayn) . .		833*	55	302	

Aw‘iyat al-Nashr fī 'l-Qirā’āt
     al-‘Ashar
     I, 77:13					

Taqrīb al-Nashr I, 77:13					
K. al-Taysīr I, 74:10					
(Book about ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāẓ) I, 73:27					
al-Ja‘barī, (Ibrāhīm b. ‘Umar b. Ibrāhīm, "Burhān al-Dīn")	I, 53	732	12	51	21

(Abbreviation of Asbāb al-
    Nuzūl, by al-Wāḥidī)
     I, 28:23					

(Abū Ja‘far b. al-Bādhish, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Khalaf...) . .	I, 318	540	1	1	
al-Iqnā‘ fī 'l-Saba‘[1] I, 65:6					
Abū Ja‘far al-Rāzī . . . . II, 189:13			1	1	
Abū Ja‘far b. Zubayr (...Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm...)	I, 35	807	7	3	2

al-Burhān fī Munāsibāt Tartīb
    Suwar al-Qur'ān
     II, 108:5					

Amlāk al-Ta'wīl II, 114:35					
Ja‘far b. Shams al-Khilāfa		622*	1	10	
K. al-Ādāb II, 133:12					

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1. Mentioned by al-Suyūṭī as "ṣāḥib al-Iqnā‘"; the full name and title
of the book have been restored from the _Burhān_ edition.

138.

Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Abū Ja'far al-Naḥās, (Aḥmad b. M. b. Ismā'īl b. Yūnus al-Murādī...)	II, 28	338	13	37	8
al-Nāsikh wa 'l-Mansūkh I, 7:30					
al-Waqf wa 'l-Ibtidā' I, 7:20					
Ibn Abī Jamra . . . . II, 186:11		699*	1	11	
Jalāl al-Dīn (See al-Bulqīnī)					
Ibn Jamā'a (See Badr al-Dīn)					
Jamāl al-Dīn (See Ibn Mālik)					
Ibn Janī (Abū 'l-Fatḥ 'Uthmān...)	I, 300	392	29	96	2
al-Muḥtasib fī Tawjīh al-Shawādhdh I, 7:26					
Dha 'l-Qadd I, 7:26					
al-Khāṭirīyāt I, 7:26					
al-Khaṣā'iṣ I, 7:26					
al-Jawālīqī	II, 462	539*	31	31	
K. al-Mu'arrab[2] I, 138:1					
Ibn al-Jawzī, (Abū 'l-Faraj 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. M. b. 'Alī...)	II, 28	597	16	17	5

2. The title is written al-Maghrib in the printed Itqān; manuscript (H) and the Burhān have it as above.

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)

Tafsīr
  I, 8:20

al-Nafīs
  I, 8:18

Funūn al-Afnān fī ‘Ajā’ib
  ‘Ulūm al-Qur'ān
  II, 24:35

al-Wujūh wa 'l-Nazā'ir
  II, 141:21

(Book about _al-mujmal fī 'l-Qur'ān_)
  II, 175:36

al-Jawharī, (Ismā‘īl b. Ḥamād Abū
  Naṣr...) . . . . I, 292   393   3   2

  K. al-Ṣiḥāḥ
    I, 114:4

Juwaybir c.150*   2   2

  Tafsīr
    I, 134:12

al-Juwaynī, (Abū 'l-Ma‘ālī ‘Abd
  al-Malik b. Abī ‘Abdillāh b.
  Yūsef b. M.), "Imām al-Ḥaramayn"   I, 23   478   8   54   14

  al-Burhān
    I, 28:12

  Tafsīr
    I, 8:21

  al-Risāla 'l-Nazāmīya
    II, 6:20

Abū Ḥātim Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān
  al-Laghawī 322*   5   16

  K. al-Zīna
    I, 138:16

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(B)
Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī (...Sahl b. M...)	I, 217	255	4	3	
(Book about textual variations) I, 81:3					
Ibn Abī Ḥātim		327*	202	381	
Tafsīr I, 7:13					
K. al-Muṣāḥif II, 3:28					
Ibn al-Ḥājib, (ʻUthmān b. ʻUmar b. Yūnus Abū ʻUmar al-Kirdī...) . .	I, 319	646	18	22	9
Amālī al-Muʻarrab li 'l-Jawālīqī I, 7:27					
Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal I, 160:1					
al-Ḥārith b. Abī Usāma . . . . II, 165:18		282*	2	1	
al-Ḥārith (b. Asad) al-Muḥāsibī . .	IV, 464	243*	2	15	
K. Fahm al-Sunan I, 58:27					
Ḥāzim, (Abū 'l-Ḥasan...b. M. al-Qurṭājinī)	I, 59	684	5	20	16
Manāhij al-Bulaghā' I, 8:2					
al-Ḥākim, (al-Imām Abū ʻAbdillāh M. b. ʻAbdillāh)	I, 190	405	115	151	3
al-Mustadrak ʻalā 'l-Sahīhayn I, 7:14					
al-Tārīkh I, 79:7					

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
al-Madkhal fī ʿUlūm al-Hadīth II, 155:30: I, 79:7					
al-Iklīl I, 26:14					
Ibn Ḥibbān, Abū 'l-Shaykh[3] (Abū Ḥātim M. al-Bustī)	I, 212	354	47	39	4
Tafsīr I, 7:12					
al-Ṣaḥīḥ II, 138:19					
al-Fadā'il II, 165:10					
Muqaddamat Tārīkh al-Duʿafā' II, 155:33					
Ibn Ḥabīb (See al-Nīsābūrī)					
al-Ḥajjāj, b. M. . . . . II, 188:23		206*	1		
Sharḥ al-Bukhārī I, 7:17					
Sharḥ al-Manhāj II, 26:27					
Asbāb al-Nuzūl I, 140:31					
Ibn Abī Ḥadīd, (ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Hibatillāh b. M. b. M...)	II, 124	655	1	9	9
II, 181:10					
al-Ḥarbī, (Ibrāhīm)	I, 479	285*	2	4	2
al-Fawā'id I, 179:18					

3. The listing of this man in al-Suyūṭī's bibliography makes it seem that these two names are different people; the "and" between them is not to be found in manuscript (H).

Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Gharīb al-Hadīth II, 171:35					
al-Ḥarrānī . . . . II, 113:19			1	23	
al-Ḥurayrī, (Abū M. al-Qāsim b. ʻAlī b. M. b. ʻUthmān) . . . . . . I, 179:4	I, 70	516	1		
Ibn Ḥazm, (al-Imām Abū M. ʻAlī b. Aḥmad b. Saʻīd...) . . . . . . K. al-Qadah al-Muʻallī Tatmīm al-Majallī I, 79:26	II, 128	457	1	2	2
al-Ḥasan (b. Abī 'l-Ḥasan) al-Baṣrī II, 76:2	I, 7	110	2	2	
Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (...ʻAlī b. ʻAbdillāh b. ʻAbd al-Jabbār, leader of al-Shādhilīya) . . . . . II, 29:16	II, 57	656	1	1	1
Abū 'l-Ḥasan (See Ibn al-Ḥaṣār)					
Abū 'l-Ḥasan (See al-Wāḥidī)					
Ḥusayn, al-Qāḍī (...b. M. b. Aḥmad Abū ʻAlī al-Marūzī) . . . . al-Taʻlīq II, 172:33	I, 476	462	3	1	1
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faḍl . . . . II, 8:24			1	2	2
Abū 'l-Ḥusayn M. b. ʻAbd al- Ṣamad al-Maṣrī . . . . (Book about al-wujūh wa 'l-nazā'ir) I, 141:22			1		
al-Ḥusayn al-Munādī, (al-Imām Abū 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Jaʻfar...) . .	II, 37	334	1	2	2

143.

Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
al-Nāsikh wa 'l-Mansūkh[4] II, 26:7					
Ibn al-Haṣār, Abū 'l-Ḥasan			23	83	
al-Nāsikh wa 'l-Mansūkh I, 7:30					
al-Ḥalawānī			1	1	
al-Jāmi' I, 105:28					
al-Ḥalīmī, (Abū 'Abdillāh Ḥasan b. al-Hasan...)	I, 441	403	13	33	28
I, 40:23					
Abū Ḥamza, Maḥmūd			1	2	
K. al-'Ajā'ib I, 189:6					
Abū Ḥayān al-Tawhīdī, ('Alī b. M. b. al-'Abbās...)	I, 306	380	20	52	8
(al-Baṣā'ir) II, 120:32 (II, 100)[5]					
Abū Ḥayān al-Nahwī (M. b. Yūsuf Athīr al-Dīn...)	I, 301	745*	32	77	14
Tafsīr: al-Bahr wa 'l-Nahr II, 190:15					
al-Tadhkira I, 150:25					
(Book on gharīb al-Qur'ān) I, 113:16					

4. The paralle[l] text of the Burhān mentions this book, and has the author's na.... al-Munādī, as given here. The Itqān has al-Munārī.

5. In using this section of the Burhān, al-Suyūṭī quoted the man by name, but omitted his book title. It is given here from the Burhān.

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
al-Irtishāf I, 7:27					
al-Ḥūbī (Misprint in the _Itqān_; see al-Khūbī)					
al-Ḥūfī, (Abū 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm...)	I, 301	430	2	2	
al-Burhān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān I, 8:19					
al-Khārasanjī . . . . I, 178:35			1	1	
Ibn Khālawayn, (Abū ʿAbdillāh al-Ḥusayn b. M...)	II, 245	370	7	23	
I, 189:8					
Ibn al-Khabbāz, (Aḥmad b. al- Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn... al-Irbilī al-Ḍarīr)	II, 433	637	2		
Sharḥ al-Īḍāḥ I, 174:18					
al-Khabbāzī, Abū ʿAbdillāh al-Muqri' II, 163:16			1	2	
Ibn Khuzayma . . . . I, 78:20		311*	2	2	
Ibn al-Khashshāb, (Abū M. ʿAbdillāh b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad...)	I, 70	567	2	7	
I, 182:16					
Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb	II, 157		1	1	1
II, 179:4					
al-Khaṭṭābī, (Abū Sulaymān M. b. Ibrāhīm...)	II, 90, 101	388*	9	46	
Bayān Iʿjāz al-Qur'ān I, 7:33					
al-Khaṭīb . . . . I, 33:14			2		

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
al-Khafājī, (al-Amīr 'Abdullāh b. M. b. Sa'īd b. Sinān...) . . .	I, 57	466	2	13	10
Sirr al-Fasāha II, 98:24					
al-Khalā'ī			1	1	
al-Fawā'id I, 163:28					
al-Khalīl . . . . I, 175:10		177, 180, or 194*	7	6	1
al-Khalīlī			1	12	
al-Irshād II, 188:18					
al-Khanasā' . . . . I, 158:7			1	2	
al-Khuwaybī (or, al-Khūbī, al-Khuwayy)[6]	I, 16	637	10	46	26
Tafsīr II, 114:2					
Ibn Khuwayz Mandād	II, 255	c.400	2	1	
Aḥkām al-Qur'ān I, 7:30					
Ibn Abī Khaythama . . . . II, 138:2			2	2	
Ibn Khayr . . . . I, 103:6		575*	1	2	

6. Parallel references in the _Burhān_ give the latter form of the name, with the following identification: Shams al-Dīn, al-Qāḍī Aḥmad b. Khalīl b. Sa'āda, d. 637. Manuscript (H) seems to have al-Khūbī, the the orthography is such that it is impossible to be dogmatic; the same form as that of the _Burhān_ may be intended. Brockelmann, _GAL_ I, 508, _GALS_ I, 922b and 924b, gives al-Khuwayyī, and the same full name as above.

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L).	(D)
al-Dāraquṭnī . . . . I, 32:20		385*	10	16	
al-Dārimī . . . . al-Musnad I, 38:11		255*	18	26	
(Ibn) al-Dāmighānī, (al-Qāḍī Abū 'Abdillāh...M. b. 'Alī b. M. al-Ḥanafī)	I, 102	478	2		
(Book about al-wujūh wa 'l-nazā'ir) I, 141:21					
al-Dānī, Abū 'Umar (al-Imām 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd...)	I, 53	444	24	32	11
al-Waqf wa 'l-Ibtidā' I, 7:20					
al-Tajwīd I, 100:30					
al-Taysīr I, 77:12					
al-Muqni' I, 8:15					
Ibn Abī Dāwūd			34	74	
K. al-Muṣāhif I, 7:16					
Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, (Sulaymān b. al-Ash'ath b. Isḥāq...)	II, 28	275	30	34	
al-Nāsikh wa 'l-Mansūkh I, 7:31					
al-Marāsīl I, 65:30					
Dāwūd al-Zāhirī, (Abū Sulaymān... b. 'Alī Khalaf al-Iṣbahānī) . . . . II, 18:34	II, 178	270	1		

Name and Date	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
al-Dāwudī, (Ahmad b. Yahyā b. Sa'īd Abū 'Abdillāh...) . . . . . I, 55:6	II, 178		1	1	
Ibn Durayd, (Abū Bakr M. b. al-Ḥasan...) . . . . (Book about gharīb al-Qur'ān) I, 113:14	I, 217	321	2	1	1
al-Dajūnī, Abū Bakr M. b. Ahmad b. 'Umar . . . . (Book about variant readings) I, 73:25			1		
Ibn Daqīq al-'Īd (See Taqī al-Dīn)					
Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā . . . . K. al-Tafakkur I, 21:11 al-Du'ā' I, 107:4 K. al-Tawba II, 161:19		281*	5	13	
Ibn al-Dahhān . . . . I, 165:13			1	2	2
al-Dayraqūlī . . . . al-Fawā'id I, 57:8			1	1	
al-Dayrīnī (See al-'Izz)					
al-Daylamī . . . . Musnad al-Firdaws I, 67:9		509*	8	8	
al-Dīnawarī, (Abū Ḥanīfa...) . . . . II, 446		282*	2	2	

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
al-Mujālasa II, 164:14					
K. al-Firdaws II, 164:15					
al-Dhamārī, al-Kamāl[7]	I, 246		1	1	1
Sharḥ al-Tanbīh I, 63:33					

al-Dhahabī, Abū ʿAbdillāh (M.
  b. Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān b. Qāymāz
  al-Turkumānī...) . . . .
	I, 242	748	5	28	

Ṭabaqāt al-Qurrāʾ I, 73:27					
al-Rāzī (See Salīm)					
al-Rāzī (See Abū ʿAbdillāh)					
al-Rāzī (See Fakhr al-Dīn)					
al-Rāghib, (Abū ʾl-Qāsim al- Ḥusayn b. M...al-Iṣbahānī)	I, 126	396	34	105	8
Mufradāt al-Qurʾān I, 7:22					
Tafsīr I, 163:36					

al-Rāfiʿī, Abū ʾl-Qāsim,
  (al-Imām...ʿAbd al-Karīm b.
  M. al-Qazwaynī...) . . . .
	I, 476	623	5	12	

Amālī al-Rāfiʿī ʿalā ʾl-Fātiḥa I, 8:22					

7. The parallel text in the _Burhān_ reads al-Dadhmārī, but the man is
   not identified further.

Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Ibn Rāhūya, Ishāq	IV, 469	238*	4	7	

al-Musnad
I, 38:10

Tafsīr (early)
II, 190:3

Ibn Ruzayn (See Taqī al-Dīn)

| al-Rāshidī, Burhān al-Dīn . . . . | II, 507 | 583* | 1 | 3 | 3 |

II, 94:26

| Ibn Rashīq . . . . | IV, 469 | 456* | 1 | 2 | |

al-'Umda
I, 8:3

Tafsīr[8]
II, 77:33

| al-Ra'aynī, Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Mālik . . . . | | | 1 | 25 | |

Tuḥfat al-Iqrān fīmā quri'a bi
'l-Tathlīth min Ḥurūf al-Qur'ān
I, 185:35

| al-Rummānī, (Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. 'Alī...) . . . . | I, 18 | 384 | 10 | 23 | 14 |

al-Nukat fī I'jāz al-Qur'ān
I, 7:33

Tafsīr
II, 178:20

| Rawḥ b. 'Ibāda . . . . | | | 1 | | |

Tafsīr (early)
II, 190:3

| Abū Rawq ('Aṭīya b. al-Ḥārith al-Hamdānī) . . . . | | c.140* | 1 | | |

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8. The two titles may be for the same book.

Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Tafsīr (early) II, 188:25					
al-Rūyānī, (Abū 'l-Muḥāsin 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ismā'īl...) . . . . . . I, 82:30	II, 467	502	1		
Zād Abū 'Awāna		316*	1	1	
al-Saḥīḥ I, 44:34					
al-Zāhid, Abū 'Umar (M. b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Abī Hāshim al-Maṭraz...)	I, 291 IV, 77	345	5	8	2
K. al-Yawāqīt, or Yāqūtat al-Sirāṭ, or al-Yāqūta I, 83:4, II, 79:1					
(Book about gharīb al-Qur'ān) I, 113:14					
al-Zujāj, (Ibrāhīm b. al-Sirrī Abū Isḥāq...)	I, 13 I, 342	311	16	13	4
Tafsīr II, 190:15					
al-Waqf wa 'l-Ibtidā' I, 83:13					
al-Zarkashī, al-Imām Badr al-Dīn M. b. 'Abdillāh b. Bahādar... . .	I, 3-5	794	46	261	258
al-Burhān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān I, 5:7					
Sharḥ al-Tanbīh II, 158:11					
al-Zamakhsharī, (M. b. 'Umar b. M...)	I, 31	538	109	171	67
al-Kashshāf I, 8:18					

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
al-Fā'iq I, 173:5					
(Ibn) al-Zamalkānī, (Kamāl al-Dīn M. b. 'Abd al-Waḥid...) . . .	I, 39	727	6	19	11
al-Burhān fī I'jāz al-Qur'ān I, 7:35					
al-Tibyān fī 'l-Bayān I, 7:36					
al-Majīd (an abbreviation of al-Burhān...) I, 7:35					
al-Manhaj al-Mufīd fī Ahkām al-Tawkīd I, 7:36					
K. al-Tamwīhāt 'alā 'l-Tibyān I, 198:35					
Asrār al-Tanzīl II, 51:19					
al-Zanjānī, ('Izz al-Dīn Abī 'l-Ma'ālī 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm...)	III, 103	655	3	4	
Mi'yār al-Naẓām fī 'Ulūm al-Asfār II, 41:1					
Ibn Abī Zayd		386*	1	1	
al-Nawādir II, 162:28					
Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī . . . . I, 140:19			2	2	
al-Zuhrī, (al-Imām M. b. Muslim b. 'Ubaydillāh b. Shihāb...) . . . I, 47:12		124*	1		

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Ibn Sab', (Abū 'l-Rabī' Sulaymān...al-Bustī)	I, 454 II, 154		1	6	6
Shifā' al-Sudūr II, 185:5					
Ibn al-Subkī (See Bahā' al-Dīn)					
al-Subkī (See Tāj al-Dīn)					
al-Subkī (See Taqī al-Dīn)					
al-Sijistānī (See Abū Dāwūd)					
al-Sajāwandī		560*	4	18	
al-Waqf wa 'l-Ibtidā' I, 7:20					
al-Sakhāwī, 'Alam al-Dīn (...'Alī b. M. b. 'Abd al-Samad...)	I, 112	643	32	53	
Jamāl al-Qurrā' I, 7:19					
Sharh al-Rā'iya I, 8:15					
al-Tajwīd I, 101:25					

Hidāyat al-Murtāb fī 'l-
    Mutashābih
    II, 114:34					

al-Suddī,(Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Rahmān...)	IV, 457	128*	5	2	
Tafsīr (early) II, 188:30					
Sirāj al-Dīn (See al-Bulqīnī)					
Ibn al-Sirāj, (Abū Bakr...) . . . . I, 200:12	I, 377	c.315	1		
Ibn Surāqa			3	5	

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
al-Sarqasṭī, (Abū ʻUthmān Saʻīd b. M...)	I, 292	1			
(Book about verbs) I, 114:5					
Ibn Saʻd		230*	3	13	
al-Ṭabaqāt I, 9:21					
Ibn Saʻdān al-Naḥwī (Abū Jaʻfar M...)	I, 213	231	2	1	1
I, 45:31					
Saʻīd b. Manṣūr		227*	21	24	
Tafsīr, a part of his Sunan (early) I, 7:14					
al-Saʻīdī,[9] (Abū ʻAbdillāh M. b. Barakāt...)	II, 29		4	7	2
al-Ījāz fī Maʻrifat mā fī ʼl-Qurʼān min Mansūkh wa Nāsikh I, 7:30					
al-Safāqusī		732*	1		
Iʻrāb al-Qurʼān[10] I, 179:29; 7:25					
Sufyān (See al-Thawrī)					
Sufyān b. ʻUyayna (al-Hilālī) . . .	I, 6	198	3	2	

9. The parallel passage in the _Burhān_, in the same list of books about abrogation, has al-Saʻdī. The _Itqān_ gives no title for his book on the subject; the full title appears in a _Burhān_ edition note, with a cross-reference to al-Suyūṭī's book, _Bughyat al-Wuʻāʼ_, p. 24.

10. al-Suyūṭī suggests that this is an abbreviation of the book by al-Samīn. Brockelmann, _GALS_ II, 350[3] and 137, insists that this is not so. The relationship between the two books was described by Ibn Ḥayyān, and repeated by al-Suyūṭī.

Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Tafsīr: al-Jāmi' (early) II, 190:2					
Ibn Sufyān, (Abū 'Abdillāh M. ...al-Qayrawānī		415	1		
al-Hādī I, 94:14					
al-Sakākī, (Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr b. M. al-Khawārizī...)	I, 70	425	24	42	15
Miftāh al-'Ulūm II, 120:30					
al-Salafī, (Abū Ṭāhir Ahmad b. M. b. Aḥad...)	I, 282	576	3	9	2
al-Mukhtār min al- Tayyūrīyāt II, 160:25					
Ibn Salāma al-Ḍarīr (See Hibatullāh)					
al-Salmī, (Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān M. b. al-Ḥusayn b. M...)	II, 171	412	2		
Haqā'iq al-Tafsīr (sermonic) II, 184:11					
Salīm al-Rāzī, (Abū 'l-Fath... b. Ayyūb...)	I, 472	447	1	3	3
Tafsīr: (Ḍiyā' al-Qulūb fī 'l-Tafsīr) I, 8:21					
al-Samarqandī (See Abū 'l-Layth)					
Ibn al-Sam'ānī . . . . II, 18:31		489*	2	2	
Sammāk b. Harb . . . . II, 189:30			1	1	
al-Samīn		756*	1		

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
<u>I'rāb al-Qur'ān</u> I, 7:25; 179:28					
Ibn al-Sanī . . . . II, 154:23			6	8	
Sunayd			2	2	
<u>Tafsīr</u> I, 19:1					
al-Suhaylī, (Abū 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al- Raḥmān b. 'Abdillāh b. Aḥmad...) .	I, 155	581	13	28	17
<u>al-Ta'rīf wa 'l-I'lām fīmā waqa' fī 'l-Qur'ān min al-Asmā' wa 'l-A'lām</u> I, 8:12					
<u>al-Rawd al-Anf 'an Sīrat Ibn Hishām</u> II, 142:22					
(Book about <u>al-mubhamāt</u>)[11] II, 145:7					
Sībawayhi[12]	I, 53	c.180*	22	24	5
<u>al-Kitāb</u> (grammar) (I, 53)					
<u>Tafsīr</u> I, 154:13					
<u>Sharḥ al-Lubb</u> I, 159:3					
Ibn Sayyidihi, ('Alī b. Ismā'īl Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḍarīr...)	I, 64	448	2	1	
<u>al-Muḥkam wa 'l-Mukhaṣṣaṣ</u> I, 114:4					

11. Brockelmann, <u>GAL</u>, I, includes <u>ma ubhima</u> in the first title above,
    suggesting it may be the book intended here.

12. <u>GAL</u>, I gives the full name: Abū Bishr 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. Qanbar.

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Ibn al-Sayyid, ('Abdullāh b. M...al-Baṭlayūsī)	II, 27	521	5	13	11
al-Amālī 'alā 'l-Muwaṭṭā' I, 63:33					
al-Sayrāfī . . . . I, 174:17			2		

al-Shāṭibī, (al-Imām al-Qāsim b. Firruh...al-Ḍarīr)	I, 318	591 590*	5	1	
al-Shāṭibīya (about variant readings) I, 81:23					
al-Shāfi'ī		204	28	35	6
al-Umm II, 126:7					
Mukhtaṣar al-Buwayṭī II, 184:8					
al-Risāla I, 136:6					
al-Shāmil I, 176:35					
Abū Shāma, (al-'Allāma 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm 'Uthmān	I, 180	665	23	71	35
al-Murshid al-Wajīz I, 41:2					
Shibl b. 'Ibād al-Makkī		148*	1		
Tafsīr (early) II, 188:24					
al-Shiblī . . . . II, 161:32			1	1	1
Ibn Shabīb al-Ḥanbalī					

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Jāmi' al-Funūn (Bibliography) I, 8:17					
Ibn al-Shajarī, (Abū 'l-Sa'ādāt Hibatullāh b. 'Alī b. Ḥamza...) . II, 376 II, 40:11		542	5	8	4
al-Sharaf (See al-Bārazī)					
al-Sharaf al-Mazanī (See al-Marsī)					
Ibn Shurayḥ, (M...al-Ishbīlī) . . . I, 325		476*	2	2	
al-Kāfī fī 'l-Qirā'āt al-Sab' I, 94:14					
al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, Tadhkirat al-Dīn al-Badr b. al-Ṣāḥib		436*	1	2	
al-Ghurar wa 'l-Durar I, 8:17					
Shu'ba, b. Ḥajjāj		160*	2		
Tafsīr (early) II, 188:27					
al-Sha'bī, (Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab...) I, 8		94*	3 .	2	
Tafsīr (early) I, 40:25					
Shams al-Dīn (See Ibn al-Ṣā'igh)					
al-Shams al-Kirmānī . . . . I, 28:18			1	7	
Ibn Shanbūdh . . . . II, 103:12			2	5	4
al-Shahrazūrī, Abū 'l-Karam (Mubārak b. al-Ḥasan...) . . . . . I, 318		550	1		
al-Miṣbāḥ al-Zāhid fī 'l- Qirā'āt al-'Ashar al-Zawāhir I, 74:6					

Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Ibn Abī Shayba, Abū Bakr (ʿAbdullāh b. M...)	I, 189	235	10	8	1
Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān I, 7:15					
Tārīkh al-Qurrāʾ I, 91:23					
Tafsīr (early) II, 190:4					
Abū ʾl-Shaykh (See Ibn Ḥibbān)					
Shaydala, Abū ʾl-Maʿālī ʿUzayzī b. ʿAbd al-Malik	I, 19	494	19	76	25

al-Burhān fī Mushkalāt
     al-Qurʾān
   II, 24:16					

Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh, Shams al-Dīn[13]	IV, 240		10	162	2

Rawḍ al-Afhām fī Aqsām
     al-Istifhām
   I, 8:6; II, 79:12					

Nashr al-ʿAbīr fī Iqāmat
     al-Ẓāhir Maqām al-Ḍamīr
   I, 8:6; II, 72:29					

al-Muqaddima fī Sirr al-Alfāẓ
     al-Muqaddama
   I, 8:7; II, 14:7					

Iḥkām al-Raʾy fī Aḥkām al-Āy I, 8:7; II, 99:10					
al-Ṣābūnī		449*	1	1	
al-Miʾatayn II, 164:35					

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13. The Burhān has Ibn al-Ḍāʾiʿ in some parallel passages, but it is consistently in this form in the Itqān.

Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Ibn al-Ṣāḥib (See Badr al-Dīn)					
Ibn al-Ṣāḥib (See al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā)					
al-Ṣāghānī, (al-Imām Rāḍī al-Dīn Ḥasan b. M...)	I, 110 I, 292	650	1		
Majmaʿ al-Bahrayn I, 114:5					
Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh . . . . I, 80:4			1		
al-Ṣadr Mawhūb al-Jazarī[14]	II, 122	833*	3	10	
al-Fatāwī I, 109:15					
al-Ṣaffār . . . . I, 199:35			3	2	
Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, (Taqī al-Dīn Abū ʿUmar ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān...)	I, 483	643*[15]	11	19	8
al-Fatāwī I, 37:18					
Fawāʾid Riḥlat Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ I, 112:35					
al-Ṣalāḥ al-Ṣafadī . . . . II, 73:27			1		
al-Ṣayyarafī, (Abū Bakr M. b. ʿAbdillāh...) . . . . II, 30:30	II, 218	333	2	4	4
Ibn Abī ʾl-Ṣayf al-Yamanī	I, 246		1	1	1

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14. Or, Ṣadr al-Dīn, as in the Burhān. The same pattern may be seen in the use of other similar names, as, for example, al-Burhān al-Rashīdī for Burhān al-Dīn al-Rashīdī.

15. The Burhān in in error with its date, 843.

Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
al-Nukat 'alā 'l-Tanbīh I, 63:32					

al-Ḍarīr (See Ismā'īl al-Qāḍī)

Ibn al-Ḍarrīs   11   46

    Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān
    I, 7:15; II, 26:33

Abū Ṭālib (See al-Ṭabarī)

al-Ṭabarānī . . . .   360*   65   107[16]

    al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr
    II, 189:1

    al-Awsaṭ
    I, 12:15

    al-Ṣaghīr
    II, 152:5

    al-Du'ā'
    I, 65:3

al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja'far b. Jarīr. . . I, 18   310   96   300

    Tafsīr: Jāmi' al-Bayān
    I, 7:13; II, 190:29

al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ṭālib[17]   2   19

16. A large section, starting at I, 120, is attributed to two authors, al-Ṭabarānī, and Ibn al-Anbārī. At its conclusion, 133:22ff, al-Suyūṭī indicates that he has identified the material from each author with a symbol; unfortunately these are not to be found in the printed edition. Manuscript (H) has them, but it is still difficult to decide how to use them. Thus all the material was assigned to Ibn al-Anbārī, making the total lines here, for al-Ṭabarānī, less than they should be.

17. Carefully distinguished from Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī in the Itqān's one quotation from him; he may be the man identified by Sezgin, op. cit., p. 502, as Ṭāhir b. 'Al. b. Ṭāhir Abu'l-Ṭaiyib, d. 450.

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Tafsīr II, 176:7					
al-Taḥāwī . . . . I, 47:7		321*	1	2	

Ibn al-Tarāwa, (Abū 'l-Ḥasan Sulay-
  mān b. ʿAbdillāh al-Māliqī...) . .
  I, 158:22
	II, 326	528	1	1	

al-Tarṭūshī,[18] (al-Qāḍī Najm
  al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī...) . . . .
  al-ʿUmda
  II, 41:6
	II, 300
	III, 432
		758	2	4	2

Ibn al-Tarīf,[19] (ʿAbd al-Malik...
  al-Andalusī) . . . .
  (Book about verbs)
  I, 114:5
	I, 292	c.400	1		

al-Talmankī . . . .
  al-Rawda (about recitation)
  I, 94:14
			1		

al-Ṭūfī . . . .
  Fawāsil al-Āyāt (Bibliography)
  I, 8:8					

al-Ṭayālisī, (Abū Dāwūd...) . . . .
  al-Musnad
  I, 26:16
	I, 244	203 or
		204*
			1	5	

Abū 'l-Ṭayyib, al-Qāḍī (ʿAbd al-
  Munʿim b. Ghalbūn b. al-Mubārak
  ...al-Ḥalabī) . . . .
	I, 323	389	1	1	

18. The parallel _Burhān_ reference has al-Tarṭūsī, and the information
    given above is for that name; the book title is the same.

19. The printed _Itqān_ has Ibn al-Ẓarīf, a misprint. Manuscript (H)
    agrees with the _Burhān_, as listed here.

Name and Book	The <u>Burhān</u>	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
(Book about variant readings) I, 82:30					
al-Ṭayyibī, (al-Ḥasan b. M. b. ʿAbdillāh...)	II, 448	743	19	67	
<u>al-Tibyān</u> I, 8:3					
<u>Ḥāshiyat al-Kashshāf</u> I, 8:18					
<u>Sharḥ al-Bayān</u> II, 75:28					

Ibn al-Ẓarīf (Misprint; see Ibn al-Ṭarīf)					
Ibn Ẓafr, (Abū ʿAbdillāh...b. M. b. M. al-Ṣaqlī)	II, 36	578	1	2	2
<u>al-Yanbūʿ (fī ʾl-Tafsīr)</u> II, 26:20					

Abū ʾl-ʿĀliya . . . . II, 72:22		93*	1	1	
al-ʿIbādī . . . . I, 106:5		2	1	1	
Abū ʾl-ʿAbbās (See al-Jurjānī)					
Abū ʾl-ʿAbbās b. ʿAmmār . . . . . . I, 80:24		1	4		
Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr, (Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf... b. ʿĀṣim al-Namrī al-Qurṭubī) . . I, 214	463	10	18	3	
<u>al-Tamhīd</u> I, 19:11					
ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Yamanī . . . . II, 190:23		1	2		

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
ʿAbd al-Jabbār		415*	1		
Tafsīr (Muʿtazilite) II, 178:19					
ʿAbd b. Ḥamīd		249*	6	6	
Tafsīr (early) II, 190:3					
ʿAbd al-Razzāq, (...b. Humām al-Ḥamīrī)	II, 164	211*	12	34	
Tafsīr (early) I, 7:14; II, 178:6					
Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām (See ʿIzz al-Dīn)					
Ibn ʿAbd al-Ṣamad					
al-Wāḥid wa 'l-Jamʿ fī 'l-Qurʾān (Bibliography) I, 7:23.					
ʿAbd al-Qāhir (See al-Jurjānī)					
ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, al-Muwaffaq			2	3	
Sharḥ Badīʿ Qudāma I, 8:9					
Qawānīn al-Balāgha II, 47:1					
ʿAbdullāh b. Aḥmad (b. Ḥanbal)[20].	I, 462	290*	5	15	
Zawāʾid al-Musnad I, 27:19					
Abū ʿAbdillāh al-Rāzī (See Fakhr al-Dīn)					

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20. When this form of the name appears in the _Burhān_, a note identifies it as Ibn Ḥanbal. The passage is not taken over for the _Itqān_ so the identification of the two names cannot be taken as certain; al-Suyūṭī seems to refer to Ibn Ḥanbal only as al-Imām Aḥmad. Sezgin, _op. cit._, pp. 502-9, suggests this is his son; it seems probable that he would have added to his father's _Musnad_. The above is the son's death date. Ibn Ḥanbal died in 241.

Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
‘Abd al-Wahhāb, al-Qāḍī al-Mālikī . II, 46:12			1	1	1
Abū ‘Ubayd, al-Qāsim b. Sallām[21] . . II, 28		223 224*	70	145	15
al-Nāsikh wa 'l-Mansūkh I, 7:31; II, 20:30					
Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān I,7:15					
(Book about variant readings) I, 72:23					
‘Ubayd			1	1	
al-Musnad I, 55:11					
Abū ‘Ubayda (Ma‘mar b. al-Muthannā) IV, 480		c.208- 213*	18	17	2
K. al-I‘jāz I, 53:3					
(Book about gharīb al-Qur'ān) I, 113:4					
al-‘Atabī . . . . I, 52:5			2	8	
Ibn ‘Adī, (Abū Aḥmad ‘Abdullāh... al-Jurjānī) . . . . II, 158		365	2	3	
al-Kāmil[22] (fī Ma‘rifat Ḍu‘afā' al-Muḥaddithīn) II, 189:3					
al-‘Irāqī (See ‘Alam al-Dīn)					
Ibn al-‘Arabī, (Abū Bakr M. b. ‘Abdillāh b. M. b. ‘Abdillāh al-Mu‘āfirī...) . . . . I, 16		544	25	63	14

21. The printed Itqān has Ibn Rasalān, at I, 7:31, a misprint.

22. Only the book title confirms that the Burhān and Itqān refer to the same Ibn ‘Adī; there is no duplicated material quoted from him.

Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)

Ahkām al-Qur'ān
   I, 7:29

Tafsīr
   I, 31:2

al-Nāsikh wa 'l-Mansūkh
   I, 7:30

Fawā'id Rihlat Ibn al-'Arabī
   II, 11:3

Sirāj al-Murīdīn
   II, 108:10

Qānūn al-Ta'wīl
   II, 128:32

al-'Izz al-Dayrīnī (Abū M. 'Abd al
  'Azīz Ahmad b. Sa'īd b. 'Abdillāh
  al-Damīrī...) . . . . I, 369   694   2   2

    (Book about Makkan and
    Madīnan verses)
    I, 8:24

'Izz al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Salām, (al-Imām
  Abū M....'Abd al-'Azīz...) . . . . I, 463   660   22   113   17

    al-Imām fī Adillat al-Ahkām
       I, 7:23

    Kanz al-Fawā'id
       I, 8:16

    Majāz al-Qur'ān
       I, 7:35

    al-Qawā'id
       II, 172:16

al-'Uzayzī, (M. b. 'Uzayyiz...
  al-Sijistānī) . . . . I, 291   330   3   2   1

    Gharīb al-Qur'ān
       I, 113:15

Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
al-Irshāf I, 7:22					
Ibn ʻAsākir,[23] (M. b. ʻAlī b. al-Khiḍr al-Ghassānī...) . . .	I, 155	636*	9	13	
al-Dhayl ʻalā Kitāb al-Suhaylī I, 8:13					
al-Tārīkh I, 141:32					
al-Mubhamāt II, 12:13					
Ibn ʻAskar . . . . II, 139:7	II, 504		8	12	
al-ʻAskarī, (Abū Hilāl...)	IV, 79	395*	3	7	5
al-Ṣināʻatayn I, 8:3					
Ibn ʻAṣfūr, (ʻAlī b. Muʼmin b. M. b. ʻAlī b. al-Ḥasan...al-Naḥwī al-Ishbīlī)	II, 318	664	9	16	2
Sharḥ Abyāt al-Īḍāh I, 153:12					
Ibn ʻAṭāʼillāh, Tāj al-Dīn (Abū ʼl-Faḍl...)		709*	1	6	
Laṭāʼif al-Minan II, 185:13					
Ibn ʻAṭīya, (al-Imām ʻAbd al-Ḥaqq b. Ghālib b. ʻAbd al-Raʼūf...) . .	I, 8 I, 103	546	18	28	18

23. Brockelmann, GAL I, 413; GALS I, 734, indicates the name should be
Ibn ʻAskar; this is confirmed by the fact that this author wrote a
commentary on al-Suhaylī (d. 581). The comments of Ibn ʻAskar
appear in a section about names of the Qurʼān, and this may be from
the book entitled al-Mubhamāt, under Ibn ʻAsākir. It seems likely,
therefore, that the two men are the same, despite the distinctive
spelling in the Itqān.

Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Tafsīr: (al-Muharrir al-Wajīz fī Tafsīr al-Kitāb al-'Azīz) I, 8:19					
Ibn 'Aqīl, ('Abdullāh b. M...) . . .	II, 158		2	2	2
Tafsīr I, 8:21					
al-'Akbarī (See Abū 'l-Baqā')					
Abū 'l-'Alā' M. b. Ghānim	I, 43 II, 109:30		1	2	
Abū 'l-'Alā' (See al-Hamdānī)					
Abū Bakr b. al-'Alā' (al-Qushayrī) .	II, 3	182	1		
(Book about al-ahkām) II, 130:7					
'Alam al-Dīn (See al-Sakhāwī)					
'Alam al-Dīn al-'Irāqī, (al-Imām... 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Alī...)	III, 17	704	1		3
I, 188:35					
'Alam al-Dīn al-Qamanī . . . . I, 150:25			1		
Abū 'Alī al-Ahwāzī . . . . I, 47:21		446*	4		7
'Alī b. Sahl (See al-Nīsābūrī)					
'Alī b. al-Madīnī (Abū 'l-Hasan 'Alī b. Ja'far al-Sa'dī)	I, 22	234	1		
(Earliest book about asbāb al-nuzūl) I, 28:22					
al-'Imād al-Nayhī, (Abū M. al-Hasan b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Husayn b. M...)	I, 476 II, 166:17	480	1		

Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Abū ʿUmar (See al-Dānī)					
Abū ʿUmar (See al-Zāhid)					
al-ʿAmmānī, (Abū M. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Saʿīd...)	I, 342		2	3	
al-Waqf wa 'l-Ibtidāʾ I, 7:20					
ʿAyāḍ, al-Qāḍī			2	2	1
al-Shifāʾ II, 122:3					
Ibn ʿUyayna (See Sufyān)					

Ibn al-Ghars			25	30	
Aḥkām al-Qurʾān I, 7:29					
al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid		505*	13	62	20
Jawāhir al-Qurʾān I, 8:12					
al-Iḥyāʾ I, 110:21					
(Book about khawāṣṣ al-Qurʾān) II, 163:20					
Ibn al-Ghālī, ʿAlī b. M. . . . . I, 69:17			1	2	
Ibn Ghalbūn		389*	1	1	
al-Shawādhdh I, 7:20					
al-Fārābī,[24]	I, 292	339*	1		

24. The parallel references in the Itqān and Burhān have entirely differ-
   ent names for the same book title. The Burhān has, in place of the

Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
al-Bāri' I, 114:4					
Ibn Fāris, (Aḥmad...b. Zakarīya) . . I, 102	395	13	51	32
(Book about al-wujūh wa 'l-naẓā'ir) I, 141:22					
K. al-Afrād I, 143:16					
Fiqh al-Lugha II, 79:6					
al-Fārisī, Abū 'Alī (al-Hasan b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ghaffār...) . . . I, 278	377	20	17	6
al-Hujja I, 82:34					
Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Imām (...Abū 'Abdillāh M. b. 'Umar b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Khaṭīb...) . . I, 13	606	33	101	22
Tafsīr: (Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb) I, 8:19					
Durrat al-Tanzīl wa Ghurrat al-Ta'wīl fī 'l-Mutashābih[25] I, 8:10					
I'jāz al-Qur'ān I, 7:34					
Nihāyat al-Ijāz II, 51:17					

the above, Abū 'Alī al-Qālī, Ismā'īl b. al-Qāsim b. 'Aydhūn al-Baghdādī. The name appears in GAL, 324 and GALS, 136, 180, though the book title is not included. al-Fārabī seems to be in error.

25. al-Suyūtī, in his bibliography, lists this title under the name of Abū 'Abdillāh al-Rāzī, though his references to Fakhr al-Dīn are by the latter name. Brockelmann mentions the author at several points: GAL I, 446, 454-5, 457; II, 105; GALS I, 815-7, etc. The full name, including Abū 'Abdillāh, is given, and the book title, at GAL I, 506.

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
<u>al-Maḥsūl</u> II, 76:9					
al-Farrā', (Yaḥyā b. Zayād) . . .	I, 63	207	20	24	3
<u>Tafsīr</u> I, 113:7					
al-Firdaws (See al-Daylamī)[26]					
Ibn al-Faras, 'Abd al-Mun'im (b. M...al-Gharnāṭī)	II, 3	597	1		
(Book about <u>al-aḥkām</u>) II, 130:8					
al-Farghābī, b. al-Ḥākim (Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd 'Alī b. Mas'ūd b. Aḥmad...) . .	I, 359		1	6	
<u>al-Mustawfā</u> I, 86:26					
Ibn al-Furkāḥ, al-Tāj ('Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm...)	III, 88	690	2	3	3
<u>al-Ta'līq</u> I, 63:34					
al-Faryābī			17	17	1
<u>Tafsīr</u> I, 7:12; II, 189:26					
al-Faḍl b. Zayād . . . . II, 179:16			1	1	

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26. al-Suyūṭī at one point quotes Musnad al-Firdaws, giving the impression that the latter is a name, but elsewhere quotes al-Daylamī from the same book, giving the full title. The book and author are listed by Brockelmann, <u>GALS</u> I, 586, with the further comment that it is reputed to contain spurious traditions.

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Rāzī		454*	2	4	
al-Lawā'iḥ I, 46:16					

Abū 'l-Qāsim b. al-Bandār al-Baghdādī (...ʻAbdullāh b. M. b. al-Ḥusayn b. Nāqiya...) . .	II, 414	410	1		

al-Jumān fī Tashbīhāt
    al-Qur'ān
    II, 42:4					

Qāsim b. Thābit, (b. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Andalusī)	I, 219		2	1	
I, 46:14					
Abū 'l-Qāsim (See al-Qushayrī)					
Abū 'l-Qāsim M. b. ʻAbdillāh			14	41	

al-Lughāt allatī nazala
    fīhā 'l-Qur'ān
    I, 7:27					

Abū 'l-Qāsim b. ʻAsākir		471*	1		
I, 112:19					
Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Lālakā'ī[27]		418*	3	9	
K. al-Sunna II, 6:9					
Ibn al-Qāṣṣ (Abū 'l-ʻAbbās Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarī...)	II, 255	335	1	1	1
II, 36:3					
Ibn al-Qāṣiḥ		801*	1		

Qurrat al-ʻAyn al-Fatḥ wa 'l-
    Imāla wa bayn al-Lafẓayn
    I, 7:21					

27. The two may be the same man; compare Brockelmann <u>GAL</u> I, 331, II, 130; <u>GALS</u> I, 298, 567 and <u>GAL</u> I, 181; <u>GALS</u> I, 308.

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
al-Qibḥāṭī, Abū 'l-Ḥasan			1	9	

Qaṣīda 'an Jamʿ al-Qirā'āt
    wa Sharhuhā
    I, 102:22					

Ibn Qutayba, (Abū M. ʿAbdullāh _Mushkal al-Qur'ān_awarī)	I, 65	270	9	21	2
I, 7:27					
Mushkal al-Qur'ān I, 7:27					
Gharīb al-Qur'ān I, 7:22					
al-Qarrāb			1	2	
al-Shāfī I, 81:19					

al-Qurṭubī, (Abū ʿAbdillāh M. b.
   Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Faraj
   al-Anṣārī...) . . . .
	I, 213	671	6	7	

Tafsīr (juridical) II, 190:18					
al-Qurazī, M. b. Kaʿb		118*	2	1	
II, 72:26					
al-Qarrāfī			3	10	
al-Furūq II, 82:22					
al-Qazzāz, (Abū ʿAbdillāh M. b. Jaʿfar al-Qayrawānī...)	I, 292	412	1		
al-Jāmiʿ I, 114:4					
al-Qazwīnī, (al-Khaṭīb)	IV, 506	665*	4	16	3
al-Īḍāh II, 41:3					

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Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
al-Qushayrī, Abū 'l-Qāsim[28] . . . II, 133:28			3	8	8
al-Qushayrī, Abū Naṣr (...ʿAbd al- Raḥīm b. ʿAbd al-Karīm...) . .	II, 121	465*	4	4	4
Tafsīr I, 8:19					
Ibn al-Qusāʿ . . . . I, 97:29			1	1	
al-Quṭb al-Rāzī			1	7	
Hawāshī al-Kashshāf I, 43:18					
Ibn al-Quṭāʿ, (ʿAlī b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAlī al-Saʿdī al-Ṣaqlī...) . .	I, 292	515	1		
(Book about verbs) I, 114:6					
al-Qaṭṭān, Abū ʿAbdillāh b. Aḥmad b. Shākir...)		407*	1	2	
Fadāʾil al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī II, 189:11					
Qaṭrab, (Abū ʿAlī M. b. al-Mustanīr)	II, 45	206	4	4	2
(Book about mūham al-ikhtilāf) II, 27:6					
al-Qaffāl, (al-Imām Abū Bakr M. b. ʿAlī b.Ismāʿīl...al-Shāshī) . .	II, 19	365	2	4	4
I, 109:11					
Ibn al-Qūṭīya, (M. b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Qurṭubī...)	I, 292	367	1		
(Book about verbs) I, 114:5					
al-Qamūlī		727*	1	1	
al-Jawāhir I, 106:9					

28. Thåse may be the same person. See Sezgin, op. cit., p. 610, and
   Brockelmann, GALS, I, 770.

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Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Ibn al-Qayyim (al-Jawzīya)		751*	4	62	
Badā'i' al-Fawā'id I, 8:16					
al-Ijāz fī 'l-Majāz I, 7:35					
al-Bayān fī Aqsām al-Qur'ān I, 8:11					

Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
al-Kāfījī . . . . I, 150:16			3	3	
Ibn Kathīr, al-Ḥāfiẓ 'Imād al-Dīn .		774*	17	19	
Tafsīr I, 7:15					
al-Kirmānī (See al-Shams)					

al-Kirmānī, Abū 'l-Qāsim (...Burhān
  al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Ḥamza b. Naṣr...
  "Tāj al-Qurrā'") . . . .
	I, 112	c.500	43	101	4

al-Gharā'ib wa 'l-'Ajā'ib I, 8:22					
al-Burhān fī Mutashābih al-Qur'ān I, 8:10					
Gharā'ib al-Tafsīr II, 124:12					
Abū 'l-Karam (See al-Shahrazūrī)					
al-Kisā'ī, ('Amr b. Ḥamza)		c. 179- 192*	10	10	1

(Earliest book about al-
      mutashābihāt)
      II, 114:33					

al-Kamāl (See al-Dhamārī)					

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
al-Kindī, (al-Tāj Abū 'l-Yaman Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd...).. II, 79:26	II, 332	613	1	2	2
al-Kawāshī, (Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Hasan Muwaffiq al-Dīn... al-Mūṣalī)	I, 331	680	7	8	7
Tafsīr: (_Kashf al-Ḥaqā'iq_) I, 8:20					
al-Kayā 'l-Harrāsī, (al-Imām Abū 'l-Hasan 'Alī b. M....)	II, 3	504	1		
Ahkām al-Qur'ān I, 7:29					
Ibn Kaysān, (M. b. Aḥmad...Abū 'l-Hasan)	II, 464	299	1	2	
II, 71:4					
Ibn Kaysān, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Aṣamm		c.200*	1		
Tafsīr (early, sectarian) II, 178:19					

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al-Lālikā'ī (See Abū 'l-Qāsim)					
Ibn al-Labbān		749*	7	22	
Sharh Ayāt al-Ṣifāt I, 8:14; II, 6:6					
al-Lihyānī . . . . I, 172:36			2	2	
al-Layth . . . . I, 138:33		143 or 148*	1	1	
Abū 'l-Layth al-Samarqandī (Naṣr b. M....)	I, 326	375	6	16	10

Name and Book	The **Burhān**	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Bustān al-ʿĀrifīn I, 8:18					
Tafsīr I, 137:20					

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al-Māturīdī, (Abū Manṣūr M. b. M. b. Maḥmūd...)	II, 430	333	1	2	
II, 173:15					
Ibn Māja		273*	10	13	
Tafsīr (early)[29] II, 190:5					
al-Māzarī		536*	1	8	
I, 70:36					
al-Mazanī, (Abū ʿUthmān)			1		
I, 151:1					
al-Mālaqī, (Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Nūr...) .	IV, 376	702*	1	1	
I, 175:16					
Mālik (b. Anas), al-Imām		179*	8	9	2
al-Muwaṭṭaʾ II, 158:18					
Tafsīr I, 54:27					
Ibn Mālik, Jamāl al-Dīn (Abū ʿAbdillāh M. b. ʿAbdillāh... al-Ṭāʾī)	I, 285	672	27	42	14
Sharḥ al-Kāfiya I, 159:33					
al-Miṣbāḥ II, 79:7					

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29. It is the traditionist who is certainly meant here; perhaps the
book refers to the exegetical section of his collection.

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Ibn Mālik (See Badr al-Dīn)					
al-Māwardī, (al-Imām Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ḥabīb...)	I, 187	450	12	61	4
Tafsīr I, 8:20					
Amthāl al-Qur'ān I, 8:11					
Ibn al-Mubārak			2	3	1
K. al-Zuhd II, 162:21					
al-Mubarrad		285*	14	10	1
al-Kāmil II, 42:3					
Ibn Mujāhid . . . . II, 180:31		324*	1	1	
Ibn Mujāhid (See Abū Bakr)					
al-Muḥāmilī			2	3	
al-Fawā'id II, 164:12					
Amālī al-Muḥāmilī II, 165:11					
al-Marākashī, (Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. M. b. 'Uthmān al-Irdī...) . . .	I, 380	721	4	19	7
Sharḥ al-Miṣbāḥ II, 119:25					

'Unwān al-Dalīl fī Marsūm
    Khaṭṭ al-Tanzīl
    II, 166:20					

al-Murtaḍā (See al-Sharīf)					

Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Ibn Mardawayh, (al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Mūsā...al-Iṣbahānī) . . .	I, 190	410	43	68	
Tafsīr I, 7:13					
al-Marsī, al-Sharaf al-Mazanī . . . I, 48:30			1		
al-Marsī, Abū 'l-Faḍl (Abū ʿAbdillāh M...)	I, 443		8	66	
Tafsīr I, 8:19					
al-Marwazī, M. b. Naṣr		294 or 295*	1	1	
K. al-Ṣalāt I, 65:24					
al-Mazīy . . . . I, 14:10			1	1	
Abū Muslim, (...M. b. Baḥr al-Iṣbahānī)	I, 255	270	1	2	
Tafsīr (sectarian) II, 186:27					
Muslim, (Abū 'l-Ḥasan...b. al-Ḥujjāj al-Qushayrī)	I, 32	261	32	48[30]	
al-Ṣaḥīḥ II, 161:18					
Ibn Mishkawayh, Abū ʿAlī[31]		421*	1	1	
Nadīm al-Farīd II, 138:31					

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30. This does not represent adequately the references to Muslim in the Itqān, since he is often referred to along with al-Bukhārī, as in the expression "and in the two Ṣaḥīḥs." See Chap. II, note 54.

31. Perhaps intended to be Ibn Miskawayh; see GAL I, 342, 510, 525; GALS I, 582.

Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Abū 'l-Muṭarrif b. ʻUmayra (...Aḥmad b. ʻAbdillāh al-Makhzūmī)	IV, 72	658*	1	3	3
K. al-Tamwīhāt ʻalā 'l-Tibyān li 'bn al-Zamalkānī I, 198:34					
al-Maẓfarī, (al-Qāḍī Shihāb al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. ʻAbdillāh b. Abī 'l-Damm al-Ḥamawī...)	I, 281	632	1	2	2
al-Tārīkh I, 51:29					
Abū Muʻādh al-Naḥwī . . . . II, 186:35			1	2	
Ibn al-Muʻtazz, (ʻAbdullāh..., al-Khalīfa 'l-ʻAbbāsī) . . . . II, 95:13	IV, 457	296	1	1	
al-Muʻarrī . . . . II, 119:31			1		
Abū 'l-Muʻālī ʻUzayzī (See Shaydala)					
Ibn Maʻan . . . . I, 64:1			1	1	
Ibn Muʻīn . . . . I, 67:2			1	1	
Maghlaṭāy			1	1	
K. al-Maysir I, 144:13					
Muqātil b. Sulaymān (...b. Bashīr al-Azdī)	I, 6	150	3	1	1
(Early book about al-wujūh wa 'l-naẓā'ir) I, 141:21					
Tafsīr (early) II, 188:29					

Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Ibn al-Muqni' . . . . II, 119:31			1		
Makkī, (...b. Ḥamūsh b. M. b. Mukhtār al-Qaysī al-Muqri') . . .	I, 190	437	28	63	19
al-Nāsikh wa 'l-Mansūkh I, 7:30					

al-Kashf 'an Wujūh al-
     al-Qirā'āt wa 'Ilalihā
     I, 83:1					

al-Mushkal I, 179:27					
al-Tabaṣṣura I, 94:13					
Muntakhab al-Dīn, (b. Abī 'l-'Izz b. Rashīd b. Abī Yūsuf al-Hamdānī al-Muqri' al-Shāfi'ī)		643*			
I'rāb al-Qur'ān (Bibliography) I, 7:25					
Ibn al-Mundhir		318*	11	13	
Tafsīr I, 7:14					
Abū Manṣūr 'Abd al-Qāhir b. Ṭāhir al-Tamīmī			2	3	
al-Nāsikh wa 'l-Mansūkh I, 7:31					
Ibn Munqidh . . . . II, 95:12			1	1	
Ibn al-Munayyir, (al-Qāḍī Nāṣir al- Dīn Abū 'l-'Abbās b. M..b. Manṣūr al-Jadhāmī...)	I, 86	683	5	11	9

Tafsīr: (al-Baḥr al-Kabīr
     fī Nukhab al-Tafsīr)
     I, 8:21					

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
al-Mahdawī, (Abū 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAmār...)	I, 339	430	4	3	2
al-Hidāya I, 105:25					
Ibn Mahrān			2	3	
K. al-Maddāt I, 97:25					
al-Muwarrij al-Sadūsī . . . . II, 57:22			1		
Mūsā b. ʿUqba (al-Asadī)		141*	1	2	
K. al-Maghāzī I, 59:5					
Abū Mūsā			1	2	
K. al-Mughīth I, 144:14					
al-Mūṣalī, Abū ʿAbdillāh			4	31	
Dhāt al-Rushd fī ʿAdad al-Āy I, 8:13					
Sharh Dhāt al-Rushd I, 8:13; 67:14, 24					
al-Muwaffaq (See ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī)					
Ibn al-Maylaq, Nāṣir al-Dīn		797*	2	17	
Tafsīr (of al-Fātiḥa) II, 160:7					

Nāṣir al-Dīn. (See Ibn al-Maylaq)					
Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraq			3	1	

Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Masā'il Nāfi' b. al-Azraq[32] I, 133:21, 138:11					
al-Naḥās (See Abū Ja'far)					
al-Nukhā'ī, ('Alqama b. Qays... al-Kūfī) .... I, 189		62[33]	1	1	
I, 83:10					
al-Nisā'ī[34]		303*	26	18	
(Book about fadā'il al-Qur'ān) II, 151:14					
al-Nasafī		710*	6	10	
al-'Aqā'id II, 184:15					
Abū Naṣr (See al-Qushayrī)					
al-Naḍr b. Shumayl		203*	1	1	
I, 169:35					
al-Naẓẓām, (Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Sayyār...)		c.220	1	2	2
II, 118:20					
Abū Nu'aym			14	37	
al-Hillīya II, 141:29					
al-Saḥāba II, 154:34					

32. This can hardly be called one of the "written sources" which was used by al-Suyūṭī; it is rather a series of questions about difficult words in the Qur'ān, asked of Ibn 'Abbās. He answered with a line of Arab poetry clarifying the term.

33. Another example, like the previous note, where the distinction between al-Suyūṭī's sources and early scholars of Islam, is hard to maintain. Certainly this man was of the latter.

34. Certainly the famous traditionist, though that book is not named.

Name and Book	The <u>Burhān</u>	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
<u>Tārīkh Isbahān</u> II, 170:26					
<u>Dalā'il al-Nubūwa</u> I, 138:13					

Ibn al-Nafīs, ('Alī b. Abī 'l-
  Hazm al-Qarashī 'Alā'
  al-Dīn...) . . . .
    II, 98:34
	III, 406	698	2	1	

al-Naqqāsh, (Abū Bakr M. b. al-
  Hasan b. M. b. Zayād
  al-Muqri' al-Mūṣalī) . . . .
    I, 139:3
	I, 269	351	2	2	

Ibn al-Naqīb, (M. b. Sulaymān...). .	I, 340		10	67	
<u>Tafsīr</u>: (<u>al-Taḥrīr wa 'l-Tahbīr</u> <u>li Aqwāl A'immat al-Tafsīr fī</u> <u>Ma'ānī Kalām al-Samī' al-Baṣīr</u>) I, 8:21					
al-Nakrabādhī (See Abū 'Abdillāh al- Bikrabādhī)					
(Ibn) al-Nakzāwī			4	14	11
<u>al-Waqf wa 'l-Ibtidā'</u> I, 11:21					

al-Nawawī, (al-Imām Muhyi 'l-Dīn
  Abū Zakarīya Muhyi 'l-Dīn b.
  Sharaf...) . . . .
	I, 333	676	44	49	5

<u>al-Tibyān fī Ādāb</u> <u>Hamalat al-Qur'ān</u> I, 7:17					
<u>al-Idhkār</u> I, 105:3					
<u>al-Rawda</u> I, 105:7					
<u>Sharh al-Muhadhdhab</u> I, 79:24					

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
Sharḥ Muslim I, 14:22					

Sharḥ al-Wasīṭ, called
  al-Tanqīḥ
  II, 94:3					

al-Tahdhīb II, 138:3					
Ru'ūs al-Masā'il II, 161:28					
al-Nīsābūrī, al-Shaykh Abū Bakr ..			1		

(Earliest book on
  'Ilm al-Munāsaba)
  II, 108:13					

al-Nīsābūrī, 'Alī b. Sahl			1	4	
Tafsīr I, 44:4					
al-Nīsābūrī, Abū 'l-Qāsim b. M. b. Ḥabīb...)			11	40	20
al-Wujūh wa 'l-Naẓā'ir I, 7:23					

al-Tanbīh 'alā Faḍl
  'Ulūm al-Qur'ān
  I, 8:26					

(Book about al-maddāt) I, 98:3					

Hibatullāh b. Salāma al-Ḍarīr
  (...b. Abī 'l-Qāsim...
  al-Baghdādī) . . . .
	II, 28	410	1	3	

(Book about al-nāsikh
  wa 'l-mansūkh)
  II, 24:13					

Name and Book	The Burhān	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
al-Hadhalī, (Abū 'l-Qāsim Yūsuf b. ʻAlī b. Jabāra...) . . .	I, 324	465	8	11	
al-Kāmil I, 7:19					
al-Harawī, (Ismāʻīl b. Ibrāhīm Abū M....)	I, 447		1	2	2
Manāqib al-Shāfiʻī II, 161:23					
al-Harawī, Abū Dharr		435*	2	5	
Fadāʼil al-Qurʼān II, 161:3					
al-Harawī, (Abū 'l-Ḥasan ʻAlī b. M....)	IV, 245	611*	3	3	3
al-Azhiya fī 'l-Naḥw I, 146:2					
Ibn Hishām		761*	32	113	4
al-Mughnī I, 7:24					
al-Hamdānī, Abū 'l-ʻAlāʼ . . . . . . I, 80:30			3	2	

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al-Wāḥidī, Abū 'l-Ḥasan (...ʻAlī b. Aḥmad...)	I, 13	468	21	29	8
Tafsīr: al-Basīṭ (grammatical) I, 8:20; II, 190:15					
Asbāb al-Nuzūl I, 28:22					
al-Wāsiṭī		711*	1ᴏ	24	
al-Irshād fī 'l-Qirāʼāt al-ʻAshar I, 7:19					

Name and Book	The _Burhān_	Date	(T)	(L)	(D)
al-Wāqidī . . . . II, 143:11		207*	2		
Wakī'		197*	2		
Tafsīr (early) II, 178:6					
Walī al-Dīn al-Mallawī . . . . II, 108:20			1	6	6
al-Yāfi'ī		768*	1		

al-Durr al-Naẓīm fī Manāfi'
      al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm
      I, 8:15; II, 163:21					

Abū Ya'lā (al-Mūsalī)		307*	9	10	
al-Musnad I, 22:35					
Yazīd b. Hārūn (al-Sulamī)		206	1		
Totals			3,476	8,415	1,306

APPENDIX I

PART B. AUTHORS MOST FREQUENTLY QUOTED

Name	No. Lines	Field of Writing

I. Authors quoted for more than 200 lines

    1. Ibn al-Anbārī[1] 529   Qur'ānic sciences; based on traditions

    2. Ibn Abī Ḥātim 381   Exegesis, variant readings; based on traditions

    3. Ibn al-Jazarī 302   Exegesis; based on traditions

    4. al-Ṭabarī 300   Exegetical collection of traditions

    5. al-Zarkashī 261   Qur'ānic sciences

    6. al-Bayhaqī 229   Traditions

    7. al-Bukhārī 217   Traditions

                                           Total   2,219 lines (26.3% of the total, for only 1.7% of the authors)

II. Authors quoted for more than 100 lines

    1. al-Zamakhsharī 171   Exegesis

    2. Ibn al-Ṣā'igh 162   Qur'ānic sciences; based on traditions

    3. al-Ḥākim 151   Traditions

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1. The total for Ibn al-Anbārī is out of proportion to what it actually should be, because he has been given credit for a long section of traditions for which al-Suyūṭī also gave the name of al-Ṭabarānī. Unfortunately the printed edition did not include the technical apparatus for distinguishing the two sources. See the note for al-Ṭabarānī in the main list of authors.

4. Abū 'Ubayd 145   Qur'ānic sciences; based on
                                              traditions

5. Ibn Ashta 142   Traditions about variant readings

6. Ibn Hishām 113   Traditions

7. 'Izz al-Dīn b. 'Abd
   al-Salām 113   Qur'ānic sciences; based on
                                              traditions

8. al-Ṭabarānī. 107   Traditions

9. al-Imām Aḥmad 105   Traditions

10. al-Rāghib 105   Exegesis

11. al-Kirmānī 101   Qur'ānic sciences; based on
                                              traditions

12. al-Bāqillānī 101   Qur'ānic sciences

13. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī . . 101   Exegesis

Total   1,617   (19:2% of the total lines, for
                                        only 3.1% of the authors)

APPENDIX II

MATERIAL FROM THE BURHĀN IN CHAPTERS OF THE ITQĀN

The Itqān chapter headings appear on the left, in a literal transla-
tion; accuracy seemed more important than good English style. Where exact
English equivalents are difficult to find, the Arabic terms have been in-
cluded. The larger divisions (A, B, etc.) are not in the Itqān, but have
been added to show the logical progression of chapter subjects. Page and
line references are to the point at which each chapter begins in the
printed edition of the Itqān. The extent of Burhān material, when it is
to be found in the chapter, appears on the right, in number of lines in
the Itqān; occasionally a second number, in parentheses, indicates other
lines which can only tentatively be identified as dependent on the Burhān.

Volume I

A. Occasions of Revelation

1. The Knowledge of Makkan and Madīnan [sūras]   8:23   53

2. The Knowledge of [sūras revealed while]
   at home, and [while] travelling. 18:21

3. The Knowledge of [sūras revealed] by
   night, or by day 20:29

4. [Sūras revealed] in summer, or winter . .   22:11

5. [Sūras revealed while] lying on a bed,
   or sleeping 22:31

6. [Sūras revealed] on earth, or in heaven   23:11

7. The Knowledge of the first of the

    Qur'ān to be revealed[1] 23:21   4

8. The Knowledge of the last to be

    revealed 26:31   4

9. The Knowledge of the occasion of

    [each] revelation. 28:21   49 (5)

B. Ways of Revelation

10. What [part] of the Qur'ān was revealed

    by the tongue of some of the Companions   34:27

11. What was revealed more than once 35:21   6

12. What was revealed before the occasion

    on which it passed judgement, and what

    was revealed after it 36:8   7

13. What was revealed in fragments, and what

    was revealed as a whole 37:7

14. What was revealed accompanied, and

    what was revealed by itself 37:21

15. What of it had been revealed previously,

    to some of the Prophets, and what was not

    revealed to anyone before the Prophet (ṣ)   38:22

16. Concerning the way it was revealed 39:30   53 (16)

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1. The Arabic verb nazala (or more frequently in the causitive forms, nazzala and anzala) has a literal meaning of "to come or send down." It is translated here with the more general English equivalent of religious vocabulary, as "to reveal."

C. The Collection and Redaction of the Qur'ān

D. Its Transmission

E. Its Recitation

2. A "high" isnād is one which is relatively brief, so that the tradition which it supports has been passed on through a minimum of transmitters, leaving less room for error.

3. Translation of the terms would require extended sentences; an explanation can be found in the article in the Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, "Ḥadīth," p. 118. Only al-shādhdh is not mentioned there; al-Suyūṭī defines it as the tradition "whose isnād is unacceptable."

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4. The term al-imāla describes pronunciation of the aleph modified toward an "i" vowel, etc.

5. Describing the ways in which similar consonants, when they are contiguous, lose their identity and are assimilated or absorbed into each other in pronunciation.

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6. Note the difference between this chapter and No. 49: here are de-
   scribed the ways by which Arabic can emphasize or specify the subject

of a sentence, with particles like mā, innamā, etc. Chap. 49 refers to limited or specific application of a verse's meaning.

7. At the beginning of this chapter al-Suyūṭī describes the wide difference among grammarians about how speech is to be divided. Some suggest as many as ten divisions, but others combine different groups of these for other, lesser numbers of parts. The last opinion, adopted by al-Suyūṭī, divides all speech into two basic parts--declarative sentences (al-khabar) and all other forms of expression (al-inshā'), such as command, interrogation, etc.

8. Refers to many styllistic devices of eloquence in the Qur'ān.

9. The term might be confused with al-mutashābih, Chap. 43. al-Zarkashī names his chapter about this subject 'Ilm al-Mutashābih (I, 111),

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and one of the books named by al-Suyūṭī in this present chapter is al-Burhān fī Mutashābih al-Qur'ān, by al-Kirmānī. al-Suyūṭī has been careful to avoid any confusion with this chapter title.

10. Benefits to be obtained from reciting parts of the Qur'ān.

APPENDIX III

QUOTATIONS ATTRIBUTED TO AL-ZARKASHĪ IN THE ITQĀN

The following is a list, with annotations, of all material quoted from al-Zarkashī in the Itqān, in which al-Suyūṭī gives credit to al-Zarkashī by mentioning his name or book(s). The Itqān reference is given first, followed by cross-references to the Burhān (in parentheses), or, in one case, to another book by al-Zarkashī. The extent of the quotation appears after a semicolon, in number of lines in the printed edition of the Itqān. The formula with which the quotation is introduced will not be mentioned except as it differs in any way from the most common pattern, "al-Zarkashī said in the Burhān." Following a description or partial translation of the quotation, the explanatory note will describe any significant or relevant elements in the context, and then attempt to suggest why al-Suyūṭī has given credit for the passage to al-Zarkashī, instead of including the material under some other, anonymous formula.

I, 31:22 (I, 31); 3 lines. Sayings of the Companions or Followers about occasions of revelation may have been descriptive of the meaning, rather than authoritative transmitted information. Note: The quotation is the only material from the Burhān in the immediate vicinity, and is probably included with al-Zarkashī's name because al-Suyūṭī considered it al-Zarkashī's own opinion.

I, 35:25 (I, 29-31); o. A verse may have been revealed more than once, "out of deference to its greatness, or as a reminder of what had happened when it was revealed, or for fear it would be forgotten." After giving some examples, he continues at line 29 (p. 31), "The wisdom in all this is that a question or incident may warrant the revelation of a verse even though it had been included in what was revealed previously, so God inspired the Prophet (ṣ) of the very verse again." Note: al-Suyūṭī has inserted a full line, at 26, starting after the word qāla and ending with bi 'l-madīna, line 27. The material is one of a series of quotations, and is apparently acknowledged as being from al-Zarkashī because it seemed to be his own opinion.

I, 36:9 (I, 32-3); l. "The revealing [of a verse] may be previous to the [situation upon which it passes] judgement, like His saying..." Note: The next six lines are also from the Burhān (p. 33), and include quotations from other authors. al-Zarkashī is quoted by name for his opinion; material from other men is quoted as if from them directly, without any indication that the Burhān was the secondary source.

I, 55:21 (I, 270); 16. "Discussion is necessary about the multiplicity of names [for sūras], whether it is supported by authoritative traditions, or based on suitability [of the name to the contents]. If it is the latter, then human nature would never stop deducing from every sūra its meaning, requiring the derivation of names for them, and this is far-fetched." Then he goes on to explain the suitability

of various sūra titles. <u>Note</u>: al-Suyūṭī has extended the example

at line 29, <u>wa</u> <u>min</u> <u>al-An'ām</u>, and then in a long <u>qult</u> passage, from

56:1, explains why some sūras contain the stories of certain prophets

without being named for them. Again the passage is quoted by name

because it is al-Zarkashī's own analysis.

I, 60:18 (I, 260). "The order of verses in their sūras has taken place by

authoritative tradition." <u>Note</u>: The quotation is probably from the

other source named, since the parallel material in the <u>Burhān</u> is

quite different. al-Zarkashī is being mentioned as a second author-

ity for the opinion, but is not actually quoted.

I, 62:22 (I, 257); 1. "The difference between the two groups is only a

matter of terminology." al-Zarkashī is harmonizing opinions about

whether or not the Qur'ān was sent down first to the lower heavens.

<u>Note</u>: The next quotation from Mālik is also taken from the <u>Burhān</u>,

as is all the material until 63:2, with the exception of a tradition

from the <u>Madkhal</u> of al-Bayhaqī, inserted at 62:16. al-Zarkashī's

opinion is acknowledged, but authors whom he has mentioned in support

of it are given as if al-Suyūṭī had taken them from the original

sources.

I, 66:7 (I, 265); 2. "If you say, 'Then why were the former books not

like that?', I say, 'for two reasons: one, that they were not

miracles, from the standpoint of composition and style; and the

other, that they were not prepared for ease of recitation." <u>Note</u>:

Though the whole passage, from 66:2 through 67:4, with only rare

exceptions of inserted material, is from the _Burhān_, the immediately following quotation from al-Zamakhsharī is given in a way which conceals its dependency on the _Burhān_. The segment quoted by name from al-Zarkashī is clearly his own analysis, as indicated by the formula, "if you say...then I say."

I, 80:12 (I, 318-9); 3. "The Qur'ān and the [variant] readings are two quite different realities: the Qur'ān is the revelation sent down to Muḥammad (ṣ) for [his] evidence and miracle; the readings are different ways of articulating the consonantal text of the revelation and how it is to be said, in lightening, broadening, etc." He adds that the seven ways of reading the Qur'ān are based on traditions with the highest level of isnād, _mutawātira_, or, in another opinion, the next degree of authenticity, _mashhūra_. _Note:_ This is actually a continuation of the previous quotation; why the name was repeated is obscure.

I, 80:14 (II, 319); 2. al-Zarkashī said. He chooses the first of alternatives already given. _Note:_ The _qult_ passage at line 17 is the only addition by al-Suyūṭī; otherwise the material is all from the _Burhān_, including quotations from other men, and a "someone else" segment. The latter also seems to be a personal opinion of al-Zarkashī, but for some reason is introduced anonymously.

I, 80:19 (I, 320); 1. Thus al-Zarkashī said. Continuing the above quotation, a final line is attributed to al-Zarkashī, "as for the various ways of determining (_taḥqīq_, though the _Burhān_ has _takhfīf_,

probably a confusion of the Arabic letters by al-Suyūṭī) the hamza, they are all mutawātira." Note: This is a particularly signifi- cant passage, since it starts by quoting Ibn al-Ḥājib (as in the Burhān), then gives a "someone else" opinion (also from the Burhān), and finally adds, "Thus al-Zarkashī said." By doing this al-Suyūṭī has identified the "someone;" following the admission he goes on to the further quotation from al-Zarkashī. It is almost as if al-Suyūṭī realized only belatedly that the anonymous quotation was also of the type usually quoted by name. The next quotations are from other sources.

I, 106:23 (I, 449); 2. "Perfection of recitation (al-tartīl, literally, "singing") consists of giving full resonance to its words and showing complete value of its sounds, no letter being absorbed into another. It has also been said that this is only the minimum; its maximum is that it be read according to its meanings, so that an expression of warning is read with a sound appropriate to warning, or of exalta- tion, with a sound of exaltation." Note: The following mas'ala is somewhat similar to the parallel Burhān text (I, 455), but is probably from another source. These lines are quoted by name because al-Suyūṭī considered them to be a personal opinion of al-Zarkashī, despite the fact that he has also referred to general consensus in the words, "it has also been said."

I, 108:22 (I, 463); 2. "al-Zarkashī related what al-Nawawī discussed, and added a third opinion, that recitation from memory is clearly

superior, and that Ibn ʻAbd al-Salām chose it, because it achieves

an exactitude of rendition not possible in reading from the written

text." Note: The al-Nawawī opinion, coming before this, at line 14,

is given much more fully in the Itqān than in the Burhān, so is either

a complete revision by al-Suyūṭī, or from the original source men-

tioned by al-Zarkashī. The quotation from al-Zarkashī can hardly be

regarded as his original opinion, since it contains nothing but his

references to what other men have said.

I, 113:6 (I, 484); 5 (in a khātima subdivision). "It is not permissible

to exceed the parables of the Qurʼān." A refutation of one attempt

to do so, by al-Ḥurayrī, follows. Note: A qult passage by al-

Suyūṭī then explains the apparent misuse of a parable. Only the

first sentence of the quotation can be considered al-Zarkashī's own

opinion; the rest is material from other men.

I, 114:1 (I, 291-2); 5. He said in the Burhān (in the chapter on strange

or irregular meanings), "He who would understand that needs to know

[the science of] language--nouns, verbs and particles." A list of

books about language sciences follows, exactly as in the Burhān.

Note: Again only the first sentence, translated above, can be con-

sidered a personal opinion of al-Zarkashī; it appears with his name,

but the list is taken over without further reminder that it too is

from the Burhān.

I, 137:33 (I, 288); 1. al-Zarkashī related it, referring to the original

meaning of al-millat al-ākhira (Ṣād 38:7) as "the first..." in the

Coptic language. **Note:** The change of verb is significant: ḥakāhu rather than the usual qāla; it signifies that al-Suyūṭī considered this a transmitted tradition, not al-Zarkashī's opinion.

I, 137:34 (I, 289); 1. al-Zarkashī related it. The same verb introduces the explanation of another word of Coptic origin, baṭā'inuhā min istabraq (al-Raḥman 55:45), meaning "its appearance is..." **Note:** The way this and the preceding quotation are given in the Itqān makes it seem that al-Zarkashī was relating the tradition by way of another man, Shaydala. Actually, the latter name does not appear in the Burhān at this point; the only conclusion is that al-Suyūṭī is giving two authorities for the same idea, without making that clear. This may explain what seems to be carelessness on the part of al-Suyūṭī in the area of traditions--that he quoted a tradition from al-Zarkashī rather than from one of his regular tradition collections. The fact that Shaydala also transmitted the opinion was enough evidence for al-Suyūṭī that it was a valid tradition. Why he also adds the name of al-Zarkashī is obscure.

I, 150:19 (IV, 188); 5. "Then I saw that al-Zarkashī said in the Burhān, after he had mentioned the two previous explanations for idhan (the reference is to a "someone else" passage at line 9), 'Some of the recent ⌊scholars⌋ have mentioned a third opinion, that it is formed from idha, a particle of time past, and the sentence after it, either expressed or only understood...'" **Note:** Besides the passage at line 9, the Burhān material also continues after this, until line 29. It

is significant that al-Suyūṭī calls attention to the anonymous quotation, making it clear that it has come from the Burhān. And yet the passage quoted is not his personal opinion, but one which he is expressing from "some of the recent [scholars]."

I, 163:29 (IV, 156); 7. Two rules are given for distinguishing the alternate meanings of ẓann. Note: The material beginning, "al-Rāghib mentioned that in his exegesis" is also from the Burhān, material from which continues through the following quotation. This one is apparently quoted by name because it contains al-Zarkashī's own rules for the above.

I, 164:2 (IV, 156); 2. He mentioned it in the Burhān. "So hold fast to this rule, for it is one of the secrets of the Qur'ān." This concludes the sequence of two quotations and is given by name because it was considered al-Zarkashī's personal advice about the rules he has given.

I, 165:4 (IV, 158); 8. And in the Burhān: "'asā and la'alla when [used in words] from God are obligatory, even if they have only the sense of hoping and wishing when said by creatures. Created beings are open to doubts and expectation, but the Creator is raised far above that..." Note: All the material about 'asā, surrounding the quotation, is from the Burhān, starting before this at 164:26 and continuing through the first sentence of the tanbīh, at 165:16. Two widely separated sections of the Burhān are combined (IV, 288-9, a discussion of 'asā, and 158-160, of 'asā and la'alla together). See

Appendix IV, No. 2 for the parallel texts. This particular part seems to have been attributed to al-Zarkashī because it is his own analysis.

I, 172:30 (IV, 394); 2. He said in the Burhān: "al-Baghawī has related on the authority of al-Wāqidī that la'alla in the Qur'ān always means expectation except in His word, la'allakum takhladūn (Ghāfir 40:36), where it is used as a simile." al-Zarkashī adds, "This use as a simile is strange, not mentioned by the grammarians." Note: The passage is quoted by name because of the final opinion, thought of as al-Zarkashī's own.

II, 1o:27 (II, 217); 2. al-Zarkashī mentioned in the Burhān, that the general expression which remains unspecified has many examples in the Qur'ān... Note: The material which follows appears again in the Itqān, in slightly different form, and introduced as a "someone else" passage, at II, 33:1ff. What is the logic for quoting by name here, and anonymously elsewhere?

II, 26:15 (II, 36); 4. He said in the Burhān. The quotation explains the saying of 'Umar, "If it were not that people would say ''Umar added to the Book of God,' I would have written it, " (meaning the verse about stoning). Note: The quotation from Ibn Ẓafr which follows at line 20 continues the Burhān material. The inclusion of al-Zarkashī's name seems to be because this is his own analysis of 'Umar's remark.

II, 29:4 (II, 54 and nearby pages); 49. A full subdivision (faṣl) is given as a quotation from al-Zarkashī, concerning reasons for

apparent conflict between verses. <u>Note</u>: All the subdivision is from the <u>Burhān</u>, to its end at 31:4, including the quotations from other men. The actual line count for al-Zarkashī's own quotation omits these; lines quoted from other men are attributed to them, even if the material has come by way of the <u>Burhān</u>. al-Suyūṭī has taken over the chapter as a whole and given credit for it, because of its special value on its subject. The fact that the basic analysis is al-Zarkashī's own, except for material quoted from other men in support of it, may have been the factor persuading al-Suyūṭī to include al-Zarkashī's name in the subdivision title.

II, 37:7 (II, 269); 1. al-Zarkashī said: "It might also be said that a threat cannot be ignored, as a whole, so how a part of it?" He refers to a type of figurative speech in which a part of some entity is mentioned, but the whole is to be understood by it. <u>Note</u>: The passage is an example of parallel dependency with the book of ʻIzz al-Dīn. mentioned at 36:8. This particular section appears with <u>qult</u> in the <u>Burhān</u>, designating it as al-Zarkashī's personal comment; this explains the quotation by name in the <u>Itqān</u>.

II, 40:13 (III, 312); 2. He said in the <u>Burhān</u>. An explanation of why <u>al-taghlīb</u> is properly described as a kind of figurative speech, in that what is actually said in it is intended to mean something else; an example follows. <u>Note</u>: This ends the material of parallel dependency mentioned in the previous quotation. The material quoted by name from al-Zarkashī follows another quotation of Ibn al-Shajarī,

also from the <u>Burhān</u>. The first is considered al-Zarkashī's personal opinion; it is not even acknowledged that the second has come by way of the <u>Burhān</u>.

II, 41:1y (III, 233); 1. He said in the <u>Burhān</u>. The comment concerns a fifth type of expression, about which there is some disagreement on whether or not it can be included within the types of figurative speech. Of this one al-Zarkashī says, "Actually, it is not figurative, since that always means using a term to mean something entirely different." <u>Note</u>: This is al-Zarkashī's own expression of opinion.

II, 61:23 (III, 129); 1. al-Zarkashī mentioned it in the <u>Burhān</u>. The reference is to an element of rhetoric described by another author, al-Andalusī, but renamed by al-Zarkashī as <u>al-ḥadhf al-muqābilī</u>. The book by al-Andalusī is not mentioned in the <u>Burhān</u>, nor the explanation of this type of rhetorical expression which immediately follows, and this means it is probably from al-Andalusī directly. al-Zarkashī's explanation is given as the next quotation.

II, 61:30 (III, 129); 6. al-Zarkashī said. This is his exposition of the above-mentioned subject, with some examples. <u>Note</u>: Both these quotations are given by name because they are considered al-Zarkashī's own analysis, and a title which he himself coined.

II, 94:29 (II, 507). "The correct solution is that forms of superlative expression (<u>al-mubālagha</u>, "intensity," or "exaggeration") are of two kinds, one of which occurs by adding to the verb, and the second, by adding to the objects of the verb." <u>Note</u>: The <u>Burhān</u> material

extends before and after this quotation, starting with the _fā'ida_

(in place of _tanbīhāt_, in the _Burhān_) at line 22, and until 95:3

(II, 508). The material selected for quotation by name from al-

Zarkashī is distinguished from the rest as his own opinion, given in

the _Burhān_ with the word _qult_.

II, 112:34 (I, 270 and nearby pages); 17. He said in the _Burhān_. An

extended quotation, set apart as a special division (_faṣl_), about

sūras which open with separate letters of the alphabet, and the suita-

bility of material in them to these opening letters. For example,

Sūrat Qāf (50), mentioned at 113:3, includes many words in which that

letter is important: _al-qur'ān_, _al-khalq_, _al-qawl_, _al-qurb_, etc.

Note: Some material has been inserted by al-Suyūṭī, perhaps from

his own book, _Asrār al-Tanzīl_, mentioned at 113:19 (his insertions

are in lines 1-2, starting with the word _qāla_, and at line 16, the

additional illustration beginning after _al-kitāb_). The quotation

is included this way because it was considered al-Zarkashī's own

analysis.

II, 122:9 (II, 106-7); 6. An isolated quotation, translated in full:

"Men of careful scholarship agree that miraculousness occurs in a

combination of all that has been mentioned thus far, not in any one

element by itself. It (the Qur'ān) combined all of that, so there

is no meaning in limiting it (the miraculous element) to any one,

when it encompasses them all. Moreoever, it even includes much more,

which has not been mentioned. Among these are that it arouses awe

in the hearts of those listening, whether they approve or reject it; that it has remained and will remain fresh and viorant in the nearing of those listening to it and on the tongues of those who recite it; that it combines the two qualities of firmness and sweetness, even though these are opposites, not usually combined in human speech; that it, the last of the Scriptures was made self-sufficient, needing no other book, while the other, former Scriptures were made to require it to clarify what was in them, as He (be exalted) said, 'Surely this Qur'ān relates for the Children of Israel most of that about which they differ' (al-Naml 27:76)." **Note:** This appears as one of a series of quotations, each representing the opinion of an author on the subject at hand.

II, 131:33 (I, 487); 1. "Part of the wisdom in it (referring to the use of proverbs in the Qur'ān) is in the teaching of evidence, that being one of the special attributes of this Law." **Note:** This quotation comes in an extended passage of Burhān material on the subject of Qur'ānic proverbs. It is a personal opinion of al-Zarkashī, but so also is the "someone else" passage at line 28. The quotation from al-Zamakhsharī which follows is also from the Burhān.

II, 145:21 (I, 155); 2. "One should not seek to understand the inscrutable which God has reserved for His knowledge, like His saying, 'And others of them you do not know; God knows them' (al-Anfāl 8: 60). The wonder is that some have had the nerve to say theywere [the tribe of] Qurayza, or the Jinn." **Note:** Most of the chapter

on the "inscrutable" (al-mubham), starting at 145:7, has been from the Burhān (I, 155-60), ending with a qult comment from al-Suyūṭī and the faṣl which begins at line 28. This may be material from al-Suyūṭī's own book, mentioned at lines 8 and 30. The quotation from al-Zarkashī is certainly his own opinion, but the same might be said for much else of the chapter, which is included anonymously.

II, 158:11 (from another book); 3. al-Zarkashī mentioned it in Sharh al-Tanbīn. A further explanation of why Sūrat al-Fātiḥa is the equivalent of two-thirds of the Qur'ān. "There are three claims (or rights): God's claim upon His servants, the claim of the servants upon God, and the claim of the servants upon each other. The Fātiḥa explicitly includes the first two of these, so it is appropriate to speak of it as 'two-thirds'..."

II, 166:16 (I, 475-6); 2. al-Zarkashī said. The quotation is in response to a question about the efficacy for healing of water in which written verses of the Qur'ān have been dipped. "Among those who have expressed approval...is al-'Imād al-Nayhī, who also warns that it is not permissible to swallow a paper on which a verse is written. But Ibn 'Abd al-Salām gave a legal opinion forbidding drinking even the water, because of the impurity it would encounter in the belly..." Note: This is not al-Zarkashī's opinion, but his transmission of what other scholars have said.

II, 171:2 (I, 380); 2. al-Zarkashī said (in response to the question of whether or not the Qur'ān may be written with a non-Arabic pen,

probably meaning in transliteration), "I have not seen any comment about it from among the scholars...It may be that it is permissible because those who read Arabic might also be proficient in it. But the most likely is that it is prohibited, just as reciting it in other than the tongue of the Arabs is forbidden, and because of their saying, 'a pen is one of two tongues,' and the fact that the Arabs knew no other pen than an Arabic one. God (be exalted) has said, 'With a clear Arabic tongue' (al-Shu'arā' 26:195)." Note: This quotation is set apart from other material of the Burhān, and represents al-Zarkashī's personal opinion on a subject for which he had found no transmitted tradition.

II, 172:23 (I, 478); 1. al-Zarkashī said (in a series of minor comments about proper behavior in relation to the Qur'ān), "Likewise stretching the legs toward it [is inadvisable]." Note: Most of the section is from the Burhān, starting at 172:16 (I, 476ff), all in brief segments and frequently without credit. This quotation has been attached to one of these, "It is preferred to honor (tatyīb, which could also mean "perfume") the Qur'ān and place it on a stand; and it is forbidden to soil it, because that would mean degrading and despising it." There seems to be no consistency in including the name here, but omitting it with similar fragments in the same passage.

II, 174:12 (I, 13); 3. al-Zarkashī said, "Exegesis is a science by which the Book of God, revealed to His Prophet, Muḥammad (ṣ) is understood, an explanation of its meanings, the deduction from it of its laws and

wise sayings. In order to do that it also draws from the science of evidence and the bases of Jurisprudence and [variant] readings; moreover it requires a knowledge of occasions of revelation, and of abrogating and abrogated [verses]." Note: The passage from the Burhān continues to 175:1 (I, 14-16), but al-Suyūṭī breaks into the sequence by adding a subdivision heading (fasl), and "some of them have said." No clear distinction can be made between the two types of material used in these clearly differentiated ways. Both are al-Zarkashī's own analysis; in one case his name appears; in the other, the anonymous formula.

II, 178:34 (II, 156); 8. "He who would study the Qur'ān to seek exegesis, has many sources, of which four are the most important." The series continues through the next quotation; this segment discusses the first source, opinions transmitted directly from the Prophet, and at 179:3, the second, sayings transmitted from a Companion. Note: After each one of the above points al-Suyūṭī inserts a qult comment of his own, at lines 2 and 5. Quotation of the series with credit to al-Zarkashī probably indicates that al-Suyūṭī thought of it as his personal analysis.

II, 179:9 (II, 157-60); 16. al-Zarkashī said. The quotation continues discussion of the second source mentioned above, about use of traditions traced back to the Followers. At line 15 he gives the third source, "the absolute of language," and at line 21, "the absolute of word meanings." Note: The Burhān material continues to 180:15,

including quotations from other men, though no record is made in the Itqān that the Burhān is a secondary source for these.

II, 181:34 (II, 180); 3. He said in the Burhān. The quotation is about sins which hinder exegesis. See its translation near the end of Chap. VI. It represents a warning which al-Zarkashī has given personally.

II, 182:6 (II, 164; I, 294); 32. al-Zarkashī gives his approval of an analysis dividing material of the Qur'ān into four types, mentioned in a tradition at 182:2: that which the Arabs know; that which no one is excused for not knowing, at line 12; that which only God knows, at line 17; and "that which the scholars know, and which depends on their endeavor," at line 21. The rest of the discussion relates to this latter category, and how decisions about exegesis should be made within it. Note: The quotation is closed with the sign a. h., at 183:1, and it is probably given in this way because the passage is considered al-Zarkashī's own approval and analysis of the tradition.

II, 183:18 (II, 171); 10. al-Zarkashī said. al-Suyūtī introduces the quotation by referring to the preceding quotation in the Burhān, from Abī Ḥayyān. "Some of our contemporaries have concluded that exegesis can only be done on the basis of transmitted traditions... but it is not so." al-Zarkashī's solution is to distinguish between what is dependent on transmission, such as occasions of revelation, abrogation, obscure verses, etc., and what does not depend on it.

Note: This has been given with al-Zarkashī's name because it is his own solution to the problem.

II, 165:25 (I, 34; II, 173); 6. al- Zarkashī said in the first of the Burhān: "It has become customary for exegetes to begin by mention-in the occasion of revelation, but some discussion has occurred about whether it is more appropriate to begin with it...or with the context of the surrounding verses." Again he solves the problem by making a distinction between types of verses which depend for their analysis on one or the other. At line 29 a new quotation begins, introduced with "He said in another place." It is a discussion of whether excellencies of each sūra should be placed at the first of its exegesis (as with most writers), or at the end (as in al-Zamakhsharī's work). Note: The whole faṣl, starting at 185:19, is Burhān text (II, 173), though it has been introduced with "scholars have said." Both quotations represent general opinion, not al-Zarkashī's own. Perhaps the name is included because he is making a decision which harmonizes divergent opinions.

II, 166:3 (I, 317; IV, 78); 4. Two bits of advice for the exegete are combined in the one quotation: first, that exegesis should follow the composition of the Qur'ānic text to be explained, and second, that care must be taken to distinguish between metaphoric uses of words which might seem to be synonymous. Note: Both are probably considered al-Zarkashī's personal comments.

APPENDIX IV

EXAMPLES FOR COMPARISON

The following passages have been chosen to illustrate most of the observations made in the course of this study. Each gives notes to guide the reader in his own comparison of the Arabic texts given. Where necessary both books have been included for the example; if only the Itqān text is given, notes describe the relevant elements of the Burhān parallel. The examples are summarized as follows:

References	Subject	Texts
1. II, 174:11ff (I, 14-16)	A Quotation from al-Zarkashī	The Itqān only
2. I, 164:26ff (IV, 288, 158)	Various Types of Material Adapted for the Itqān	Both books
3. II, 121:2-35 (II, 102-4)	Comparison with the Original Source	Both books
4. II, 134 (II, 42-6)	A Page of Composite Construction	The Itqān only
5. I, 170:11-15 (IV, 330)	Use by the Burhān and Itqān of the Same Source	Both books
6. I, 55:21-56:1 (I, 270-1)	Free Adaptation of a Quotation from al-Zarkashī	Both books
7. II, 79:14ff (II, 328ff)	An Example of Parallel Dependency	Parallel outlines only
8. II, 41:29ff (II, 298)	A Special Section (khātima) of Burhān Material	Both books

9. I, 151:4ff   Example of Free Adaptation of   Both books
    (IV, 248)   Burhān Material

10. I, 66:7-20   Quotations from al-Zarkashī,   Both books
    (I, 265)   then al-Zamakhsharī

1. A Quotation from al-Zarkashī

II, 174:11ff (I, 14-16)

Notes:

10-11. The quotation is taken from the first page of al-Zarkashī's introductory chapter on "The Science of Exegesis" (I, 13ff).

11. The verb "is understood" has been substituted for "is known" in the Burhān. It may be an attempt at improvement; the Book can be "known" without being actually "understood." Exegesis performs the latter function, al-Suyūṭī is insisting.

14. The Burhān material is continued (p. 14), after the omission of one paragraph, but al-Suyūṭī obscures the continuity by adding a subdivision heading (faṣl), a title, "As for the need of it," and an anonymous formula, "Some of them have said."

19. al-Suyūṭī rewords the second point, probably to clarify it. However, several duplicated words confirm dependency.

22. Minor changes: ʿan for minhu, wa in place of aw.

23. A verb change within the same basic construction: taqarrar for ʿulima. "Then we say," which follows, makes it seem to be al-Suyūṭī's personal opinion.

23. Two forms of the same root are used interchangeably in the Qur'ān; the Burhān has unzila at this point.

23. One word is omitted in a Qur'ānic phrase: "clear"(mubīn), after "Arabic tongue."

25. Two insertions: "His word," before the verse; the word "and."

26. The pious phrase "be exalted" is omitted after "His word." See a discussion of this in Chap. IV, B, 1. The invocation after the name of ʿĀʾisha is another aspect of the same phenomenon.

27 (15). The answer to the question of ʿĀʾisha is abbreviated; several words are omitted after al-arḍ.

27. "The thread which he put beneath is head" is the Burhān way of referring to an early incident in Islam related to the fast of Ramaḍān. al-Suyūṭī clarifies it by saying "the white and black threads."

28. After minhu this phrase is omitted, "The exegesis and explanation of the Qurʾān as a whole has not been transmitted from them to us." al-Suyūṭī may be objecting to the implications of it. With the words wa naḥnu, the Burhān material is continued, following it.

28. Two arbitrary verb changes: the plural participle replaces yaḥtājūn; for the phrase at the end of the line the Burhān has ʿalā mā lam yakūnū muḥtājūna ilayh.

30. The Itqān has reversed two words, changed one, and omitted another: the Burhān reads, anna tafsīrahu yakūnu baʿḍuhu min qubayl basṭ al-alfāẓ. The same word, qubayl, is changed in the next line.

31. The sign a. h. ends the material al-Suyūṭī has introduced anonymously. Did he intend to imply that the whole passage is from the Burhān? But if that is the case, then why insert the anonymous formula into what might have been given as an extended quotation from al-Zarkashī?

31 (16). The quotation from al-Khuwaybī (see the name in Appendix I for variations which occur in it) continues Burhān material, only shortly after the above text. al-Zarkashī has given the full name, al-Qāḍī Shams al-Dīn..., and an invocation; al-Suyūṭī abbreviates by giving the name only.

31. The correct reading is surely that of the Burhān, for the sake of the parallel words, ʻasīrun yasīrun. Manuscript (H) confirms that the Itqān has this also.

32. A verb form contrary to al-Suyūṭī's customary adaptation (see Chap. IV, C, 1), lam taṣil for lam yaṣil.

32. The Burhān has li 'l-wuṣūl; the Itqān omits the preposition, placing al-wuṣul in a construct relationship to imkān.

33. The word wa naḥwahā is added; a phrase is omitted following ʻilmuhu, bi murād al-mutakallim; and a redundant repetition of "or hears" is omitted.

175:1. An explanatory gloss is added, "in all its verses."

2. The new chapter, on the honor of exegesis, does not seem to include any material from the Burhān.

Note: It has seemed adequate to supply only the text of the <u>Itqān</u>.

Text:

II, 174:10

لذلك هو مثل معرفة النسخ وسبب النزول وقصة توضح بعض ما أبهم في القرآن ونحو ذلك وقال

الزركشي التفسير علم يفهم به كتاب الله المنزل على نبيه محمد ﷺ وبيان معانيه واستخراج أحكامه

وحكمه واستمداد ذلك من علم اللغة والنحو والتصريف وعلم البيان وأصول الفقه والقراآت

ويحتاج لمعرفة أسباب النزول والناسخ والمنسوخ

﴿ فصل ﴾ وأما وجه الحاجة إليه فقال بعضهم اعلم ان من المعلوم ان الله انما خاطب خلقه بما يفهمونه

15 ولذلك أرسل كل رسول بلسان قومه وأنزل كتابه على لغتهم وانما احتيج إلى التفسير لما سبق ذكر

بعد تقرير قاعدة وهي ان كل من وضع من البشر كتابا فانما وضعه ليفهم بذاته من غير شرح وانما

احتيج إلى الشرح لأمور ثلاثة أحدها كمال فضيلة المصنف فانه لقوته العلمية يجمع المعاني في الدقيقة

في اللفظ الوجيز فربما عسر فهم مراده فقصد بالشرح ظهور تلك المعاني الخفية ومن هنا كان شرح

بعض الأئمة تصانيفه أدل على المراد من شرح غيره له وانا الاغفاله بعض جهات المسئلة أو شرع وطاب

20 اعتمادا على وضوحها أولا مهم من علم آخر فيحتاج الشارح لبيان المحذوف ومراتبه ثالثها الاحتمال

اللفظ لمعان كالمجاز والاشتراك ودلالة الالتزام فيحتاج الشارح إلى بيان غرض المصنف وترجيحه

وقد يقع في التصانيف ما لا يخلو عنه بشر من السهو وللغلط أو تكرار الشيء أو حذف المهم وغير ذلك

فيحتاج الشارح للتنبيه على ذلك اذا تقرر هذا فنقول ان القرآن انما نزل بلسان عرب في في زمن أفصح

العرب وكانوا يعلمون ظواهره وأحكامه اما دقائق باطنه فانما كان يظهر لهم بعد البحث والنظر مع

25 سؤالهم النبي ﷺ في الأكثر كسؤالهم لما نزل قوله ولم يلبسوا ايمانهم بظلم فقالوا وأينا لم

يظلم نفسه فسره النبي ﷺ بالشرك واستدل عليه بقوله ان الشرك لظلم عظيم وكسؤال عائشة

عن الحساب اليسير فقال ذلك العرض وكقصة عدي بن حاتم في الخيط الأبيض والأسود وغير

ذلك مما سألوا عنه ونحن محتاجون الى ما كانوا يحتاجون اليه وزيادة على ذلك مما يحتاجوا

اليهم من أحكام الظواهر لقصور مداركنا عن أحكام اللغة بغير تعلم فنحن أشد الناس احتياجا الى

30 التفسير ومعلوم ان تفسيره بعضه يكون من قبل الالفاظ الوجيزة وكشف معانيها أو بعضه من قبل ترجيح

بعض الاحتمالات على بعض اه وقال الخويي في علم التفسير عمري يسير أما عمره فظاهر من وجوه

أظهرها أنه كلام لم تصل الناس الى مراده بالسماع منه ولا إمكان الوصول اليه بخلاف الامثال

والاشعار ونحوها فان الانسان يمكن علمه منه إذا نكم بأن يسمع منه أو من سمع منه وأما القرآن

فتفسيره على وجه القطع لا يعلم الابان يسمع من الرسول ﷺ وذلك متعذر الا في آيات قلائل فالعلم

35 بالمراد يستنبط بامارات ودلائل والحكمة فيه ان الله تعالى أراد أن يتفكر عباده في كتابه فلم يأمر نبيه

بالتنصيص على المراد في جميع آياته

175:1

﴿ فصل ﴾ وأما شرفه فلا يخفى قال تعالى يؤتى الحكمة من يشاء ومن يؤت الحكمة فقد أوتى خيرا

2. Various Types of Material Adapted for the Itqān

I, 164:26ff (IV, 288, 158)

Notes:

26-7. The definition is either original to al-Suyūṭī, or from some other, parallel source.

27 (2). The Burhān passage is introduced with an anonymous formula, and adapted by omission of the preposition li.

29 (4). al-Suyūṭī abbreviates the verse introductions, as also at 30 (8), 165:9 (153:4), 10 (5).

30.(6). "Like the previous verses" dispenses with repeating them.

30 (7). Either al-Suyūṭī did not understand the point al-Zarkashī was making, or he felt it incorrect and went back to the original text of al-Kisā'ī. The verb, wajjaha is completely different from waḥḥada; the latter seems to fit what the Burhān is saying.

31 (9). The two radical verb changes are part of the same problem, and may confirm al-Suyūṭī's use of the original here. And yet his verbs do not seem to fit the meaning of al-Kisā'ī's quotation as it begins in both the Burhān and Itqān.

31-2 (10). al-Suyūṭī prefers his more characteristic verb for introducing the tradition; he also adds a second source for it, and omits the title of al-Bayhaqī's collection.

33 (13). The Burhān gives the Ibn al-Anbārī quotation as a tradition related "from some of the exegetes." al-Suyūṭī omits the latter

phrase and uses the verb characteristic of non-Tradition sources for his material.

36 (289:1). Only part of the Burhān verse is given, and an entirely different explanation for it.

36-165:2 (3-5). The first words of the next Burhān paragraph are re-arranged but distinguishable as the same ones used in the Itqān; the continuation gives a related meaning, but in quite different wording. al-Suyūṭī apparently rewrote it completely, on his own, or used a parallel source.

2 (8). al-Zamakhsharī and his quotation are introduced in a different way, but the material is obviously the same as in the Burhān.

4 (10). al-Suyūṭī changes the verb to passive and adds the necessary preposition, with its attached pronoun. The next change seems to be an attempt at clarifying al-Zarkashī's text.

4 (158:15). A new section of the Burhān is given as if the previous material had not been from that source.

8 (2). Arbitrary changes in the pious phrase "be exalted." It is omitted here, but added at 9 (3), where the Burhān does not have it.

8 (2). The singular al-makhlūq becomes plural in the Itqān; at 10 (5) the same plural in the Burhān is changed to al-khalq.

10 (5). The second allāh in the verse is a misprint. Manuscript (H) has the verse correctly, as in the Burhān.

11 (8). Insignificant changes: of wording, at this point, and at 12 (11), of word order.

13 (12). The word _sūra_ must be a misprint in the _Itqān_; _sūra_ is the

only possibility in the context.

13-15 (160). A fragment of the _Burhān_ from its next page is attached

as if independent of the material before it.

The _Itqān_   Texts:
164:26

ثم اللهم قال فتقدر معطوفة على مجرور ومن لا على من وجرورها ﴿عسى﴾ فعل جامد لا يتصرف ومن ثم

ادعى قوم أنه حرف ومعناه الترجي في المحبوب والاشفاق في المكروه وقد اجتمعا في قوله تعالى وعسى

أن تكرهوا شيئا وهو خير لكم وعسى أن تحبوا شيئا وهو شر لكم * قال ابن فارس وتأتي للقرب

والدنو وقل عسى أن يكون ردف لكم وقال الكسائى كل ما في القرآن من عسى على وجه الخبر فهو

موحد كالآية السابقة ووجه على معنى عسى الأمر أن يكون كذا وما كان على الاستفهام فانه يجمع نحو

فهل عسيتم ان توليتم ، قال أبو عبيدة معناه هل عرفتم ذلك وهل أخبرتموه * وأخرج

ابن أبى حاتم والبيهقى وغيرها عن ابن عباس قال كل عسى في القرآن فهى واجبة *

The _Burhān_
288:1   عسى

للترجى في المحبوب ، والإشفاق في المكروه . وقد اجتمعا في قوله تعالى : ﴿وَعَسَىٰ

أَنْ تَكْرَهُوا شَيْئًا وَهُوَ خَيْرٌ لَكُمْ وَعَسَىٰ أَنْ تُحِبُّوا شَيْئًا وَهُوَ شَرٌّ لَكُمْ﴾ [1] .

قال ابن فارس : ويأتى للقرب والدنو ، كقوله تعالى : ﴿قُلْ عَسَىٰ أَنْ يَكُونَ

رَدِفَ لَكُمْ﴾ [2] ، قال : وقال الكسائى : كل ما في القرآن من « عسى » على وجه الخبر

فهو موحَّد ، نحو : ﴿عَسَىٰ أَنْ يَكُونُوا خَيْرًا مِنْهُمْ﴾ [3] ، ﴿وَعَسَىٰ أَنْ تَكْرَهُوا

شَيْئًا﴾ [1] ، ووحَّد على « عسى الأمر أن يكون كذا » .

وما كان على الاستفهام فهو يُجمع ، كقوله تعالى : ﴿فَهَلْ عَسَيْتُمْ إِنْ تَوَلَّيْتُمْ﴾ [4] .

قال أبو عبيدة معناه : هل عدمتم ذلك ؟ [5] هل جُزْتموه ؟

وروى البيهقى في سننه عن ابن عباس ، قال : كل « عسى » في القرآن

فهى واجبة .

225.

وقال الشافعى يقال عسى من الله واجبـة * وقال ابن الانبارى عسى فى القرآن واجبة
الا فى موضعين * أحـدهما عسى ربكم أن يرحمكم يعنى بنى النضير فـا رحمهم الله بل
قاتلهم رسول الله صلى الله عليـه وسلم وأوقع عليهم العقوبة * والثانى عسى ربه ان طلقكن | 35
ان يبدله أزواجا فلم يقع التبديل * وأبطل بعضهم الاستثناء وعم القاعدة لان الرحمة كانت
مشروطة ان لا يعودوا كما قال وان عدتم عدنا وقد عادوا فوجب عليهم العذاب والتبديل مشروطا بان | 1:165
يطلق ولم يطلق فلا يجب وفى الكشاف فى سورة التحريم عسى اطماع من الله تعالى لعباده وفيه وجهان
* أحدهما أن يكون على ما جرت به عادة الجبابرة من الاجابة بلعل وعسى و وقوع ذلك منهم موقع
القطع والبت * والثانى أن يكون جىء به تعليما للعباد أن يكونوا بين الخوف والرجاء

وقال الشافعىّ : يقال : عسى من الله واجبة .

وحكى ابن الأنبارىّ عن بعض المفسرين أن « عسى » فى جميع القرآن واجبـة ،

إلا فى موضعين فى سورة بنى إسرائيل :

﴿ عَسَى رَبُّكُمْ أَنْ يَرْحَمَكُمْ ﴾ (٢) ، يعنى بنى النضير ، فا رحمهم الله ، بل قاتلهم | 15

رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ، وأوقع عليهم العقوبة .

وفى سورة التحريم : ﴿ عَسَى رَبُّهُ إِنْ طَلَّقَكُنَّ أَنْ يُبْدِلَهُ أَزْوَاجاً خَيْراً مِنْكُنَّ ﴾ (١) ، | 1:289

ولازمنه حتى قضى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم .

وعمّ بعضهم القاعدة ، وأبطل الاستثناء ، لأن تقديره أن يكون على شرط ، أى فى

رفت من الأوقات ، فلما زال الشرط وانقضى الوقت ، وجب عليكم العذاب ، فعلى هـذا

لم تخرج عن بابها الذى هو الإيجاب . | 5

وكذا قوله : ﴿ عَسَى رَبُّهُ إِنْ طَلَّقَكُنَّ ﴾ (١) تقديره : واجب أن يبدله أزواجاً

خيراً منكن ، أى لبتّ طلاقكن ، ولم يبت طلاقهن ، فلا يجب التبديل .

وقال صاحب " الكشاف " فى سورة التحريم : ﴿ عَسَى رَبُّهُ ﴾ (١) اطماع من الله

تعالى لعباده . وفيه وجهان : أحدهما أن يكون على ما جرت به عادة الجبابرة من الإجابة

بـ « لعلّ » وعسى ، ووقوع ذلك منهم موقع القطع والبت . والثانى أن تجىء تعليما للعباد وجوب | 10

الترجيح بين الخوف والرجاء .

۞ وفي البرهان

عسى ولعل من الله واجبتان وإن كانتا رجاء وطمعا في كلام المخلوقين لأن الخلق هم الذين يعرض لهم

الشكوك والظنون والباري منزه عن ذلك والوجه في استعمال هذه الألفاظ أن الأمور الممكنة لما كان

الخلق يشكون فيها ولا يقطعون على الكائن منها أو الله يعلم الكائن منها على الصحة صارت لها نسبتان

نسبة إلى الله تسمى نسبة قطع و يقين ونسبة إلى المخلوقين تسمى نسبة شك وظن فصارت هذه الألفاظ

لذلك ترد تارة بلفظ القطع بحسب ما هى عليه عند الله تعالى نحو فسوف يأتي الله بقوم يحبهم ويحبونه

وتارة بلفظ الشك بحسب ما هى عليه عند الخلق نحو فعسى الله أن يأتى الله بالفتح أو أمر من عنده فقولا له

قولا لينا لعله يتذكر أو يخشى وقد علم الله حال ارسالهما ما يفضى اليه حال فرعون لكن ورد اللفظ بصورة

ما يختلج في نفس موسى وهرون من الرجاء والطمع ولما نزل القرآن بلغة العرب جاء على مذاهبهم في ذلك

والعرب قد تخرج الكلام المتقين في صورة المشكوك لأغراض ۞ وقال ابن الدهان عسى فعل ماضى

اللفظ والمعنى لأنه طمع قد حصل في شى مستقبل وقال قوم ماضى اللفظ مستقبل المعنى لأنه اخبار عن

طمع بأن يقع

عسى ولعل

من الله تعالى واجبتان ، وإن كانتا رجاء وطمعاً في كلام المخلوقين ، لأنّ الخلق هم الذين

يعرض لهم الشكوك والظنون ، والباري منزّه عن ذلك .

والوجه في استعمال هذه الألفاظ أنّ الأمور الممكنة لمّا كان الخلقُ يشكّون فيها

ولا يقطعون على الكائن منها ، وكان الله يعلم الكائن منها على الصحة صارت لها نسبتان :

نسبة إلى الله تعالى ، تسمى نسبة قطع ويقين ، ونسبة إلى المخلوق ، وتسمى نسبة شكّ

وظنّ ، فصارت هذه الألفاظ لذلك ترد تارة بلفظ القطع بحسب ما هى عليه عند الله ؛

كقوله : ﴿ فَسَوْفَ يَأْتِي اللهُ بِقَوْمٍ يُحِبُّهُمْ وَيُحِبُّونَهُ ﴾ (١)

وتارة بلفظ الشك بحسب ما هى عليه عند المخلوقين ، كقوله : ﴿ فَعَسَى اللهُ أَنْ يَأْتِيَ

بِالْفَتْحِ أَوْ أَمْرٍ مِنْ عِنْدِهِ ﴾ (٢) ﴿ عَسَى أَنْ يَبْعَثَكَ رَبُّكَ مَقَامًا مَحْمُودًا ﴾ (٣) .

وقوله . ﴿ فَقُولَا لَهُ قَوْلًا لَيِّنًا لَعَلَّهُ يَتَذَكَّرُ أَوْ يَخْشَى ﴾ (٤) ، وقد علم الله

حين أرسلهما (٥) ما يُفضى إليه حالُ فرعون ، لكن ورد اللفظُ بصورة ما يختلج في نفس

موسى وهارون من الرجاء والطمع ؛ فكأنه قال : انهضا إليه وقولا في نفوسكما ، لعلّه

يتذكر أو يخشى .

ولمّا كان القرآنُ قد نزل بلغة العرب جاء على مذاهبهم في ذلك ، والعرب قد تُخرج

الكلام المتيقّن في صورة المشكوك ؛ لأغراض

3. Comparison with the Original Source

II, 121:2-35 (II, 102-4)

Notes:

These texts need not be compared in detail, but only for evidence abbut whether al-Suyūṭī took this quotation directly from the book of al-Khaṭṭābī, or from the Burhān. Evidence is listed in two categories: points at which al-Suyūṭī followed the text as al-Zarkashī had changed it, and those in which his version seems closer to the original than to that of the Burhān.

A. Evidence that al-Suyūṭī used the Burhān

    5 (102:2, the material supplied in brackets, note 1).

    5 (3, the material given as footnote 2).

    8 (6, in brackets, note 2).

    9 (8, in brackets, note 1).

    10 (9, in brackets, note 1).

    16 (103:2, footnote 1).

    18 (5, in brackets, note 1).

    18 (7, footnote 3).

    20 (9, footnote 4).

    22 (11, footnote 5).

B. Evidence that he used the original

    7 (102:5, note 1). The word namṭ may be an addition which only fortuitously agrees with the logic of the original.

13 (15, note 3). "Except as they come with speech like it" becomes
"until..." (ilā for illā), probably al-Suyūṭī's attempt to give
a more natural reading; again it agrees with the original text.

The Itqān	Texts:

121:2 عندهوقال الخطابى ذهب الأكثرون من علماء النظر الى أن وجه الاعجاز فيه من جهة البلاغة لكن

صعب عليهم تفصيلها وصعروا فيه الى حكم الذوق قال والتحقيق ان أجناس الكلام مختلفة ومرا تبها في،

درجات البيان متفاوتة فنها البليغ الرصين الجزل ومنها الفصيح القريب السهل ومنها الجائز المطاق

5 الرسل وهذه أقسام الكلام الفاضل المحمود فالأول وأعلاها والثانى أوسطها والثالث أدناها وأقربها

خازت بلاغات القرآن من كل قسم من هذه الاقسام حصة وأخذت من كل نوع شعبة نا نتظم لها بانتظام

هذه الأوصاف نمط من الكلام بجمع صفتى الفخامة والعذو بة وهما على الانفراد فى نعوتهما كالمتضادين

لان العذو بة نتاج السهولة والجزالة والمتانة يما الجان نوعا من الذعو رة فكان اجماع الامرين فى نظمه

مع نبو كل واحد منهما عن الآخر فضيلة خص بها القرآن ليكون آية بينة لنبيه ﷺ وانما تعذر على

10 البشر الاتيان بمثله لامور منها أن علمهم لا يحيط بجميع أسماء اللفة العر بية وأوضاعها التى هى ظروف

المعانى ولا تدرك أفهامهم جميع معانى الأشياء المحمولة على تلك الالفاظ ولا تكمل معرفتهم باستيفاء

جميع وجوه المنظوم التى بها يكون ائتلافها وارتباط بعضها يبعض فيتواصلوا باختيار الافضل من

الأحسن من وجوهها الى أن يأتوا بكلام مثله وانما يقوم الكلام بهذه الاشياء الثلاثة لفظ حاصل

ومعنى به قائم ور باط لهما ناظم واذا تأملت القرآن وجدت هذه الامور منه فى غاية الشرف والفضيلة

15 حتى لا ترى شيئا من الالفاظ أفصح ولا أجزل ولا أعذب من الفاظه ولا ترى نظما أحسن تأليفا

وأشد تلاوة وتشا كلا من نظمه وأمامما نيه فكل ذى لب يشهد له بالتقدم فى أبوابه والترقى الى أعلى

درجاته وقد توجد هذه الفضائل الثلاث على التفرق فى أنواع الكلام فاما أن توجد مجموعة فى نوع واحد

منه فلم توجد الا فى كلام العليم القدير نخرج من هذا ان القرآن انما صار معجزا لانه جاء بأفصح الالفاظ

فى أحسن نظوم التأليف مضمنا أصح المعانى من توحيد الله تعالى وتنز يهه فى صفاته ودعائه الى طاعته

20 و يبان لطر يق عبادته من تحليل وتحريم وحظر واباحة ومن وعظ وتقويم وأمر بمعروف ونهى

عن منكر وارشاد الى محاسن الاخلاق وزجر عن مساو يها واضعا كل شىء منها موضعه الذى لا يرى

شىء أولى منه ولا يتوهم فى صورة العقل أمر أليق به منه مودعا أخبار القرون الماضية ومنازل من ثلاث

الله بمن مضى وعائد منهم منبئا عن الكوائن المستقبلة فى الاعصار الآتية من الزمان جامعا فى ذلك بين

الحجة والمحتج له والدليل والمدلول عليه ليكون ذلك أكد للزوم بما ادعا عليه وأدعى عن وجوب ما أمر به

25 ونهى عنده ومعلوم أن الاتيان بمثل هذه الامور والجمع بين أشتاتها حتى تنتظم وتنسق أمر يعجز عنه

The Burhān
102:1

بالقريب السهل ، ومنها الجائز الطلق الرّسل ، وهذه أقسام الـكلام الفاضل المحمود [دون النوع الهجين المذموم الذى لا يوجد فى القرآن شى‌ءٌ منه البتة] [1] .

فالقسم[2] الأول أعلاه ، والثانى أوسطه ، والثالث أدناه وأقرب به[2] ، فحازت بلاغات القرآن من كل قسم من هذه الأقسام حصّة ، وأخذت من كل نوع شعبة ، فانتظم لها بامتزاج هذه الأوصاف [نَمَطٌ][1] من الـكلام يجمع صفتى الفخامة والعذوبة ، وما هى على الانفراد فى نعوتها كالمتضادّين ؛ لأن العذوبة نتاج السهولة ، والجزالة والمتانة [فى الكلام][1] يمالجان نوعا من الوعورة ؛ فكان اجتماع الأمرين فى نظمه مع نبوّ كلّ منها عن الآخر فضيلة خُصّ بها القرآن . [يَسَّرَها الله بلطيف قدرته][1] ؛ ليكون آية بيّنة لنبيه [ودلالة على صحة ما دعا إليه من أمر دينه][1] .

وإنما تعذر على البشر الإتيان بمثله لأمور :

منها أن علمهم لا يحيط بجميع أسماء اللغة العربية وأوضاعها التى هى ظروف المعانى [والحوامل][1] .

ولا تدرك أفهامهم جميعَ معانى الأشياء المحمولة على تلك الألفاظ ، ولا تـكل معرفتهم باستيفاء جميع وجوه النظوم التى بها يكون ائتلافها وارتباط بعضها ببعض ، فيتوصلوا باختيار الأفضل عن الأحسن من وجوهها ، إلا أنْ[3] يأتوا بكلام مثله .

وإنما يقوم الـكلام بهذه الأشياء الثلاثة : لفظ حامل ، ومعنى به قائم ، ورباط لها ناظم .

وإذا تأملت القرآن وجدت هذه الأمور منه فى غاية الشرف والفضيلة ؛ حتى لا ترى

(١) تكملة من كتاب البيان .
(٢ـ ٢) البيان : « فالقسم الأول أعلى طبقات الـكلام وأرفعه والقسم الثـانى أوسطه وأنصفه ، والقسم الثالث أدناه وأقربه » .
(٣) البيان : « إلى أن يأتوا » .

The Burhān

103:1 بنا من الألفاظ أفصح ولا أجزل ولا أعذب من ألفاظه ، ولا ترى نظما أحسن تأليفاً

رأنذ تلازما وتشاكلا من نظمه . وأما [1] معانيه ، فـكل ذى لبّ يشهد له بالتقـديم

فى أبوابه ، والرقى فى أعلى درجاته [1] .

وقد توجد هـذه الفضائل الثلاث على التفرق فى أنواع الـكلام ، وأمّا أن توجـدَ

مجموعة فى نوع واحد منه فلم توجد إلا فى كلام العليم القدير ، [الذى أحاط بكل شىء علماً ٥

وأحصى كل شىء عددا] [2] .

خرج [3] من هـذا أن القرآن إنما صار معجزا لأنه جاء بأفصح الألفاظ فى أحسن

نظم التأليف ، مضمّنا أصح المعانى ، من توحيـد الله تعالى وتنزيهه فى صفاته ، ودعاء

إلى طاعته ، وبيان لطريق عبادته [4] فى تحليل وتحريم ، وحظر وإباحة ، ومن وَعْظ

وتقويم ، وأمر بمعروف ونهى عن منـكر ، وإرشاد إلى محاسن الأخلاق ، وزجرٍ عن ١٠

مساوئها ، واضعاً كلّ شىء منها موضعه الذى لا يُرى شىء أولى منه ، ولا يتوهم [5]

فى صورة العقل أمر أليقُ به منـه ، مودعا أخبَار القرون الماضية وما نزل من مَثُلات الله

بمن عصى وعاند منهم ، منبئا عن الـكوائن المستقبلة فى الأعصار الماضية من الزمان ، جامعاً

فى ذلك بين الحجة والمحتجّ له ، والدليل والمدلول عليه ، ليسكونَ ذلك أوكدّ للزوم ما دعا

إليه ، وإنباء عن وجوب ما أمر به ونهى عنه . ١٥

_____

(١-١) البيان : « وأما المعانى فلا خفاء على ذى عقل أنها ممن التى تشهد لها العقول بالتقدم فى أبوابها »
والرقى إلى أعلى درجات الفضل من نمرتها وصفاتها » .

(٢) نكلة من كتاب البيان .

(٣) البيان : « نفهم الآن واعلم أن القرآن . . . » .

(٤) البيان : « وبيان لمهاج عبادته »

(٥) البيان : « ولا يرى فى صورة العقل » .

4. A Page of Composite Construction
II, 134 (III, 42-6)

The passage demonstrates al-Suyūṭī's use of small fragments, from the Burhān and elsewhere, to build his Itqān chapters. On this page Burhān material is included in several forms--quotations from various authors or introduced with an anonymous formula when it is not quoted by name in the Burhān. Though much could be thought of as being al-Zarkashī's personal analysis, none has been attributed to him by name.

Notes:

1 (41:14). al-Suyūṭī has been following the Burhān from the beginning of Chap. 67, at 133:23 (III, 40ff). Immediately before the text given here al-Zarkashī comments, "And if it is said...then it is said..." al-Suyūṭī changes the result clause to sound like his own personal answer.

1-4 (41-2). The three answers are from the Burhān, slightly changed.

4-7. The quotation is probably taken directly from the author named.

7-8 (42:2). One line from the Burhān is introduced with "the scholars have said." The word ta'ālā has been added, contrary to al-Suyūṭī's more frequent omission of these pious phrases.

8-10. The tradition is added directly from the collection of Ibn Mardawayh, with the Companion to whom its isnād returns.

10-11 (42:5). The quotation is as in the Burhān; the title of the book has been omitted, Kanz al-Yawāqīt.

232.

11-13 (42:8). Again the Burhān material is given anonymously. Another

change of pious phrases occurs: ta'ālā replaces subhāna.

13-15 (42:15). One of the alternatives is summarized in al-Suyūṭī's

own words, the other given with minor changes. At 14 (43:2) nahw

replaces the more pious formula, "His word (be exalted)."

15-19 (45:10-46:1). The quotation is taken from two pages later in the

Burhān and fitted in here. Part of the name has been added, Abū

'Alī, but the book title, al-Ḥujja, has been omitted. At lines 16,

18, ta'ālā is again discarded. Several verses are abbreviated from

their forms in the Burhān; the last, at 19 (46:1), is given more

fully than found there, probably to distinguish it from another

verse which begins with the same words (the Itqān uses al-Nūr

24:53; the Burhān edition gives al-Naḥl 16:38 in its footnote

reference to the verse).

18 (45:15). "What is related to the answer" (yata'allaq) becomes "what

receives...," perhaps a misreading of the Arabic text.

19-22 (43:7). Material from two pages earlier in the Burhān is in-

cluded anonymously. The last opinion, after wa lā tajidu, at 20

(43:9; lā tajī'), is stated here as an absolute; the Burhān had

added "except rarely." This requires a modified explanation for

the verse. Throughout the passage the compressed style has made

distinctions between verses difficult. Note especially here, at

line 19: 'andaka completes one verse from the Burhān and bi ḥaqqin

begins in the middle of the verse given by the Burhān, then con-

tinues with its completion, which is not found there.

134:22-135:16. The _Itqān_ now continues with a quotation taken from

the book of Ibn Qayyim, named at the first of the chapter; it is

the other basic source on which the _Itqān_ has been dependent at

this point. Only the _Itqān_ page has been provided for this

example.

Text:

134:1 * قلنا اجيب عنه بأوجه احدها انه على حذف مضاف أى و رب الدين و رب الشمس وكذا الباقى

الثانى ان العرب كانت تعظم هذه الاشياء و تقدم بها فنزل القرآن على ما يعرفونه * الثالث ان الاقسام

اما تكون بما يعظمه المقسم أو بجله و هو فوقه والله تعالى ليس شىء فوقه فاقسم تارة بنفسه و تارة

بمصنوعاته لانها تدل على بارىء و صانع وقال ابن أبى الاصبع فى أسرار الفواتح القسم بالمصنوعات

5 يستلزم القسم بالصانع لان ذكر المفعول يستلزم ذكر الفاعل اذ يستحيل وجود منفعول بغير

فاعل * واخرج ابن أبى حاتم عن الحسن قال ان الله يقسم بما شاء من خلقه وليس لاحد أن

يقسم الا بالله وقال العلماء اقسم الله تعالى بالنبى ﷺ فى قوله لعمرك لتعرف الناس عظمته

عند الله ومكانته لديه * اخرج ابن مردويه عن ابن عباس قال ما خلق الله ولا ذرأ ولا برأ

نفسا أكرم عليه من محمد ﷺ وما سمعت الله اقسم بحياة أحد غيره قال لعمرك انهم لفى سكرتهم

10 يعمهون وقال أبو القاسم القشيرى القسم بالشىء لا يخرج عن وجهين اما الفضيلة أو المنفعة فالفضيلة

كقوله وطور سينين و هذا البلد الامين والمنفعة نحو والتين والزيتون وقال غيره اقسم الله تعالى بثلاثة

أشياء بذاته كالآيات السابقة و بفعله نحو والسماء وما بناها والارض وما طحاها و نفس وما سواها

و بمفعوله نحو والنجم اذا هوى والطور و كتاب مسطور القسم اما ظاهر كالآيات السابقة وأما

مضمر و هو قسمان دلت عليه اللام نحو لتبلون فى أموالكم و قسم دل عليه المعنى نحو وان منكم الا واردها

15 وتقديره والله وقال أبو على الفارسى الالفاظ الجارية بمجرى القسم ضربان احدها ما تكون كثيرها

من الاخبار التى ليست بقسم فلا يجاب بجوابه كقوله وقد اخذ ميثاقكم ان كنتم مؤمنون ورفعنا

فوقكم الطور خذوا فيحلفون له كما يحلفون لكم فهذا و نحوه بجواز أن يكون قسما و أن يكون حالا لهم و من

الجواب والثانى ما يبتلى بجواب القسم كقوله و إذا اخذ الله ميثاق الذين أوتوا الكتاب لتبيننه للناس

وأقسموا بالله جهد أيمانهم لئن أمرتهم ليخرجن وقال غيره أكثر الاقسام فى القرآن المحذوفة

20 الفعل لا تكون الا بالواو فاذا كرت الباء أتى بالفعل كقوله وأقسموا بالله يحلفون بالله ولا تجد الباء

مع حذف الفعل ومنهم كان خطأ من جعل قسما بالله ان الشرك لظلم با عهد عندك بحق ان كنت

قلته فقد علمته وقال ابن القيم اعلم ان الله سبحانه و تعالى يقسم باو مور على امور وانما يقسم بنفسه

5. Use by the Burhān and Itqān of the Same Source

I, 170:11-15 (IV, 330)

Notes:

11-12. The first alternative meaning for kayf is not from the Burhān, is probably directly from al-Rāghib's book.

13 (2). al-Suyūṭī adds the definite article to al-istifhām, and a clarifying phrase, then adopts the same words about the kind of question kayf asks. The contrast to mā and man is omitted.

13 (14). "al-Rāghib said" is moved much earlier in the material, and a quotation from him not in the Burhān is given first.

14 (3). Then the quotation returns to the duplicated text, with only a minor verb change. Note that this material in the Burhān has not been quoted by name from al-Rāghib.

14 (17). The continuation then is at the end of the Burhān page, with almost identical wording.

15 (17). The word istikhbār is adopted from line 14 in the Burhān.

15 (331:1). The second verse given as an example is also from the Burhān, the next of several verses on the next page.

Summary: The passage is a confused mingling of material from the book of al-Rāghib, al-Mufradāt. It is difficult to tell how much of the Itqān text has come by way of the Burhān. It may be that al-Suyūṭī recognized dependent material in the Burhān, and attributed it correctly to al-Rāghib.

235.

Texts:

The Itqān
170:11

تعليل لم يدخل عليها حرف تعليل ﴿كيف﴾ اسم يرد على وجهين الشرط وهو خرج عليه يتفق كيف يشاء
يصوركم في الأرحام كيف يشاء فيبسطه في السماء كيف يشاء وجوابها كيف يشاء فى ذلك كله محذوف للدلالة ما قبلها
والاستفهام وهو الغالب و استفهم بها عن حال الشىء لا عن ذاته قال الراغب وانما يسئل بها عما يصح أن
يقال فيه شبيه وغير شبيه ولهذا لا يصح أن يقال فى الله كيف قال وكلما أخبر الله بلفظ كيف عن نفسه فهو
استخبار على طريق التنبيه للمخاطب أو التوبيخ نحو كيف تكفرون و كيف يهدى الله قوما ﴿اللام﴾
15

The Burhān
330:1

كيف

استفهام عن حال الشىء لا عن ذاته ؛ كما أن « ما » سؤال عن حقيقته ، و « من »

عن مشخصاته ؛ ولهذا لا يجوز أن يقال فى « الله » « كيف » .

وهى مع ذلك منزّلة منزلة الظرف ؛ فإذا قلت : كيف زيد ؟ كان « زيد » مبتدأ ،

و « كيف » فى محلّ الخبر ، والتقدير . على أىّ حال زيد ؟
5

هذا أصلها فى الوضع ؛ لكن قد تعرض لها معانٍ تفهم من سياق الكلام ، أو من

قرينة الحال ؛ مثل معنى التنبيه والاعتبار وغيرها .

وقال بعضهم : لها ثلاثة أوجه :

أحدها : سؤال محض عن حال ؛ نحو كيف زيد ؟

وثانيها : حال لا سؤال معه ، كقولك : لأكرمنّك كيف أنت ، أى على أى
10

حال كنت .

ثالثها : معنى التعجّب .

وعلى هذين تفسير قوله تعالى : ﴿كَيْفَ تَكْفُرُونَ بِاللهِ وَكُنْتُمْ أَمْوَاتًا
فَأَحْيَاكُمْ﴾ [1] . قال الراغب فى تفسيره : كيف هنا استخبار لا استفهام ؛ والفرق بينهما
أن الاستخبار قد يكون تنبيها للمخاطب وتوبيخا ؛ ولا يقتضى عدم المستخبَر ،
15

والاستفهام بخلاف ذلك .

وقال فى « المفردات » : كل [2] ما أخبر الله بلفظ « كيف » عن نفسه فهو إخبار على

طريق التنبيه للمخاطب أو توبيخ ؛ نحو : ﴿كَيْفَ تَكْفُرُونَ﴾ .

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6. Free Adaptation of a Quotation from al-Zarkashī

I, 55:21-56:1 (I, 270-1)

Notes:

This example is an isolated quotation from al-Zarkashī, for which

he is given credit by name. The changes al-Suyūṭī has felt free to make

will be listed under various categories.

A. Division Headings

21 (4). The word tanbīh is inserted where the Burhān has no heading.

23 (7). "Another postcript" and the title are omitted; al-Suyūṭī

makes the transition with "He said."

B. Pious Phrases

26 (13) The simple al-Qur'ān replaces al-kitāb al-ʿazīz.

31 (271:4). "On them peace" is omitted after the series of names

ending with Moses.

34 (6). The same occurs after Hūd, "on him peace," and Noah, at

35 (11).

C. Other Purposeful Changes

23 (14). The word wajh is omitted, probably because it seemed

redundant in the context.

26 (13). The same idea is repeated in dhikr and al-madhkūra;

al-Suyūṭī omits the first.

31 (271:4). The Burhān has an ambiguous phrase: lima takhtaṣṣ, a

question, can also be read lam takhtaṣṣ, a negation. al-Suyūṭī makes sure the question is understood by putting the verb in the present tense.

32 (4). The same question is repeated in different words. al-Suyūṭī dispenses with the second one, making the transition with a simple maʿ anna.

34 (8). "His sūra" is a more accurate designation. The phrase ʿind dhikr is discarded as redundant.

35 (10). The change of verb seems to make little difference in meaning, but perhaps al-Suyūṭī felt his was more accurate.

D. Apparently Arbitrary Changes

22 (6). A preposition is added, laha.

23 (10). The article is omitted in al-kathīr. al-Suyūṭī may also have felt this was an improvement in style.

28 (16). The particle qad is omitted.

32 (271:6). Two words are reversed; it seems to be no more than an error in transcribing al-Zarkashī's text.

35 (8). The phrase wa inna becomes fa inna.

35 (8). The omission of the long phrase starting with dhālika seems to be no significant change; perhaps al-Suyūṭī had something in mind which is not apparent.

The Itqān	**Texts:**

55:21 (تنبيه) قال الزركشي في البرهان ينبغي البحث عن تعداد الاسامي هل هو توقيفي او ما يظهر من المناسبات

فان كان الثاني فلم يعدم الفطن أن يستخرج من كل سورة معاني كثيرة تقتضي اشتقاق أسماء لها وهو

بعيد قال وينبغي النظر في اختصاص كل سورة بما سميت به ولا شك ان العرب تراعي في كثير من المسميات

أخذ أسمائها من نادر أو مستغرب يكون في الشيء من خلق أو صفة تخصه أو تكون معه أو أحكم أو أكثر

25 أو أسبق لادراك الرائي للمسمى ويسمون الجملة من الكلام والقصيدة الطويلة ما هو أشهر فيها وعلى

ذلك جرت أسماء سور القرآن كتسمية سورة البقرة بهذا الاسم لقرينة قصة البقرة المذكورة فيها وعجيب

الحكمة فيها وسميت سورة النساء بهذا الاسم لما تردد فيها شيء كثير من أحكام النساء وتسمية سورة

الانعام لما ورد فيها من تفصيل أحوالها وان كان ورد لفظ الانعام في غيرها الا ان التفصيل الوارد في

قوله تعالى ومن الانعام حمولة وفرشا الى قوله أم كنتم شهداء لم يرد في غيرها

270:4 وينبغي البحث عن تعداد الأسامي : هل هو توقيفي أو بما يظهر من المناسبات ؟ فإن

5 كان الثاني فلن يعدم الفَطِن أن يستخرج من كلِّ سورة معانيَ ـ كثيرةً تقتضي اشتقاق

أسمائها[1] وهو بعيد .

<div align="center">

خاتـــــــمة أخرى

</div>

<div align="center">

[في اختصاص كل سورة بما سميت[2]]

</div>

ينبغي النظر في وجه اختصاص كلِّ سورة بما سُمِّيت به ، ولا شكَّ أن العرب تراعي

10 في الـكثير من المسميات أخذَ أسمائها من نادر أو مستغرَب يكون في الشيء من خَلْق أو

صفة تخصُّه ، أو تـكون معه أحكَم أو أكثر أو أسبق لإدراك الرائي للمسمَّى . ويسمون

الجملة من الـكلام أو القصيـدة الطويلة بما هو أشهر فيها ، وعلى ذلك جرت

أسمــاء سُور الـكتاب العزيز ؛ كتسمية سورة البقرة بهذا الاسم لقرينة ذِكر قصة

البقرة المذكورة فيها وعجيب الحكمة فيها . وسميت سورة النساء بهذا الاسم لما تردّد فيها

15 من كثير من أحكام النساء ، وتسمية سورة الأنعام لما ورد فيها من تفصيل أحوالها ،

وإن كان قد ورد لفظ الأنعام في غيرها ؛ إلا أن التفصيل الوارد في قوله تعالى : ﴿ وَمِنَ

الْأَنْعَامِ حَمُولَةً وَفَرْشًا... ﴾[3] إلى قوله : ﴿ أَمْ كُنْتُمْ شُهَدَاء ﴾[4] لم يرد في غيرها؛

كاورد ذكر النساء فى سور

30 الآن ما تكرر و بسط من احكامهن لم يرد فى غير سورة النساء و كذا سورة المائدة لم يرد ذكر المائدة فى غيرها
فسميت بما يخصها قال فان قيل قد ورد فى سورة هود ذكر نوح وصالح وابراهيم ولوط وشعيب وموسى فلم
خصت باسم هود وحده و هم أن قصة نوح فيها أوعب و أطول قيل تكررت هذه القصص فى سورة
الأعراف و سورة هود والشعراء بأوعب مما وردت فى غيرها و لم يتكرر فى واحدة من هذه السور الثلاث اسم
هود كتكرره فى سورته فانه تكرر فيها فى أر بعة مواضع والتكرار من أقوى الأسباب التى ذكرنا قال
35 فان قيل فقد تكرر اسم نوح فيها فى ستة مواضع قيل لما أفردت لذكر نوح وقصته مع قومه سورة
56:1 برأسها فلم يقع فيها غير ذلك كانت أولى بأن تسمى باسمه من سورة تضمنت قصته وقصة غيره ه قلت
ولك ان تسأل فتقول قد سميت سور جرت فيها قصص أنبياء باسمائهم كسورة نوح وسورة هود وسورة

271:1 كاورد ذكرُ النساء فى سُوَرٍ ؛ إلا أن ما تكرر و بُسِط من أحكامهن لم يرد فى غير سورة

النساء . وكذا سورة المائدة لم يرد ذكر المائدة فى غيرها فسميت بما يخصّها .

فإن قيل : قد ورد فى سورة هود ذكرُ نوح وصالح وإبراهيم ولوط وشعيب وموسى

عليهم السلام ، فلم تختصّ باسم هود وحده ؟ وما وجه تسميتها به ؟ وقصة نوح فيها أطولُ

5 وأوعب . قيل : تكررت هذه القصص فى سورة الأعراف وسورة هود والشعراء بأوعَب

مما وردت فى غيرها ، ولم يتكرر فى واحدة من هذه السور الثلاث اسم هود عليه السلام

كتكرره فى هذه السورة ؛ فإنه تكرّر فيها عند ذكر قصته فى أربعة مواضع ، والتكرار من

أقوى الأسباب التى ذكرنا .

وإن قيل : فقد تكرر اسم نوح فى هذه السورة فى ستة مواضع فيها، وذلك أكثر من

10 تكرار اسم هود . قيل : لما جُرّدت لذكر نوح وقصته مع قومه سورةً برأسها فلم يقع

فيها غير ذلك كانت أولى بأن تسمى باسمه عليه السلام من سورة تضمنت قصته

وقصة غيره ، وإن تكرر اسمه فيها ؛ أما هود فكانت أولى السور بأن تسمى باسمه

عليه السلام .

7. An Example of Parallel Dependency

II, 79:14ff (II, 328ff)

Notes:

The total confusion of parallel outlines in the Itqān and Burhān rules out the likelihood of direct dependency. And yet much of the Burhān outline corresponds to that of the Itqān, including examples given within the various headings. It seems clear that another book, probably the one mentioned at 79:12, Rawḍ al-Afhām fī Aqsām al-Istifhām, by Shams al-Dīn b. al-Ṣā'igh, has been used for the outline and for some material within its various headings. al-Suyūṭī had the Burhān before him, as always, and compared parallel points in the outline with it, using illustratiye material as it fitted into Ibn al-Ṣā'igh's outline.

Note that the Itqān (Ibn al-Ṣā'igh) outlines the list in a single sequence, numbering 1 through 31, under the following title: min aqsām al-inshā'; al-istifhām wa aqsām al-istifhām (79:5, 13). The Burhān has the following subdivided outline:

I. al-istifhām bi ma'nā 'l-khabar

    A. istifhām al-inkār

    B.   "   al-taqrīr (with sub-points, 1-10)

II. al-istifhām bi ma'nā 'l-inshā'(points 1-18).

The Itqān outline appears on the left, with page and line references; the number in parentheses indicates the lines of Burhān material

used at that point in the outline. Cross references to the Burhān

sequence appear on the right, numbered according to the explanation

above; where the material is not used in the Itqān, despite a similar

heading, the item is given in parentheses.

Texts

The Itqān	The Burhān
1. al-inkār, 79:14 (5)	I, A. istifhām al-inkār, 328.
2. al-tawbīkh, 20	(I, B, 3. al-ithbāt maʿ al-tawbīkh, 336.)
	(II, 18. al-tawbīkh, 344; also different.)
3. al-taqrīr, 25 (11).	I, B. istifhām al-taqrīr, 331-3.
4. al-taʿajjub, 80:2 (1)[1].	II, 16. The same, 344.
5. al-ʿitāb, 4 (2)[2]	I, B, 4. al-ithbāt maʿ al-ʿitāb, 336.
6. al-tadhkīr, 7.	(II, 4. The same heading, but different.)
7. al-iftikhār, 9.	(I, B, 2. al-ithbāt maʿ al-iftikhār, 335.
8. al-tafkhīm, 9.	
9. al-tahwīl wa 'l-takhwīf, 10 (1) .	I, B, 8. The same, 338.
10. al-tas'hīl wa 'l-takhfīf, 11 (1/2)	I, B, 9. The same, 338.
11. al-tahdīd wa 'l-waʿīd, 11. . . .	
12. al-takthīr, 12 (1/2).	I, B, 11. The same, 338.

---

1. The quotation from al-Zamakhsharī at line 3 is not in the Burhān.

2. The insult to al-Zamakhsharī at line 7 is from the Burhān, but al-Suyūṭī has added a phrase to it. See Chap. V, p.   .

13. al-taswiya, 13 (1) . . . . I, B, 6. The same, 336.

14. al-amr, 14 (1) . . . . II, 1. mujarrad al-ṭalab, wa huwa 'l-amr, 340.

15. al-tanbīh, 15 (2 ?)[3] . . . . . . II, 5. The same, 340.

16. al-targhīb, 18 (1) . . . . II, 6. The same, 341.

17. al-nahy, 19 (1) . . . . II, 2. The same, 339.

18. al-du'ā', 20 (1) . . . . II, 8. The same, 341.

19. al-istirshād, 21 (1/2) . . . . . I, B, 2. The same, 338.

20. al-tamannī , 22 (1/2) . . . . . II, 7. The same, 341.

21. al-istibṭā', 22 (1/2) . . . . . II, 11. The same, 342.

22. al-'arḍ, 23 (1/2). . . . . II, 9. The same, 342.

23. al-takhṣīṣ, 23 (1/2) . . . . . . II, 10. The same, 342.

24. al-tajāhul, 24 . . . .

25. al-ta'ẓīm, 25 (1/2) . . . . . . I, B, 7. The same, 337.

26. al-taḥqīr, 25 (1/2) . . . . . . II, 15. The same, 343.

27. al-iktifā', 27. . . . .

28. al-istib'ād, 27 (1/2) . . . . . II, 17. The same, 344.

29. al-īnās, 28 (1/2) . . . . II, 13. The same, 343.

30. al-tahakkum wa 'l-istihsā', 28 (1) . . . . II, 14. The same, 343.

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3. A curious transposition takes place at line 16. The Burhān has "The author of al-Kāfī has related it on the authority of al-Khalīl" (an early grammarian). The Itqān reads "The author of al-Kashshāf (that is, al-Zamakhsharī) has mentioned it on the authority of Sībawayhi" (another early grammarian. Manuscript (H) further complicates the picture by substituting for the title in the Burhān that of Sībawayhi's own text, al-Kitāb. This hardly makes sense here, since he would not report "on the authority" of his own book. This may be one of the corrections made by al-Suyūṭī in the final reading of manuscript (H). One factor in the confusion is certainly the book used as a parallel source in this chapter.

31. al-ta'kīd, 29. . . . . II, 14, The same, 343.

Note: Elements of the Burhān outline without parallel in the Itqān are as follow:

I, B, 1. mujarrad al-ithbāt, 335.

I, B, 5. al-tabkīt, 336.

I, B, 10. al-tafajju', 338.

II, 3. al-tahdīr, 339.

II, 12. al-īyās, 343.

8. A Special Section (khātima) of Burhān Material

II, 41:29ff (II, 298)

Notes:

29 (7). The heading is inserted, and the Burhān title changed slightly.

29 (8). al-Suyūṭī's preference for the masculine verb form changes "you

make..." to "it is made." See also the following verb.

30 (10). A formula introducing the verse is changed.

31 (11). An arbitrary change: li'annahā for likawnihi; the difference

in meaning is negligible.

32 (11). A pronoun is substituted for the repeated word in bi 'l-sirr.

32 (12). Probably an attempted correction: al-muṣaḥḥiḥ fits the context

better than al-ṣaḥīḥ. Or, it may be that al-Suyūṭī's manuscript

of the Burhān had this correct original.

33 (13). Arbitrary changes in introducing the verse: kadha of kadhālika,

and the pious invocation, ta'āla, omitted.

34 (299:1). The Itqān rearranges Burhān material, temporarily omitting

the line indicated by parentheses, and making the transition with

the word, wa 'l-'alāqa...

34 (15). The Itqān then makes use of the line later, starting with

al-ta'bīr.

35 (299:2). al-Zarkashī's description of Ibn al-Sayyid's opinion is

omitted and the name moved to immediately before the verse given

as an example. Then the quotation is given, with slight changes.

Texts:

The Itqān

41:30

يظهر أنها مجاز والعلاقة المصاحبة 〈خاتمة〉 لهم مجاز المجاز وهو أن يجعل المجاز المأخوذ عن الحقيقة بمثابة الحقيقة بالنسبة إلى مجاز آخر فيتجوز بالمجاز الأول عن الثانى لعلاقة بينهما كقوله تعالى ولكن لا تواعدوهن سرا إلا أنه مجاز عن مجاز فان الوطء تجوز عنه بالسر لكونه لا يقع غالبا إلا فى السر ويتجوز به عن العقد لانه مسبب عنه فالمصحح للمجاز الأول الملازمة والثانى السببية والمعنى لا تواعدوهن عقد نكاحه وكذا قوله ومن يكفر بالايمان فقد حبط عمله فان قوله لا إله إلا الله مجاز عن تصديق القلب بدلول هذا اللفظ والعلاقة السببية لأن توحيد اللسان مسبب عن توحيد الجنان والتعبير بلا إله إلا الله عن الوحدانية من مجاز التعبير بالقول عن المقول فيه وجعل منه ابن السيد قوله أنزل لنا عليكم لباسا فان المنزل عليهم ليس هو نفس اللباس بل الماء المنبت للزرع المتخذ منه الغزل المنسوج منه اللباس

35

The Burhān

298:7

التجوز عن المجاز بالمجاز

وهو أن تجعل المجاز المأخوذ عن الحقيقة بمثابة الحقيقة بالنسبة إلى مجاز آخر ؛ فتتجوز بالمجاز الأول عن الثانى لعلاقة بينهما .

10

مثاله قوله تعالى: ﴿ وَلَٰكِن لَّا تُوَاعِدُوهُنَّ سِرًّا ﴾ [٣] ، فإنه مجاز عن مجاز ؛ فإن الوطء تجوز عنه بالسر ، لأنه لا يقع غالبا إلا فى السر ويتجوز بالسر عن العقد ؛ لأنه مسبب عنه ، فالمصحح للمجاز الأول الملازمة ، والثانى السببية ، والمعنى : «لا تواعدوهن عقد نكاح » .

وكذلك قوله تعالى : ﴿ وَمَن يَكْفُرْ بِالْإِيمَانِ فَقَدْ حَبِطَ عَمَلُهُ ﴾ [٤] ، إن حمل على ظاهره كان من مجاز المجاز ، لأن قول : « لا إله إلا الله » مجاز عن تصديق القلب بدلول هذا اللفظ ، والتعبير بلا إله إلا الله عن الوحدانية من مجاز التعبير بالقول عن المقول فيه ؛

15

الأول من مجاز السببية ؛ لأن توحيد اللسان ، مسبب عن توحيد الجنان .

قلت : وهذا تسمية ابن السيد [١] مجاز المراتب ؛ وجعل منه قوله تعالى : ﴿ يَا بَنِي آدَمَ قَدْ أَنزَلْنَا عَلَيْكُم لِبَاسًا ﴾ [٢] ، فإن المنزل عليهم ليس هو نفس اللباس ؛ بل الماء المنبت للزرع ، المتخذ منه الغزل المنسوج منه اللباس .

9. Example of Free Adaptation of <u>Burhān</u> Material

I, 151:4ff (IV, 248)

Notes:

4 (2). "A word" replaces "a sound," and the verb change follows. This
seems arbitrary, unless al-Suyūṭī was thinking of this as a series
of "words," so did not like the other, more accurate term here.

5 (2). A reversal of words.

5 (3). The name of Abū 'l-Baqā' is transferred to the end of the two
alternatives he reports. These are identically reproduced in the
<u>Itqān</u>, but with different introductory phrases.

7 (7). The added pronoun suffix in <u>ahālahu</u> is an attempted improvement;
the sentence reads more naturally with it.

8 (7). Even though the words appear in an entirely different form, they
are basically the same as in the <u>Burhān</u>. In the context of other
duplicated material, they may also be taken as dependent.

8 (8). On the other hand, the saying of al-ʻUzayzī is not the same at
all. Perhaps al-Suyūṭī was dissatisfied with its form in the
<u>Burhān</u>, and went back to get this quotation from the original.

9 (9). Tradition collections are never mentioned by al-Suyūṭī with this
formula. That in itself argues for dependency, and this is con-
firmed by identical wording of the brief quotation. Despite the
free adaptation of the passage here, the evidence of parallel
sequence, as well as the duplication of wording which still

remains, is enough to prove dependency at this point. Other

material which completes the section about the word uff is not

from the Burhān.

The Itqān   Texts:

151:5

ناصبةاللضارع فالصواب اثبات هذا المعنى لها كماجنح اليه الشيخ ومن سبق النقل عنه ﴿أف﴾ كلمة

تستعمل عندالتضجير والتكبيره وقد حكى أبوالبقاء فى قوله تعالى فلاتقل لهما أف قولين أحدهما أنه

أسم لفعل الامر أى كفاوزتراكا والثانى انه اسم لفعل ماض أى كرهت وتضجرت وحكى غيره ثالثا

أنه اسم لفعل مضارع أى اتضجر منكما وأما قوله تعالى فى سورة الأنبياء أف لكم فاحاله أبوالبقاء

على ماسبق فى الاسراء ومقتضاه تساويهما فى المعنى وقال العزيزى فى غريبه هنا أى بئسا لكم وفسر

صاحب الصحاح أف بمعنى قذرا وقال فى الارتشاف أف اتضجر وفى البسيط معناه التضجر وقيل

10

الضجر وقيل تضجرت ثم حكى فيها اسما وثلاثين لغة قلت قرى ء منها فى السبع أف بالكسر بلا

تنوين واف بالكسروالتنوين واف بالفتح بلا تنوين وفى الشاذ أف بالضم منونا وغير منون واف

بالتخفيف واخرج ابن أبى حاتم عن مجاهد فى قوله تعالى فلا تقل لهما أف قال لا تقذرهما واخرج

عن أبى مالك قال هوالردى ء من الكلام ﴿أل﴾ على ثلاثة أوجه احدها ان تكون اسما موصولا بمعنى

The Burhān

248:1

أف

صوت يستعمل عند التكرّه والتضجر، واختلف فى قوله تعالى: ﴿فَلَا تَقُلْ لَهُمَا أُفٍّ﴾ [1]

قيل: اسمٌ لفعل الأمر، أى كفّا، أواتركا.

وقيل: اسم لفعل ماض، أى كرهت وتضجرت. حكاهما أبو البقاء [2].

5

وحكى غيره ثالثا؛ أنه اسم لفعل مضارع، أى أتضجّر منكما.

وأما قوله تعالى فى سورة الأنبياء: ﴿أُفٍّ لَكُمْ﴾ [3]، فأحال أبو البقاء على ماسبق فى

الإسراء، وقضيته تساوى المعنيين.

وقال العزيزى فى "غريبه" فى هذه: أى تلفًا لكم [5]، فغاير بينهما، وهوالظاهر.

وفسر صاحب "الصحاح" أف، بمعنى ﴿قذرا﴾ [7].

10. Quotations from al-Zarkashī, then al-Zamakhsharī

I, 66:7-20 (I, 265)

Notes:

7-10 (6-7). A personal comment of al-Zarkashī, expressed with qult; it
is given in the Itqān with his name for this reason.

8 (7). A synonym of identical meaning is substituted, for no apparent
reason.

9 (8). al-Zamakhsharī's quotation is introduced as a dissenting opinion;
the only possible explanation for the change is that al-Suyūṭī
is concealing its dependency on the Burhān.

12 (12). A correction by al-Suyūṭī: ākhirihi would most naturally be
understood as "at its end" instead of "another one," which is
clearly intended.

13 (13). al-Suyūṭī omits a phrase (after farsakhan), and thereby loses
the whole point of the Burhān illustration. "And comes to the
top of a hill" is compared to reading a single chapter and com-
pleting it.

15 (15). al-Suyūṭī adds a word for emphasis; the sense was clear without
it, but he may have felt the expression was not strong enough.

16 (16). The change of one word in the tradition may be al-Suyūṭī's
correction, based on his wide knowledge of traditions. See a
similar tradition, at II, 176:31, which uses the same word. al-
qurrā' is a misprint; manuscript (H) is identical to the Burhān,

and al-qirā'a makes no sense in the context.

16 (17). An additional dot makes yusabbib, probably a correction. Or, it may be that the manuscript of the Burhān used by al-Suyūṭī was more accurate at this point than that used by the modern editor of the Burhān.

18 (20). al-Suyūṭī adds intahā to signal the end of the quotation. The question then is which quotation is referred to by it? Is it the end of the Burhān material, started with the quotation? Or does it refer to the quotation from al-Zamakhsharī, which also came by way of the Burhān? The latter is what is meant, in all likelihood, since al-Suyūṭī was careful to separate the material of al-Zamakh-sharī from any connection to the Burhān.

18ff. An illustration of al-Suyūṭī's brief comments, in this case showing approval of what al-Zamakhsharī has said. Then he adds a tradition confirming the same.

The Itqān

66:10

ما فوقها تيسير آمن الله على عباده لحفظ كتابه ٭ قال الزركشي في البرهان فان قلت فهلا كانت الكتب
السالفة كذلك قلت لوجهين أحدهما أنها لم تكن معجزات من جهة النظم والترتيب والأخرى أنها لم تيسر
للحفظ لكن ذكر الزمخشري ما نجا له فقال في الكشاف الفائدة في تفصيل القرآن و تقطيعه سوراً
كثيرة وكذلك أنزل الله التوراة والانجيل والزبور وما أوحاه الى أنبيائه مسورة و بوب المصنفون
في كتبهم أبوابا موشحة الصدور بالتراجم إذا انطوت تحته أنواع وأصناف كان أحسن
وأنجم من أن يكون باباواحداً ومنها أن القارىء إذا ختم سورة أو بابا من الكتاب ثم أخذ في آخر كان أنشط
له وأبعث على التحصيل منه لو استمر على الكتاب بطوله ومثله المسافر إذا قطع ميلا أو فرسخا تقس
ذلك منه ونشط للسير ومن ثم جزىء القرآن أجزاءوأخماسا ومنها أن الحافظ إذا حذق السورة اعتقد

15

أنه أخذ من كتاب الله طائفة مستقلة بنفسها فيعظم عنده ما حفظه ومنه حديث أنس كان الرجل إذا
قرأ البقرة وآل عمران جدفينا ومن ثم كانت القراءة في الصلاة بسورة أفضل ومنها أن التفصيل بسبب
تلاحق الاشكال والنظائر وملاءمة بعضها بعض و بذلك تلاحظ المعاني والنظم إلى غير ذلك من
الفوائد انتهى ٭ وماذكره الزمخشري من تسوير سائر الكتب هو الصحيح أو الصواب وقد أخرج
ابن أبي حاتم عن قتادة قال كنا نتحدث ان الزبور مائة وخمسون سورة كلها مواعظ وثناء ليس فيه

20

حلال ولا حرام ولا فرائض ولا حدود وذكر وأن في الانجيل سورة تسمى سورة الأمثال {فصل}

The Burhān

265:6

فإن قلت : فهلا كانت الكُتُبُ السالفةُ كذلك ؟ قلت : لوجهين : أحدها أنها لم

تكن معجزاتٍ من ناحية النظم والترتيب ، والآخر أنها لم تيسَّر للحفظ .

وقال الزمخشري : الفائدة في تفصيل القرآن وتقطيعه سوراً كثيرة ــ وكذلك أنزل الله

التوراة والإنجيل والزبور ، وما أوحاه إلى أنبيائه مسوّرة ، و بوّب المصنفون في كتبهم أبواباً

10

مرشحة الصدور بالتراجم : منها أن الجنس إذا انطوت تحته أنواع وأصناف كان أحسنّ

وأنجم من أن يكون باباً واحدا . ومنها أن القارىء إذا ختم سورة أو باباً من الكتاب ثم

أخذ في آخره كان أنشط له ، وأبعثَ على التحصيل منه لو استمر على الكتاب بطوله ،

ومثله المسافر إذا قطع ميلا أو فرسخا وانتهى إلى رأس برّية نفس ذلك منه ونشطه للسير ؛

ومن ثمّة جزّىء القرآن أجزاء وأخماسا . ومنها أن الحافظ إذا حذق السورة اعتقد أنه أخذ

15

من كتاب الله طائفة مستقلةً فيعظم ما حفظه . ومنه حـديث أنس : كان الرجُل إذا قرأ

البقرة وآل عمران جلّ فينا . ومن ثمّ كانت القراءة في الصلاة بسورة أفضل . ومنها أن

التفصيلَ يُسَبِّبُ تلاحق الأشكال والنظائر وملاءمة بعضها بعض، وبذلك تلاحظ المعانى

والنظم ؛ إلى غير ذلك من الفوائد .

‹

APPENDIX V

BOOKS BY AL-SUYŪṬĪ MENTIONED IN THE ITQĀN

The books are listed by the title used in the Itqān, except as only

a brief description appears there, and reconstruction of the full title

is possible from references outside the Itqān. Numbers appearing imme-

diately after each title refer to points in the Itqān at which the book

is mentioned. Cross references are then given to the lists of al-

Suyūṭī's books, available in the following sources: .

> Brockelmann, C. Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur (abbrev-
> iation, GAL and GALS). Leiden: Brill, Vol. II (1949),
> pp. 145-159; Supplement, Vol. II (1938), pp. 178-193.

> al-Suyūṭī. Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara fī Akhbār Miṣr wa 'l-Qāhira (ḤM).
> Cairo: Idārat al-Waṭan, 1299, Vol. I, pp. 190-5. The
> same list is given in Meursinge, Albertus, ed. Sojuti
> Librum de Interpretibus Korani. Lugduni Batavorum: S.
> and J. Luchtmans, 1839, pp. 7-12.

> Fluegel, Gustavus, ed. Lexicon Bibliographicum et Encyclo-
> paedicum a Mustafa Ben Abdallah, Kātib Jelebi, Haji
> Khalfa (Fl). London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1852,
> Vol. VI, pp. 666-679.

A. Books which can be positively identified

    1. Lubāb al-Nuqūl fī Asbāb al-Nuzūl (I, 28:25, 13:6, 14:7, 14:26,

       14:34, 15:11, 15:34; II, 151:16).

       GAL II, 145, No. 3; GALS II, 179, No. 3.

       ḤM, No. 5 (tafsīr).

       Fl, No. 5.

2. Qaṭf al-Azhār fī Kashf al-Asrār (Asrār al-Tanzīl). (II, 115:1,
   I, 14:26, 14:34, 15:10, 15:33, 82:27, 192:22; II, 72:19, 93:31,
   113:19, 184:5).

   GALS II, 181, No. 21c.

   ḤM, No. 4 (tafsīr).

   FL, No. 8.

3. al-Muhadhdhab fīmā waqaʿ fī ʾl-Qurʾān min al-Muʿarrab (I, 135:29).

   GAL II, 145, No. 5, listed as al-Mudhahhab...; GALS II, 181,

       No. 21k, listed as al-Muhadhdhab fīmā dufiʿa min al-

       Qurʾān...

   ḤM, No. 7 (tafsīr).

   Fl, No. 13, listed with ʿan, instead of fī.

4. Muʿtarak al-Aqrān fī Mushtarak al-Qurʾān (I, 141:23).

   ḤM, No. 25 (tafsīr).

   Fl, No. 12.

5. Tanāsuq al-Durar fī Tanāsub al-Suwar (II, 108:6).

   GALS II, 179, No. 5.

   ḤM, No. 12 (tafsīr).

   Fl, No. 9.

6. Marāṣid al-Maṭāliʿ fī Tanāsub al-Maqāṭiʿ wa ʾl-Maṭāliʿ
   (II, 111:20).

   GALS II, 181, No. 21d, listed as Maqāṣid...; 190, No. 169[iii].

   ḤM, No. 13 (tafsīr).

   Fl, No. 15.

7. al-Iklīl fī 'Stinbāṭ al-Tanzīl (II, 130:10).

    GAL II, 146, No.21a; GALS II, 180, No. 21a.

    ḤM, No. 8 (tafsīr).

    Fl, No. 4.

8. Mufhamāt al-Aqrān fī Mubhamāt al-Qur'ān (II, 151:3, 145:8, 30).

    GAL II, 145, No. 4.

    ḤM, No. 6 (tafsīr).

    Fl, No. 7.

9. Tarjumān al-Qur'ān fī 'l-Tafsīr al-Musnad (II, 183:30).

    GAL II, 145, No. 2 (perhaps the same as al-Durr al-Manthūr

        fī 'l-Tafsīr al-Ma'thūr); GALS II, 179, No. 2.

    ḤM, No. 2 (tafsīr).

    Fl, No. 2.

B. Tentative Identification

    10. Majāz al-Fursān ilā Majāz al-Qur'ān (II, 36:8; an abbreviation

        of a book by ʿIzz al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Salām).

        GAL I, 431; GALS I, 76 ; the title is listed under the name

            of ʿIzz al-Dīn.

        Fl, No. 28.

    11. Ḥamā'il al-Zuhr fī Faḍā'il al-Suwar (II, 151:16).

        ḤM, No. 21 (tafsīr).

        Fl, No. 14, listed as Khamā'il...

    12. Majmaʿ al-Bahrayn wa Maṭlaʿ al-Badrayn (II, 190:33).

        GAL II, 145, No. 6 (listed as a gloss of al-Karkhī on

            Tafsīr al-Jalālayn; this seems unlikely).

ḤM, No. 13 (<u>tafsīr</u>).

13. <u>Sharḥ Manẓūmāt Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ fī 'l-Uṣūl</u> (II, 21:13).

    <u>GAL</u> II, 147, No. 56 (?), 155, No. 250 (?); <u>GALS</u> II, 183,

        No. 56 (?).

    ḤM, No. 14 (<u>fiqh</u>, ?); No. 9 (<u>al-ʿarabīya</u>, ?).

    Fl, No. 339, listed as <u>Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ fī 'l-Naḥw wa 'l-</u>

        <u>Taṣrīf wa 'l-Khaṭṭ</u>, and No. 340, <u>Sharḥ</u> of the same.

14. <u>Sharḥ Alfīyat al-Maʿānī</u> (II, 51:11, perhaps based on a book

    by al-Subkī).

    ḤM, No. 1 (al-ʿarabīya), listed as <u>Sharḥ Alfīyat Ibn Mālik</u> (?).

    Fl, No. 341, the same.

15. (A brief treatise on) <u>al-Fatāwī</u> (I, 191:5).

    <u>GAL</u> II, 152, No. 173 (?).

    Fl, No. 260, listed as <u>al-Fatāwī</u> (?).

16. (A brief treatise on) <u>al-Nāsikh wa 'l-Mansūkh</u> (II, 22:29).

    Fl, No. 6.

C. No Identification Possible

    17. <u>al-Radd ʿalā Masāʾil al-Ahilla</u> (I, 196:25).

    18. (A book explaining) <u>al-Adawāt</u> (I, 179:25).

    19. (A brief treatise on <u>al-Nāziʿāt</u> 79:31), <u>ya arḍ iblaʿī māʾaki</u>

        (II, 55:7).

    20. (A brief treatise on the story of) <u>Hārūt</u> and <u>Mārut</u> (II, 141:22).

    21. (A brief treatise on the beginnings of writing) (II, 166:31).

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