Critique to Early Shi'ite Views on the 'Uthmānī Muṣḥaf: al-Bāqilānī's Perspective

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Abstract
This article aims to delineate al-Bāqilānī's responses to the issues of the unauthenticity of the 'Uthmānī Muṣḥaf claimed by the early Twelver Shi'ites. As an Ash'arite, he disproved their claims on the related topics; the status of the 'Uthmānī Muṣḥaf and the Shi'ite views on the *muṣḥaf* of the Qur'ān, and the integrity of the companions of the Prophet (peace be upon him). His arguments are also relevant to adress some Orientalists' notions on the history of the Qur'ān which are in line with the Shi'ites' notion. His attempt obviously shows his capacity to maintain the mainstream of Sunnite theological framework. In this study, the approach that has been applied is textual analysis, using descriptive and analytical methods to investigate and analyze primary sources related to the issues. It also adopts the historical method to scrutinize several events on the subject.

Keywords: Shi'ite, Ash'arite, authenticity, 'Uthmānī Muṣḥaf, theology

Introduction

The discourse on the authenticity of the *muṣḥaf* of the Qur'ān is one of the pivotal principle problems in the history of Islamic theological discourse. There have long discussions amongst the Muslim and non-Muslim scholars. Historically, a number of earlier Sunnite and Twelver Shi'ite theologians were involved in this polemics. They criticized each other to prove their own stance in this matter based on their own theoretical frameworks in viewing the Qur'ān and its historical background. The discrepancy of their principles with regard to the Qur'ān, however continues to this present time which also involves a number of Orientalists.

The Background of the Issue of the Authenticity of the *Muṣḥaf* of the Qur'ān

The issue of the unauthenticity of the *muṣḥaf* of the Qur'ān could be traced back to several early Shi'ites' views. The early Twelver Shi'ites claimed that the 'Uthmāni *muṣḥaf* is not original. They based their argument on several reasons. There were some verses missing from the Qur'ān compiled by Caliph 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān. They believed that the Qur'ān is incomplete because during its compilation 'Uthmān allegedly interfered his political movement to the Muslim society. He compiled some main *ṣuḥuf* from the companions and Ḥafsah, but left many significant verses which, according to them, were burnt by his political instruction.[1] Another reason for the invalidity of the 'Uthmāni *muṣḥaf* is those missing verses are available in the *muṣḥaf* of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib.[2] They believed that 'Alī had their own *muṣḥaf*s comprising different contents from those other companions. It was claimed that the number of verses were more in compared to the 'Uthmānī Muṣḥaf." The additional verses that are not available in the 'Uthmānī Muṣḥaf" would be revealed later on after the coming of a resurrector (*al-qā'im*) before the Day of Judgment.[3] However, the contemporary twelver Shi'ites figures questioned the fact that the Qur'ān was initially compiled by Abū Bakr and continued to be rewritten by 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān. This was due to their disbelief in several hadiths informing the process of its codification. According to them, these hadiths are contradictory and inaccurate, hence this process is rejected. Instead, they asserted that the Qur'ān's compilation was completed during the period of the Prophet's life. Before his death, he had instructed

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[1] In this matter, a Shi'ite historian, al-Ya'qūbī, illustrated that Uthmān was the one who initiated the problem of the invalidity of the Uthmānī *muṣḥaf* by his instruction to burn all the *muṣḥaf*s including 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd's collection. Since he did not follow his instruction, Uthmān was described that he disputed with other companions; Ammar ibn Yāsir, Miqdād, and Abū Dhar, the ones who used to be regarded very close to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. See Aḥmad ibn Abī Ya'qūb ibn Ja'far ibn Wahb, *Tarikh* (Leiden: Brill, 1883), 1: 196-198.

[2] Muḥammad bin Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* (Beirut: Dār al-Murtaḍā, 2005), Chapter on the Book Ṣaḥīfah, Jafr, and Jami'a, no. 1, 1: 171-174.

[3] Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Nu'mān al-Ukbariyy al-Baghdādī al-Mufīd, *al-Masā'il al-Sarawiyyah*, ed. Sāḥib 'Abd al-Hamīd (N.p.: al-Mu'tamar al-A'lamī li Ālfiah al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, 1992), 81.

ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib to compile the Qurʾān. It was also employed by other companions who were scribes of the revelation like ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd and Ubay ibn Kaʿb. This codification was approved by the Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him), which was in the perfect of the *muṣḥaf*.[4] This view is the principle theological belief of contemporary twelver Shiʿites.

Regarding the ʿʿUthmānī Muṣḥaf, in Sunnite's perspective, the Qurʾān is believed to be the authentic holy book of the Muslims. It was compiled by ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān and comprised all verses revealed to Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him).[5] During the Prophet's time, ʿUthmān was not only the main companion of the Prophet, but he was also the secretary of the Prophet in writing the revelations. Furthermore, ʿUthmān was one of the *huffāẓ* (memorizers) of the Qurʾān. There were a number of companions too who memorized the Qurʾān before its compilation like Zayd ibn Thābit, Ubay ibn Kaʿab, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd and many others.[6] Those people were the scribes of the revelations who were directly under the supervision of the Prophet (peace be upon him). They had great personality and integrity in their ability of memorization and writing. Hence, in the process of the compilation of the Qurʾān, they played significant roles in collecting the verses scattered in many places and writing them in order to preserve them.

In this discussion the present reseacher aims to analyze the arguments of Al-Bāqilānī, a significant Ashʿarite theologian in rejecting some claims asserted by the early Twelver Shiʿites regarding the originality of the *muṣḥaf* of the Qurʾān. It also tries to see his response within the context in the development of

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[4] See arguments presented by contemporary Shiʿites; Muḥammad Ḥussayn al-Shīrāzī, *Matā Jumiʿa al-Qurʾān* (Beirut: Markaz al-Rasūl al-Aʿlam, 1998), 16-17; Abū al-Qāsim al-Mūsawiyy al-Khūʾī, *al-Bayān fī al-Tafsīr al-Qurʾān* (n.p.: Anwār al-Hudā, 1981), 250-251; Jaʿfar Murtaḍā al-Āmilī, *Ḥaqāʾiq Hamah Ḥawla al-Qurʾān* (n.p.: al-Markaz al-Islāmī li al-Dirāsāt, 2010), 110-112; Muḥammad Ḥusayn ʿAlī al-Saghīr, *Tārīkh al-Qurʾān* (Beirut: Dār al-Muarrikh al-Arabī, 1999), 81.

[5] Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Bakr al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmiʿ li Ahkām al-Qurʾān*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī (Beirut: Muassasah al-Risālah, 2006), 1:83; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān fī Ulūm al-Qurʾān* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.y.), 1: 59.

[6] See in Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Aʿẓamī, *Kuttāb al-Nabiy* (Damascus: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1978).

Islamic theological thought as part of his contributions to the elaboration of Ashʿarite theological principle. Here, the analysis will focus on his counter-arguments against the early Twelver Shiʿites' claim regarding the incompleteness of the Qurʾān and some additional verses of it. Furthermore, the discussion also mentions some other aspects concerning the issues related to the Qurʾān like the status of the Uthmānī Muṣḥaf and the companions' role.

ʿUthmāni *Muṣḥaf* According to Shiʿite Theologians

A number of contemporary Shiʿite scholars agreed upon the validity of the existing Qurʾān.[7] They believed that the Qurʾān was not a *muṣḥaf* which was compiled by ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān. They meant the existing *muṣḥaf* which consists perfectly revealed verses from Allah, the Almighty, is exactly similar to the Qurʾān compiled by the Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him) during his time. Therefore, it is authentic and valid.[8] However, they regard ʿUthmān's role merely unifying the readings of the Qurʾan which leaving to distortion. This was the thing which causes the unauthenticity of the Qurʾan.[9]

Moreover, in other perspectives the early Shiʿites claimed that the ʿUthmāni *muṣḥaf* is incomplete because the rest of the verses were available in the *muṣḥaf* of ʿAlī.[10] It is proven that during the process of its codification, Caliph ʿUthmān instructed all verses of the Qurʾān which belonged to everybody to be burnt, and commanded the Muslims to solely rely on his *muṣḥaf*. This allegedly hinted that ʿUthmān had hidden agenda with this order.[11] In addition, it is also reported by al-Tabarsī (599 H/ 1202-3 C.E.) in his statement that ʿAlī ibn Abī Ùālib said:

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[7] Al-Shīrāzī, *Matā Jumiʿa al-Qurʾān,* 16-17; Muḥammad al-Shirazī, *The Qurʾān Made Simple*, trans. Salman Tawhidi (Kuwait: Al-Ameen Foundation, 2004), parts 28-30, vol. 10: xxiv; Al-Khūʾī, *al-Bayān fī al-Tafsīr al-Qurʾān* (n.p.: Anwār al-Hudā, 1981), 250-251.

[8] Al-Khūʾī, *al-Bayān fī al-Tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, 251.

[9] Al-Khūʾī, *al-Bayān fī al-Tafsīr al-Qurʾān*, 258.

[10] Al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, Chapter on the Ṣaḥīfah, Jafr, and Jamiʿa, no. 6, 2: 171.

[11] Aḥmad ibn Abī Yaʿqūb, *Tārīkh*, 1: 196-198.

...and I was busy writing the book of God, until I compiled it. This is a book of God belongs to me, consisting a complete (verses) which no one was left.[12]

This information signifies that when Alī finished his business in settling the burial of the Prophet (peace be upon him), he engaged in writing the personal *muṣḥaf* of the Qur'ān. His personal collection of the *muṣḥaf* of the Qur'ān was complete and authentic from Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). Further information also stated in his report that during the process of its codification done by 'Uthmān, the verses were unfortunately lost. Some of them also, according to this report, were eaten by a cow.[13] It seems from the aforementioned fact that the only perfect *muṣḥaf* belongs to 'Alī while 'Uthmān ignoring the lost verses when they were trying to collect the *maṣāḥif* of the Qur'ān scattered around Madinah.

In addition, al-Kulaynī (d. 329 H/ 939 or 940 C.E.), one of the earliest Shi'ite figures, in his *magnum opus al-Kāfī* recorded a number of narrations that claimed that the 'Uthmānī Muṣḥaf is not authentic. The only right and true Qur'ān is the one which was narrated by the *imām*s of the Shi'ites. He also mentioned that those who claimed they have compiled the whole verses of the Qur'ān, they were liars. He stressed that no one was able to collect and memorize the Qur'ān completely except 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and the *imām*s after him as it is mentioned clearly in *al-Kāfī*:

...from Jābir who had said that he heard Abū Ja'far said: No one of people claimed to have collected the whole of the Qur'ān (in a book form) as it was revealed. If anyone would come up with such a claim, he is a liar. No one collected this Holy Book and memorized as Allāh, the Most Holy, the Most High revealed it except 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and the *Imām*s after him.[14]

From these aforesaid report, we can infer that they maintained that the companions could not memorize all the verses

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[12] Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad ibn 'Alī bin Abi Ṭālib al-Ṭabarsī, *Kitāb al-Iḥtijāj* (n.p.: Manshūrāt al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, 1960), 1:203.

[13] Al-Tabarsī, *Kitāb al-Iḥtijāj,* 1: 203.

[14] Al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, Chapter on the Collection of the Qur'ān, no. 1, 1:165; Al-Kulayni, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, trans. Muhammad Sarwar (Islamic Seminary INCH NY), e-book 1-8 volumes, chapter 35, no. 607, 336.

of the Qur'ān revealed to the Prophet (peace be upon him) and compile them. Therefore, 'Uthmān could not have completely collected and compiled the *muṣḥaf* of the Qur'ān. Only those several people were able do to that collection like 'Alī and the *imām*s after him.

Another important early figure of the Shi'ite, al-Ṣadūq (d. 381 H/ 991-992 C.E.) also asserted in his *al-I'tiqād al-Imāmiyyah* that many revelations have descended which number could reach about 17.000 verses, revealed by the Angel Jibril to the Prophet (peace be upon him). However, he claimed that the number of verses were excluded from it. By virtue of this fact, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib had attempted to compile a complete version of his *muṣḥaf,* as stated below:

> the Prince of Believers ('Alī), when he collected the Qur'ān and brought it, said to them: this is the book of Allāh, your Lord, as it was revealed to your Prophet; not a single word has been added to it or omitted from it. They said: we have no need of it; we have with us what you possess. So he ('Alī) return saying: "But they flung it behind their backs bought therewith a little gain…[15]

Regarding this matter, obviously al-Kulainī has declared it before in his *al-Kāfī*.[16] It obviously seems that al-Ṣadūq merely elaborated this topic to cement this argument in the Shi'ites' theological framework against opposite groups. This also illustrates that the number of verses of the Qur'ān in the 'Uthmānī Muṣḥaf were also invalid. Many verses left out from his version were available in the *muṣḥaf* of 'Alī.

The principle of the unathenticity of the 'Uthmānī Muṣḥaf is also believed by a contemporary Shi'ite scholar Muḥammad Ḥussein al-Shirāzī (d. 1422 H/2001 C.E.). According to him, all the personal collections of the *muṣḥaf* in the hands of the companions were defective. They were scattered to many people. Parts of those *muṣḥaf* were damage and the others were

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[15] Al-Shaiykh al-Ṣadūq, *A Shiite Creed*, trans. Asaf. A. A. Fyzee (Tehran: World Organization For Islamic Services, 1982), 79.

[16] 'Alī ibn al-Ḥakam narrated from Hishām ibn Sālim from Abū 'Abd Allāh said: "Indeed, the Qur'ān which was brought down by Jibrīl to Muḥammad (peace be upon him) was seventeen thousand verses." See al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, chapter on the Book of Nawādir, no. 29, 2: 350.

incomplete. It is argued through the example that many students who tried to collect the sayings of the teacher would dispute each other for some of them are absent from their attendance to the teacher. Some are able to collect his sayings completely while the others could not. The same thing with the Qur'ān. Several companions had their own personal collection which they got from Prophet MuĤammad (peace be upon him).[17] These *muṣḥaf*s were different in terms of their contents because they were not directly guided by the Prophet (peace be upon him). It was a different case for 'Alī the son of Abū Ṭālib as his collection of the Qur'ān was under the Prophet's supervision, guidance and *waṣiyyah*,[18] therefore, it was complete and authentic even though was lost.

In another aspect, number of Orientalists also studied the history of the collection of the Qur'ān. Richard Bell, Montgomery Watt,[19] Thomas Patrick Hughes,[20] Michael Cook,[21] and Wansbrough[22] attempted to examine the authenticity of the 'Uthmānī Muṣḥaf. Their works aimed to criticise the history of the Qur'ān, notably its collection method employed by the companions of the Prophet (peace be upon him). Having studied on the Qur'ān, some of them like Bell, Watt and Hughes, concluded that the 'Uthmānī Muṣḥaf is reliable and authentic.[23] Conversely, some other Orientalists asserted that the *muṣḥaf* collected by 'Uthmān was incomplete, hence, invalid. All the narrations related to the history of the collection of the 'Uthmānī codex were merely fabricated by a number of people during the second century of Islam. One of those who seriously supported

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[17] Al-Shīrāzī, *Matā Jumi'a al-Qur'ān*, 31-32.

[18] Al-Ṭabarsī, *Kitāb al-Ihtijāj*, 1: 205-208.

[19] Montgomery Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Quran* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970), 56.

[20] Thomas Patrick Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam: New Edition* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publication, 2004), 2: 502.

[21] Michael Cook, *The Koran: a Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 125.

[22] John Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies: Sources and Method of Scriptural Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).

[23] Thomas Patrick Hughes, Dictionary of Islam: New Edition (New Delhi: Cosmo Publication, 2004), 2: 502; Montgomery Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Quran*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970), 56.

this view is John Wansbrough.[24] In attempting to study the history of the Qur'ān, he applied the method of biblical studies used to approach the Christian and Hebrew scriptures. In this position, he placed the Qur'ān as a literary work. By applying biblical criticism, he presupposed to the theory of 'salvation history'. Based on this theory, he analyzed the Islamic history and reconstructed Islamic origins. According to him, we do not know what really happened in history during one particular event. Hence, it is impossible for us to excerpt the Islamic history and their sources, due to their principle of belief.[25] Through such an attempt, his main purpose is not to know when the Qur'ān was compiled by those companions, but he aimed to determine when and how the Qur'ān came to be accepted and regarded as a scripture. His framework of the study was very much influential to a number of Orientalists such as Michael Cook,[26] Patricia Crone, and Andrew Rippin.[27]

Shi'ites' Views on the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him)

The preceding discussion dealt with the invalidity of the 'Uthmānī Muṣḥaf according to the Shi'ites. This matter is strongly related to the problem of the integrity of the companions of the Prophet (peace be upon him) especially those involved in the collection and compilation of the Qur'ān scattered amongst them. However, these people have been viewed differently by the Shi'ites, as they merely regarded very few of them and disrespected the others for several reasons.

Based on the early Twelver Shi'ite's doctrines concerning the companions of the Prophet (peace be upon him) they solely regarded some companions who were loyal and close to 'Alī ibn

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[24] Mohammad Nasrin Mohammad Nasir, "A Critique of John Wansbrough's Methodology and Conclusions," *al-Shajarah*, 13 (2008), 96.

[25] Mohammad Nasrin, "A Critique of John Wansbrough's Methodology and Conclusions," 96.

[26] Michael Cook, a British Orientalist, concluded that the single *muṣḥaf* exists in the history of Islam indicating that it was due to the authority of the state. See in Michael Cook, *The Koran: a Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 125.

[27] Mohammad Nasrin, "A Critique of John Wansbrough's Methology and Conclusions," 87.

Abī Ṭālib. Those people are the ones who initially acknowledged him being a caliph right after the death of the Prophet (peace be upon him). During their lives, they did not even dispute with him, yet they respected 'Alī ibn Abī Ùālib. Those companions were Abū Dhar al-Ghiffārī, Salman al-Fārisī, Miqdād ibn Amr, and Ammār ibn Yāsir.[28] In addition, the Shi'ites also maintained those companions were the ones who could defend their religion after the death of Prophet Muĺammad (peace be upon him) while the rest of them turned into apostasy (*irtidād*), as narrated by al-Tūsī:

> from Abū Ja'far (peace on him) said that all those men (companions) became the apostasy from Islam except three of them. I asked: 'who are these three?. He replied: 'Miqdād Ibn al-Aswad, Abū Dhar al-Ghifārī, and Salman al-Fārisī…[29]

Those three people together with 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib would go to paradise while the rest of the companions had no guarantee to go into it, notably those three caliphs Abū Bakr, 'Umar ibn Khattāb and 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān.[30] In another place, it was narrated too that every one of them had their own merits. Abū Dhar had chatted together with the Prophet and the Angel Jibril[31] while Miqdād had a special position in the Muslim community. His status was like the word *alif* in comparison to the whole letters of the Qur'ān,[32] which is placed at a very crucial position. Salman, in terms of his merit had distinctive knowledge which could cover the first and the last as if he was a sea full with water that could not dry forever.[33] In short, those three significant companions were

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[28] Al-Tūsī, *Tafsīr al-Ayyāshī*, 223; al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2: 196-201.

[29] Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Ikhtiyār Ma'rifah al-Rijāl al-Ma'rūf bi Rijāl al-Kāshī*, ed. Jawwād al Qayyumī al-Isfahānī (Qum: Mu'assasah al-Nashr al-Islāmī, n. y.), Chapter on Salmān al-Fārisī, no. 12, 18; Muḥāmmad bin Muḥammad Nu'mān al-'Ukbariyy al-Baghdādī, ed. 'Alī Akbār Ghifārī, *al-Ikhtiṣāṣ* (Beirut: Mawsū'ah al-A'lamī li al-Maṭbū'at, 2009) 10.

[30] Al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl al-Kāshī*, Chapter on 'Ammār, no. 58, 38.

[31] Al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl al-Kāshī*, Chapter on 'Ammār, no. 58, 34.

[32] Narrated by Hisham ibn Salim who said: 'the son of 'Abd Allāh, peace be upon him, said: Indeed, Miqdād ibn al-Aswad's position amongts this people is like *alif* letter in the Qur'ān , no one can ommit it'. See in *Rijāl al-Kāshī*, 10.

[33] It is reported that Zarāra said: I heard the father of 'Abd Allāh said: 'Salmān has reached the first and the last knowledge. He was a sea which cannot dry (from its water). He was from us, the people of the house...' See in *Rijāl al-Kāshī*, 23.

the ones whom the Shi'ites claimed supported 'Alī. Their principle is preceding 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib as the main caliph right after the Prophet's death rather than those three caliphs Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān.[34]

Based on information in early Shi'ite sources, the three caliphs before 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān, did not have the right to become caliphs. Abū Bakr with the support of 'Umar ibn Khaṭṭāb usurped the position of caliphate.[35] As a matter of fact, they were not the best people among the companions of the Prophet (peace be upon him). These three people had to be evaluated before being a caliphs. According to al-Mufīd (d. 412 H/ 1022 C.E.), when Abū Bakr was chosen as the caliph, this was not because of the agreement of the Muslim society. Many companions did not know about the process of succession from the Prophet (peace be upon him) to Abū Bakr. Moreover, many *Anṣār* companions disagreed upon with his leadership as he was from the *Muhājirīn*. This disagreement was also mantained by the Hashimites who did not want Abū Bakr to be the caliph,[36] including 'Alī himself.[37] By virtue of the conflict amongst the Muslim community regarding this matter, it indicated their disagreement to those three persons; Abū Bakr, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, and 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān.[38] Furthermore, the Shi'ites held that those three people did not have personal integrity, which could make them eligible to be caliphs. Abū Bakr, as reported by al-Ayyāshī (d. 320 H/932 C.E.) and al-Āmilī,[39] was involved in poisoning Prophet Muĥammad (peace be upon him) before his death. This fact was regarded a very serious problem for his loyalty was questioned. The same thing for 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, who disrespected the Prophet (peace be upon him) when death

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[34] Al-Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Kāshī*, Chapter on Salmān al-Fārisī, no. 13-14, 18.

[35] Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, 1: 136-141.

[36] Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Nu'mān al-Ukbariyy al-Baghdādī al-Mufīd, *al-Ifṣāh fī al-Imāmah*, ed. Qism al-Dirāsāt al-Islamiyyah Mu'assasah al-Ba'thah (Qum: al-Mu'tamar al-Ā'lam li alfiya al-Shaykh Al-Baghdādī, 1992), 47.

[37] Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Nu'mān al-Ukbariyy al-Baghdādī al-Mufīd, *Al-Irshād fī Ma'rifah Ḥujjaj Allāh 'alā al-'Ibād* (Beirut: Muassasah 'Āli al-Bayt 'Alayhim al-Salām li Iḥya' al-Turath, 1995), 244-245.

[38] Al-Mufīd, *Ifṣāh fī al-Imāmah*, 48.

[39] Al-Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr al-Ayyāshī*, 1: 224; Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Āmilī, *Tafsīr al-Burhān* (Beirut: Muassasa al-Ālamī li al-Matbū'āt, 2006), 2: 117.

approached to him. He instructed 'Umar to do something, yet he did not respond to the Prophet's instruction to come up with a pen and paper to write certain messages, because in that situation 'Umar realized the Prophet (peace be upon him) unconsciously said something on that matter. Therefore, he did not carry out the instruction.[40] In the case of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān he was regarded the one who responsible for instructing to burn all *muṣḥaf*s which were not the same standard to his compilation. In this respect, he was also blamed by the Shi'ites, that since his time the Qur'ān has been corrupted from its completion due to his attempt to standardize it. They firmly believed that the complete one was the personal collection of the Qur'ān in the hands of 'Alī.[41] With these evidence, it is summarized that 'Alī was the best person amongst the companions and the only one who was appropriate to replace the Prophet (peace be upon him) after his death. This was also shown by the Prophet's designation.[42]

Thus, the early Twelver Shi'ites and Orientalists' views on the compilation of the Qur'ān. The Shi'ites, in their discussion on the companions of the Prophet (peace be upon him), indeed respected those who were known to be loyal and acknowledged 'Alī's leadership especially after the death of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). They refused to acknowledge Abū Bakr and the other two Caliphs. Instead, they showed their honour to 'Alī.[43] They also rejected the 'Uthmānī Muṣḥaf the same position as asserted by Orientalists. However, their views are far different from the Sunnite's perspectives which will be further delineated below.

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[40] Al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād fī Ma'rifah Ḥujjaj Allāh 'alā al-'Ibād*, 184.

[41] Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, 1: 166-168.

[42] Based on the Shi'ites' principle, Al-Baghdādī stressed that 'Alī was much better than the other three caliphs. He was even the best person in this world after Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him). In comparison to the five Prophets of *ulūl al-'Azm:* Nūh, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, Isā, and Muḥammad, those people are still better than 'Alī, yet, he himself was a better person than the Prophet Yūsuf. See in Al-Mufīd, *Tafḍīl Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, ed. 'Alī Mūsā al-Ka'bī (Qum: al-Mu'tamar al-Ālam li alfiah al-Shaikh Al-Baghdādī, 1992), 19, and 32-33.

[43] Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, 1: 141.

Al-Bāqilānī's Response to the early Twelver Shi'ites' Views
The problem of unauthenticity of the ''Uthmānī Muṣḥaf promoted by the early Twelver Shi'ites has become a serious problem in the theological discourse. Since it is one of the main principles of Islam, many scholars are involved to defend its position. One of the significant Ash'arite figures, Abū Bakr ibn Ùayyib Al-Bāqilānī (d. 403 H/1013 C.E.), was also engaged in the polemics of the authenticity of the codex compiled by 'Uthmān and its related topics. Through his works, [44] he tried to counter some invalid claims of the early twelver Shi'ites as mentioned above. In addition, his arguments are also relevant to address the Orientalists' claim concerning the validity of the ''Uthmānī Muṣḥaf. In this matter, he clarified the position and status of that codex as well as elaborated his ideas in defending the qualification of the companions of the Prophet (peace be upon him). By highlighting their roles in transmitting and spreading the Qur'ān, this could justify them properly. To know further his counter arguments, we will deal with them in the following discussion.

The Qur'ān and its Compilation
The Qur'ān is the primary source of the religion of Islam. Based on the Sunnites sources, it was revealed in *mutawatir* [45] transmission through various paths. [46] As stated in a number of relialable (*mutawātir*) *hadīth*s, the process of compilation and standarization of the Qur'ān had started since the Prophet's period until the third caliph, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān. The Prophet (peace be upon him) instructed several scribes of the revelation to write all the verses of the Qur'ān revealed to him, which was followed too by other companions. They wrote the verses on different materials;

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[44] Abū Bakr Ibn Ṭayyib al-Bāqilānī, *Tamhīd al-Awāil wa Talkhīs al-Dalā'il,* ed. 'Imad al-Dīn Aḥmad Ḥaedar (Beirut: Muassasah al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiya, 1987); Abū Bakr Ibn Ṭayyib Al-Bāqilānī, *Al-Instiṣar lil Qur'ān,* ed. Muhammad Isam al-Qudat (Beirut: Dār Ibn Hazm, 2001), vol. 1 and 2; Abū Bakr Ibn Ṭayyib Al-Bāqilānī, *Manāqib al-A'immah*, ed. Samīra Farhat (Beirūt: Dār al-Muntakhab al-Arabī, 2002).

[45] *Mutawātir* means report of many narrators whose concensus upon a lie is impossible. See M. Mustafa Azami, *Studies in Hadith Methodology and Literature* (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2002), 57.

[46] Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Bāqī (Egypt: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2010), Chapter. The Book of Revelation, no. 1, 8-10.

leaves, pieces of cloth, leather, paper and the bone of donkey and sheep.[47] Until the Prophet (peace be upon him) passed away these writings scattered amid the companions in Madina. When Abū Bakr became the first caliph, he instructed Zayd ibn Thābit to compile the verses of the Qur'ān from those scattered versions. One of the procedures in delivering information about the verses was that he should come with two witnesses. Having finished this codification, the *muṣḥaf* was preserved in Abū Bakr's house. After he passed away, the *muṣḥaf* was passed to 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, his successor in the caliphate. Finally, the *muṣḥaf* was kept by Hafṣah, 'Umar's daughter. The process of standardization of reading of the Qur'ān was employed by the third Caliph 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān. In this attempt, he instructed a number of *muṣḥaf* to be written which would be sent to several places; Shām, Kūfa, BaÎra, Makka, and Madina together with their readers (*qurrā*).[48] It was aimed to standardize the accurate readings of the Qur'ān and avoid errors. All these readings were already approved by the Prophet (peace be upon him) himself during his life.[49] Thus, the mainstream of Sunni Muslims regarding the Qur'ān and its process of compilation and standarization.

Al-Bāqilānī placed the process of compilation of the 'Uthmānī Muṣḥaf in the *mutawātir* category since it was reported by a number of narrators in different periods. The *mutawātir* account is narrated by so many people which makes it is impossible for them to lie. This fact conducted by a number of narrators in different periods who memorized this narration. According to Al-Bāqilānī, some people might scrutinize the validity of those *hadiths* whether they are *mutawātir* or not. Having examined both sides, he affirmed these narrations are believed to be accurate and valid. Therefore, the 'Uthmāni *mushaf* was authentic.[50] However, the above facts seemed to be doubted by the Shi'ites. Based on al-Kulainī's report, there was no single account stating such chronological process in his collection of

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[47] Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.y.), 1:60; Thamem Ushama, *Issues in the Study of the Qur'an* (Kuala Lumpur: Ilmiah Publisher, 2002), 163.

[48] Muhammad Mustafa Azami, *The History of the Quranic Text: From Revelation to Compilation* (Leicester: UK Islamic Academy, 2003), 94.

[49] Azami, *The History of the Quranic Text,* 95.

[50] Abū Bakr Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Bāqilānī, *al-Intiṣār li al-Qur'ān*, 1: 101.

hadīth *al-Kāfī*. Instead, he gave different evidence with regard to the *muṣḥaf* of 'Alī. Those books appeared in different forms like *Jafra* and *Jamia*.[51]

In response to *muṣḥaf* of 'Alī, Al-Bāqilānī maintained that his *muṣḥaf* was not different from the *muṣḥafs* collected by some companions. The *muṣḥaf* of 'Alī also comprising the same verses as others. This was evidenced by the report of Ibn Shihab which was mentioned by Al-Bāqilānī in *Manāqib al-A'imma*:

Ibn Shihāb said:"I witnessed 'Alī, said on the pulpit: By the name of Allah, I have no book which I read to you only the book of God, the Almighty, and this *ṣaḥīfa*, which hung on his sword. I took it from the Prophet (peace be upon him) in which explaining the *farā'iḍ al-ṣadaqah,* I put it on my sword.[52]

As stated in some sources 'Alī has his own *muṣḥaf*. This was his personal collection which he had compiled right after the death of the Prophet (peace be upon him).[53] His *muṣḥaf* was arranged based on the reason of revelation (*asbāb al-nuzūl*) which had not been verified and agreed upon by a number of companions.[54] This *muṣḥaf* was totally different from the Shi'ites claim that the *mushaf* of 'Alī comprises some missing verses left out by 'Uthmān in his compilation[55] as well as from the Shi'ite historian.[56]

Furthermore, Al-Bāqilānī defended the perfect compilation of the *muṣḥaf* employed by 'Uthmān. He criticized the Shi'ites' view on principle that only their *Imām*s possessed the complete verses of the Qur'ān. They believed that the companions intentionally hid some verses revealed to the Prophet (peace be upon him) and lied

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[51] Al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, Chapter on Ṣaḥīfah, Jafr, and Jami'a, no. 1, 1: 173-174.

[52] Al-Bāqilānī, *Manāqib al-A'immah al-Arba'ah*, 645.

[53] Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh Sulaymān ibn al-Ash'ath al-Sijistānī, *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif,* ed. Muḥib al-Dīn 'Abd al-Subḥān Wa'iḍ (Beirut: Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyya, 2002), 290; Mannā' al-Qaṭṭān, *Mabāḥith fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān* (Egypt: Maktabah Wahbah, 2007), 123.

[54] Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūti, *al-Itqān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 1: 63-64.

[55] Al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, Chapter. 97, no. 6, 2: 825; Al-Mufīḍ, *al-Masā'il al-Sarawiyyah*, 81.

[56] Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, 1: 152-154.

about their account.[57] It is proven by the fact of the report by al-Kulainī[58] as stated below:

> ...from Jābir who had said that he heard Abū Ja'far said: No one of people claimed to have collected the whole of the Qur'ān (in a book form) as it was revealed. If anyone would come up with such a claim, he is liar. No one collected this Holy Book and memorized as Allah, the Most Holy, the Most High revealed it except 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and the Imams after him.

The aforementioned report, according to al-Bāqilānī's point of view was exaggerated, because the authenticity of the above narrative is essentially untrue. This information was only produced by the Shi'ites to claim that 'Uthmānī Muṣḥaf which belonged to their opponent was not authentic. This is absolutely invalid belief of this group.[59] Furthermore, the early Shi'ites used to refer their doctrines to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, one of the twelve *Imam*s. Many reports transmitted by a number of narrators referred to him. For instance, issues of the Qur'ān, including the *muṣḥaf* of 'Alī as well as the other eleven *Imam*s.[60] In this matter, however, al-Ṣādiq himself believed that the Qur'ān is complete and authentic the same belief as sunnites' mainstream. But, some prominent Shi'ite figures relied their reports on his statement, saying that he maintained different thing from what he said. This was forgery to him that they continuously transmitted from one generation to the next generation.[61] Al-Ṣādiq himself had different principle from the Shi'ites with regard to the companions of the Prophet (peace upon him). He was much influenced by his father, al-Bāqir, who highly respected Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān. According to him, those who slandered upon them have violated the traditions of the Prophet (peace be upon him).[62] We can analyze from the aforementioned evidence that the Shi'ites attempted to invalidate

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[57] Al-Bāqilānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, 1: 112.

[58] Al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, Chapter. 92, no. 1, 1: 165.

[59] Al-Bāqilānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, 1: 112.

[60] Muḥammad Abū Zahrah, *Al-Imām al-Ṣadiq: Ḥayatuh wa 'Aṣruhu wa Arā'uhu wa Fiqhuhu* (n.p.: Dār al-Fikr al-Arabī, n. y.), 323-324.

[61] Abū Zahrah, *Al-Imām al-Ṣadiq: Ḥayatuh wa 'Aṣruhu wa Arā'uhu wa Fiqhuhu*, 331.

[62] Abū Zahrah, *Al-Imām al-Ṣadiq: Ḥayatuh wa 'Aṣruhu wa Arā'uhu wa Fiqhuhu*, 207.

the ʻUthmāni *muṣḥaf* which was believed by the Sunnite. Their attempt was supported by false and baseless arguments. As a result, it was no wonder that Al-Bāqilānī strongly criticized the validity of their sources.

In another place, Al-Bāqilānī further rejected the Shiʻite's claim that the *''Uthmānī Muṣḥaf* is incomplete due to the additional verses available in the *Muṣḥaf* of ʻAlī.[63] It is proven by the fact that during the process of its compilation, ʻUthmān instructed to burn all personal collection of the *masahif* of the Qur'ān, and commanded the Muslims to solely rely on his *muṣḥaf*. By such endeavour, as allegedly told by a Shiʻite historian, al-Yaʻqūbī, ʻUthmān had hidden agenda with such order.[64] Al-Bāqilānī viewed this notion as false. He strongly believed ʻUthmān's instruction was aimed to preserve the Qur'ān and its standard of readings. He further argued that the claim of the missing verses of the Qur'ān, as believed by the Shiʻites, was also the consequence of the imperfectness of the teachings of Islam.[65] This is, however, in contradictory to the verse of the Qur'ān regarding the completeness of the *Sharīa*.[66] Al-Bāqilānī stated:

> ...perhaps, if the Qur'ān has extra verses from what has been revealed (to the Prophet), there will be more duties, which are not only fasting, prayer, and *hajj*...[67]

Through this obvious argument, we can analyse that if we follow the Shiʻites' argument, then it could be possible that the teachings of Islam are more than what we have now. The lost verses might also be sources of Islamic jurisprudence which are not solely limited to these obligatory acts; prayer (*ṣalāh*), fasting (*ṣawm*), and giving alms (*zakāh*). This, nevertheless denies the verse in *al-Māidah* regarding the perfection of Islamic laws.[68]

In addition, Al-Bāqilānī also supported the authenticity of the ʻUthmāni *Muṣḥaf* from the claim of missing verses dealing with the merit of the twelve *imām*s.[69] According to the Shiʻites belief,

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[63] Al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, Chapter on Ṣaḥīfah, Jafr, and Jamiʻa, no. 6, 1: 171.

[64] Al-Yaʻqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 1: 196-198.

[65] Al-Bāqilānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, 1: 106.

[66] Al-Māʼidah: 3: This day I have perfected your religion for you and completed my favour to you, and I have chosen Islam to be your faith.

[67] Al-Bāqilānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, 1: 106.

[68] Al-Māʼidah: 3.

[69] Ibid., 1:110-112.

those twelve infallible *imam*s reside in the very central position.[70] The people have no right to invalidate any information except by involving the infallible *imām* (*al-imām al-ma'ṣūm*). The *imām* are required to decide on everything including claiming the authencity of the Qur'ān[71] even if their personalities are weak. In responding to such claim, Al-Bāqilānī asserted that the infallible *Imām*s are common people who possibly make mistakes. They have not been guarranteed that their intellects is always right rather than erroneous. They are not infallible persons who might lie and forget. Moreover, their existence being the *imām* (*leader*) is also not because of appointment. The category of the *imām* is the one who is knowledgeable, having the ability to lead, and those who have good personal integrity. The *imam* was chosen as *imām* because he is reliable to perform justice and truth in the community. If the *imām* is selected from among the ignorant people, he would not be able to employ his leadership properly.[72] On the contrary, he would tend to suppress his people. Another argument to reject the Shi'ites' claim of the extra verses of the Qur'ān is that it was intentionally done by the Shi'ites. A contemporary scholar, Ibrāhīm 'Iwaḍ, has meticulously investigated this fact. According to his analysis, he argued the extra verses comprising both chapters, *al-Nūrain* and *al-Wilāyah*, are impossible to be part of the Qur'ān. Linguistically speaking, the structure of those chapters is far different from the structure of the Qur'ān. The deviated style of those chapters appears within their structures while the chapters of the Qur'ān have different organization. In addition, 'Iwaḍ also deeply analyzed the chain of transmission and the source of those chapters. With this sort of investigation, he finally concluded that those chapters should be excluded from the Qur'ān.[73] Therefore, from the aforesaid

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[70] Ibrāhīm 'Iwaḍ, *Ṣūrah al-Nūrayn allatī Yuz'amu Farīq min al-Shī'a Annahā min al-Qur'ān al-Karīm* (Egypt: Dār al-Zahra al-Sharq, n. y.); W. St. Clair Tisdall, *Muslim World*, "Shi'ah Additions to the Qur'ān," vol. 3 (1913), 227-241.

[71] Al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, Chapter on the Collection of the Qur'ān, no. 1, 1: 165.

[72] Al-Bāqilānī, *Manāqib al-A'immah al-Arba'ah*, 283-284; Al-Bāqilānī, *al-Intiṣār*, 1: 106.

[73] Ibrāhim 'Iwaḍ, *Ṣurah al-Nūrayn allatī Yuz'amu Farīq min al-Shī'a Annahā min al-Qur'ān al-Karīm*, 50.

argument we can conclude that the Shi'ites' stance regarding the inauthenticity of the Qur'ān related to the lost verses regarding the twelve infallible *imāms* and two additional chapters were untrue and ahistoric.

Al-Bāqilānī's Defense of the Companions of the Prophet (peace be upon him)

Having discussed Al-Bāqilānī's rejection against the claim of the Shi'ite on the authenticity of the Qur'ān, we turn our focus on his elaboration of his arguments against the early twelver Shi'ites on the issue of the companions of the Prophet (peace be upon him). He clarified some personalities and roles of several significant figures like Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, and 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and many more. Those four people were the ones who led the Muslim community after the Prophet (peace be upon him) and played significant roles in preserving the Qur'ān which is still available to the present time.

The first companion, Abū Bakr al-Siddīq, was the first caliph who was legitimately elected by the Muslim community. After the death of the Prophet (peace be upon him) the people of Madīna or *Anṣār* (helpers) and *Muhājirīn* (immigrants) gathered in a special place called Saqīfah Banī Sa'īdah. In this place they agreed with the appointment of Abū Bakr as the Caliph. With such agreement, he was validly given the pledge of loyalty (*baiat*) to be the chaliph after the Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him). However, the Shi'ites accused Abū Bakr of usurping 'Alī's right. It was argued that the Prophet (peace be upon him) after the last pilgrimage (*al-hajj al-wadā'*) appointed 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib as his successor. This event was called by the Ghadīr Khum.[74] Furthermore, as al-Ya'qūbī stated, the Shi'ites argued that Ali did not take the pledge of loyalty (*bai'at*) to Abū Bakr until six months after his leadership. This shows that 'Alī disagreed with Abū Bakr's position. In response to this claim, Al-Bāqilānī argued that a number of people from prominent *Muhājirīn* as well as *Anṣār* companions attended Saqīfah banī Sa'īdah. Much discussion went on in this forum, and finally they agreed appointing Abū Bakr as the Caliph. This was due to several reasons. He was well-known amongst them; he excelled in many things during the life of the

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[74] Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, 1: 136-141.

Prophet (peace be upon him) [75] For instance, his role in accompanying the Prophet (peace be upon him) during their emigration to Madina. This event was interestingly mentioned in the Qur'ān.[76] Furthermore, regarding Abū Bakar's personality, it is evidenced by the fact that he was the one who initially embraced Islam as an adult, and a senior companion who was the most beloved by the Prophet (peace be upon him).[77] In another aspect, he was the one given the title al-Siddīq by the Prophet (peace be upon him) due to his belief in the Prophet (peace be upon him) after performing spritual journey *Isrā' Mi'rāj*. Therefore, the Prophet (peace be upon him) had also married his daughter, Aisha. In terms of his religious devotion, Abu Bakr was the one who devoted himself entirely to the religion of Islām. He gave the whole of his life for God's sake. During the revelation period, he industriously memorized the whole Qur'ān. It was proven by the fact that when he led the *fajr* prayer, he used to recite long chapters of the Qur'ān, which caused 'Umar to remind him that the sun was about to rise at that time. Sometimes he also whimpered during his recitation of the Qur'ān, for he deeply contemplated its meanings.[78] Al-Bāqilānī also illustrated Abū Bakr as the one who used to be asked about religious matters during the absence of the Prophet (peace be upon him), as stated in the hadith below:

> It is narrated from MuÍammad ibn Jubair ibn Mut'im from his father, said: a woman came to the Prophet (peace be upon him), and he instructed her to come again to him. She said: How do you see if I come and I do not find you? As if she

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[75] Al-Bāqilānī, *al-Intiṣār*, 1: 480-482.

[76] Al-Tawba: 40: …when they two were (sheltering) in the cave, he said to his companion: "grieve not. Truly Allah is with us...

[77] It is narrated in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*: …who is the most beloved people to you? He said: Aisha, I asked: amongst the men?. He said: her father. I asked: and who else?. He said: 'Umar ibn al-Khattab. Narrated by al-Bukhārī in the chapter on the Merit of the companion. See Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ismāīl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Egypt: Dar Ibn Hazm, 2010), no. 4354, 442.

[78] Al-Bāqilānī, *al-Intiṣār*, 1: 182-184.

said (his) death. The Prophet said: If you do not find me, you can see Abu Bakr.[79]

From the foregoing evidence, in general, we can analyze that Abū Bakr was the most eligible conmpanion to replace the Prophet (peace be upon him). His loyalty as well as his knowledge about the teachings of Islām have been proven along with his closeness with the Prophet (peace be upon him).

In another place, Al-Bāqilānī also clarified the meaning of the hadīth of the Prophet (peace be upon him) stated Ghadīr Khum. In this event he said that "When I am patron of anyone, 'Alī is also his patron."[80]

According to Al-Bāqilānī, the word '*mawlā*' has many different meanings; helper (*nāṣir*), cousin (*ibn al-'am*), followers (*al-mawālī*), place (*al-makān wa al-qarār*), freer (*al-mu'tiq*), neighbor (*al-jār*), relationship by marriage (*al-siḥr*), and alliance (*al-ḥilf*). None of these meanings show 'leader' (*imām*) who should be respected. All these meanings have been used in several literature to describe any relevant topics. The same thing to the Prophet's statement is mentioned above. That hadīth has two possible meanings; the first meaning is 'helper'. It means that 'Alī sincerely helped either the religion of Islam or the Muslims. He also sacrificed for the Prophet (peace be upon him) in slepping on his bed when the Prophet (peace be upon him) emigrated to Madina. Such endeavour shows his totality in helping the religion of Islam. Another meaning of the term '*mawlā*' is 'the one who is loved' (*al-maḥbūb*). This meant that 'Alī was the one whom the Prophet (peace be upon him) loved. So, it means that everyone should respect and love (*yuwallī*) internally and externally.[81] By analyzing the term *al-mawlā,* we conclude that the relevant meaning is 'a helper'. It is evidenced by the stated *hadīth* which has appropriately given this meaning.

Furthermore, Al-Bāqilānī clarified 'Alī's position during Abū Bakr's appointment as the caliph. When all people gathered at

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[79] Narrated by al-Bukhārī in the chapter on the Merit of the companion. See Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Egypt: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2010), no. 3659, 441.

[80] Narrated by Ibn Mājah, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Qazwīnī, *Sunan Ibn Majah*, ed. Muĺammad Fuād 'Abd al-Bāqī (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.y.), Chapter on the Merit of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, no. 121, 2: 45.

[81] Al-Bāqilānī, *Al-Tamhīd*, 486.

Saqīfah Banī Saʿīdah to discuss who would be the leader in the Muslim community after the Prophet's death, ʿAlī was busy settling the Prophet's burial. After a few days later, he was collecting various parts of the Qurʾān. Unfortunetely, at the same time, Fātimah was severely sick he had to take care of his wife. She passed away three months after the death of the Prophet (peace be upon him). Six months after Abū Bakr's leadership ʿAlī came to him to take pledge of loyalty (*bai'at*).[82] This indicated that he agreed with Abū Bakr's appointment. He also commented on Abu Bakr's appointment that he will not ask him to stop as well as to resign, "you have been preceded by the Prophet (in prayer), and who can postpone you…"[83] By virtue of these facts, we could claim that ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib personally acknowledged his agreement of Abū Bakr's caliphate even though this was delayed due to several events that forced him to settle.

Through all these aforesaid facts, we can infer that Abū Bakr was a senior companion, who played an important role in early period of Islam. His seriousness in supporting the Prophet (peace be upon him) in spreading the religion of Islam, made him one of the best companions among the Muslim community. Moreover, his instruction to compile the Qurʾān was one of his greatest constristions in Islamic civilization which continues until the present time. It is, however, contradictory to the Shiʿites' accusation against him regarding his leadership of the Muslim community. This sort of claim was also addressed to Caliph ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.

In another place, Al-Bāqilānī also clarified the integrity of the second Caliph ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. His role in the history of Islamic civilization was very significant. He was one of the senior companions who converted to Islam before Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) emigrated to Madina. Through his conversion, he entrusted his loyalty to Islam. In addition, he was also the one who proposed to Abū Bakr to collect the Qurʾān since a number of memorizers (*Huffāz*s) had become martyrs in the war

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[82] ʿAbd al-Waāīd al-Shaybānī Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, ed. Abū al-Fidā ʿAbd Allāh al-Qāḍī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1987), 2: 189-190; Majid Ali Khan, *The Pious Caliph*, Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2001), 164-165.

[83] Al-Bāqilānī, *Manāqib al-A'immah*, 321.

of Yamamah. It was aimed to preserve the authenticity of the Qur'ān, notably as the main foundation of the religion of Islam. However, such obvious facts were not regarded as true. The Shi'ites viewed 'Umar ibn Khattāb negatively. He was the one who initiatively take pledge loyalty (*baiat*) to Abū Bakr as the Caliph. Everybody who attended the meeting gave their pleadge to him too. He was regarded a companion who did not follow the instruction of the Prophet (peace be upon him) to appoint 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib as his succession. It was evidenced by the report of the Ghadīr Khum, as stated above. Moreover, the Shi'ites also blamed 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb as the one who tried to poison the Prophet (peace be upon him) before his death. Such attempt led to question his loyalty to Islam especially to the Prophet (peace be upon him). [84] However, according to Al-Bāqilānī, this was totally rejected. To him, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was the second caliph, who was guaranteed by the Prophet (peace be upon him) to go to paradise together with nine other companions. [85] He was also the one who devoted his whole life for God's sake. He sincerely sacrificed all his wealth for the religion of Islam. [86] In another report, the Prophet (peace be upon him) himself praised him 'Umar for his piety, thus, the Devil (*Satan*) was afraid of him, as stated in the report below:

> The Prophet, peace be upon him, said: O, the son of al-Khattab! By the one in whose hand my soul is, whenever the devil (*shaitān*) finds you taking path, he only takes a path other than your path. [87]

Further argument as to cement Al-Bāqilānī's stance is evidenced by the fact that the Prophet (peace be upon him) also bestowed upon 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb by *al-Fārūq*. It was by virtue

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[84] Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Mas'ūd ibn Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr Al-Ayyāshī*, ed. Hāshim al-Rasūlī al-Mahallatī (Beirut: Mu'assasah al-A'lā li al-Matbūāt, 1991), 1: 224; Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Amilī, *Tafsīr al-Burhān: Mir'āt al-Anwār wa Mishkāt al-Asrār* (Beirut: Muassasah al-A'la li al-Matbu'at, n. y.), 2: 117.

[85] Abū 'Isā Muḥammad ibn 'Isā ibn Sūrah, *Sunan al-Tirmīdhī*, ed. Kamāl Yūsuf al-Hūt (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.y.), Chapter on the Merit 'Abd al-Raḥman ibn Awf, no. 3748, 5: 606.

[86] Al-Bāqilānī, *Manāqib al-A'immah*, 494.

[87] Narrated by al-Bukhārī in the chapter of Glorious Deeds of Umar ibn al-Khattab. See *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, no. 3683, pp. 444-445.

of the fact that his personality was strong and at the same time he was strict in the teachings of Islam. He could differentiate between the truth (*al-Ḥaq*) and false (*al-Bāṭil*).[88] It was said in some sources that he was knowledgeable in the Qur'ān, Islamic laws, state management and administration, and military strategy. He used to teach the companions of *Anṣār* and *Muhājirīn* in the circle of the mosque on subjects like the Qur'ān, theology, and Islamic laws. His seriousness was acknowledged by a number of companions in accepting information regarding the the Qur'ān as well as the hadīth traditions. Those who had such information were required to come with a witness.[89] Moreover, since 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb had deep understanding of the Qur'ān and hadīth, he solved various problems by extracting those sources as part of his *ijtihād*. This attempt shows his ability in applying certain laws. Currently, his method is used by many contemporary scholars as a model to solve certain problems.[90] In general, we can infer from the foregoing arguments that Umar was one of the greates companions of the Prophet (peace be upon him) after Abū Bakr. He had played a significant role in the history of Islamic civilization and contributed a lot of things. All accusations claimed by the Shi'ites were aimed to belittle his integrity and disregard his contributions. However, they are invalidated by those obvious evidence.

Al-Bāqilānī also defended the third Caliph, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, pertaining his personality and contributions in the preservation of the Qur'ān. This was addressed to reject the criticism of Shi'ites against him. According to Shi'ite theologian, al-Mufīd, 'Uthmān was the one who was responsible in standardizing the Qur'ān but made serious error in the process of this work. It was due to several reasons; a number of compilers possibly forgot some verses of the Qur'ān, hence, they omitted and

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[88] It is narrated in the saying of the Prophet (peace be upon him):

إن الله جعل الحق على لسان عمر و قلبه

"Indeed, Allah has placed truth upon Umar's tongue and heart". See *Sunan Tirmidhī*, ed. Kamāl Yūsuf al-Hūt, Chapter on the Merit of 'Umar Ibn al-Khattāb, no. 3682, 5: 576.

[89] Al-Bāqilānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, 1: 186-188; Majid Ali Khan, *The Pious Caliphs* (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2001), 83-84.

[90] Muḥammad Rawwās Qal'ajī, *Mausū'a Fiqh 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb* (Kuwait: Maktaba al-Falah, 1981).

added verses to the Qur'ān. They also had little knowledge of the Qur'ān, which could cause their works to be inaccurate. Obviously, this was within their intellectual capacity. In addition, they were also uncertain in doing their project. This was evidenced by the fact that they produced invalid *muṣḥaf*.[91] On the contrary, Al-Bāqilānī proved that this fact was invalid. He illustrated based on a number of reports that 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān was one of the earliest people who embraced Islam. He was the one who migrated to Ethiopia for about two months, due to great suppression from the Quraish people. This was in the early period of Islam in Makkah when the Muslims were small in number. Furthermore, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān was one of the few Muslims of Makkah who could write beautifully. Hence, the Prophet (peace be upon him) entrusted him as one of his scribes of revelation.[92] With such a position, it helped him to learn a lot of things from the Prophet (peace be upon him). He habitually read the Qur'ān till midnight. Until the time he was murdered, he was reading the Qur'ān.[93] Moreover, in the history of Islamic civilization, it is obviously well-known that 'Uthmān had contributed to safeguard the originality of the Qur'ān. He was the one who instructed to rewrite the *muṣḥaf* preserved by Abū Bakr and multiplied it into a number of copies. Having done this project, he distributed them to different places like Kūfah, Baṣrah, Makkah, and Syria. He sent those *muṣḥafs* together with its readers from among the trustworthy companions to teach the Qur'ān to the people in that place. The rest of the *muṣḥafs* which were not similar to his *muṣḥaf* should be burnt. This endeavour was his great contribution to Islamic civilization. In this respect, he standardized the Qur'ān saving authenticity from any error. Such an attempt was also supported by 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. He commented to other companions that if he became the Caliph, he would do the same thing with that *muṣḥaf*.[94] This acknowledgment is also recorded in another place, as narrated below:[95]

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[91] Al-Mufīd, *al-Masāil al-Sarawiyyah*, 77-79.

[92] Muhammad Mustafa Azami, *The History of the Quranic Text:From Revelation to Compilation*, 94.

[93] Al-Bāqilānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, 1: 189-190.

[94] Ibn Abī Dāud, *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, 1: 206.

[95] Ibn Abī Dāud, *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, 1: 206.

Do not say about 'Uthmān except positive thing. By Allah, he did what he did with these fragments in the presence of us all (and non of us objected).[96]

Furthermore, in terms of his personality, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān also had wonderful characteristics. He was a pious companion who devoted his life for God's sake. Even though he was one of the richest companions in Madina, his generosity was superb. He donated a lot of money to the Prophet (peace be upon him) for the Muslim people.[97] It was also evidenced by the fact, when he was a Caliph, he did not receive his monthly salary, instead, he donated his own money to the Muslim people to utilize.[98] He also bought a well which was sincerely provided for the Muslims to benefit from it. It seems from these facts that he was a very notable man in the Muslim community and devoted to the religion of Islam, who sacrificing his life and wealth to support the spread of this religion. Therefore, it was no wonder that the Prophet (peace be upon him) used to talk about the guarantee for him to enter paradise.[99] All these evidence invalidate al-Mufīd's claim to 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān as the third caliph.

In another place, Al-Bāqilānī further clarified about the last Caliph, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and his great credibility amidst the companions. He elucidated that 'Alī at certain level, had high intellectual achievement. Based on some reports, he stated that 'Alī was one of the companions who was an expert in the Qur'ān. A companion, Abū 'Abd Rahmān al-Sulāmā, testified on that 'Alī was a very knowledgeable man on the subject of the Qur'ān. He knew the *qirā'āt* (readings), the meanings and interpretations of the verses of the Qur'ān, its complexity and ambiguity, and other related knowledge. [100] Moreover, another companion also

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[96] The translation of this hadīth is modified by Azami, yet, his quotation on this hadīth is different in several words. See in Azami, *The History of the Quranic Text: From Revelation to Compilation*, 94.

[97] Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥabah*, ed. Waṣī Allāh ibn Muḥammad 'Abbās (Makkah: Markaz al-Bath al-Ilmī wa Iḥya'al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1983), 513.

[98] Majid Ali Khan, *the Pious Caliph* (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2001), 150.

[99] Abū al-Ḥusayn Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Qusayrī al-Naysābūrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1993), Chapter on the Merit of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, no. 2403, 2: 446-447; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah*, 514.

[100] Al-Bāqilānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, 1: 193.

commented on 'Alī regarding his character. To him, he had great personality which was reflected his whole life. He was a generous person, who used to donate his wealth to the poor people around him. Therefore, in this condition he used to practise the *zuhd* tradition.[101] He also had close relationship with the Prophet (peace be upon him). This is evidenced by the fact that he married the Prophet's daughter, Fātimah, who passed away three months after her father' death. In another position, 'Alī himself was the Prophet's nephew and the youngest person who first embraced Islam.[102]

It seems from these obvious facts, that those acknowledgements of 'Alī by the companions did not excessively praise him as common person. It was absolutely contradictory to the notion of the Shi'ites. They believed 'Alī was the best man in the world, even comparable to the Prophets. The *Ulūl al-'Azmī* Prophets were better than him, yet, 'Alī was even considered better than Yūsuf and other Prophets.[103] Furthermore, 'Alī was regarded as the one who knew everything. He knew the whole knowledge belonging to the Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him). Every time the Prophet (peace be upon him) received revelation from the Angel Jibril he passed this information to 'Alī. However, according to Al-Bāqilānī, these doctrines are baseless and invalid.[104] 'Alī was a common companion who had not reached to the level of Prophethood. The guarantee of the prophethood did not mean lifting his status to that particular position. He was a man, who sacrificed a lot for Islam. His life had been sincerely given for the religion. He was regarded as one of the greatest persons, at the similar level with other senior companions of Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him), who was also guaranteed entry into paradise.[105]

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[101] 'Abd al-Waḥīd al-Shaybānī ibn Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh*, ed. Abū al-Fidā 'Abd Allāh al-Qāḍī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, 1987), 2: 264-265.

[102] Al-Bāqilānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, 1: 191.

[103] Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Nu'mān al-Ukbariyy al-Baghdādī al-Mufīd, *Tafḍīl Amīr al-Mu'minīn,* ed. 'Alī Mūsā al-Ka'bī (Qum: al-Mu'tamar al-Ālam li alfiah al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, 1992), 19, and 32-33.

[104] Al-Bāqilānī, *Al-Intiṣār*, 1: 107-108.

[105] Ibn Sūrah al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan al-Tirmīdhī*, ed. Kamāl Yūsuf al-Hūt (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.y.), Chapter on the Merit of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf, no. 3748, 5: 606.

In addition, according to al-Ghazālī, to respect ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib as well as the earlier caliphs, we need to view the sequence of their caliphate. By virtue of this fact, we realise their merit (*faḍl*) and superiority. Abū Bakr, ʻUmar, ʻUthmān, and ʻAlī were great companions of the Prophet (peace be upon him). Historically, the first was elected by the Muslims since he was regarded the best among the companions and the closest person to the Prophet (peace be upon him) followed by the second, third, and fourth persons.[106] However, we can conclude from these facts based on the history of Islamic civilization, that those persons had their own position which placed them based their own merits. This does not mean to prioritize Abū Bakr and belittle the others, but to do justice by them by putting them in their proper position.

In conclusion, the foregoing discussion gives us obvious illustration of the role of some of the main companions of the Prophet (peace be upon him), especially those who had been criticized by the early Shiʻites. These facts definitely reject several of their claims which are baseless and invalid. Those accusations are exaggeratedly formulated within their sources, which become their framework of thinking.

Conclusion
From the foregoing discussion, it appears both the early Shiʻites and Ashʻarites have their arguments pertaining to the issue of the authenticity of the Qurʼān. The Ashʻarite, as represented by Al-Bāqilānī, has argumentatively responded the Shiʻites' claim to the related matter and disproved their views on the *muṣḥaf* of the Qurʼān as well as the integrity of the companions of the Prophet (peace be upon him). Therefore, we can conclude that the ʻUthmānī Muṣḥaf is authentic and reliable. This is complete because Allah has safeguarded it by putting it in the hearts of Muslims since the very beginning of its revelation until its compilation. The early Shiʻites, as in line with some contemporary Orientalists, tried to doubt its validity. They themselves rejected it wholly. However, one authoritative early Shiʻite scholar, al-Imām Jaʻfar al-Ṣādiq, absolutely believed that the existing Qurʼān is

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[106] Muḥammad Abū Ḥamīd al-Ghazālī, *al-Iʻtiṣād fī al-Iʻtiqād*, ed. Inṣāf Ramaḍān, (Beirūt: Dār Qutatba, 2003), 172-173.

authentic too.[107] Hence, their claim is invalidated. The same thing applies to another topic on the integrity of the companions, their arguments against them have been disproved by Al-Bāqilānī. All their claims in the Sunnites mainstream theological discourse are considered innovations and deceptions.

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[107] Abū Zahrah, *al-Imām al-Ṣādiq Ḥayatuhu wa 'Aṣruhu Āra'uhū wa Fiqhuhu*, 321-333.

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