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THE COMPARISON OF THE ORIENTALISTIC VIEWS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE TEXTUALIZATION PROCESS OF THE QUR'ÂN¹

*KUR'ÂN'IN METİNLEŞME SÜRECİ BAĞLAMINDA ORYANTALİSTİK
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Abstract

Jews and Christians have been interested in the Islam Prophet (pbuh) and the Qur'ân from the very beginning of the Islamic history. They started to write critics on the Qur'ân from the second century of hijra and on. The Western world's struggle against Islam ranged parallel to the spreading of Islam from the Far East to the Middle Europa. In order to struggle against Muslims in a better way, the Westerners have started to examine the East and make close acquaintance with it both physically and spiritually and tried to manage it from the seventeenth century and on. Thence, a group who were called "orientalist" and who have devoted their lives to the oriental studies came out. Discovering that the Qur'ân is the most important source for Muslims both for their everyday life and intellectual life, the orientalist have come up with numerous sceptical claims and hypotheses about the authenticity of the Qur'ân in order to put the Muslim communities into a suitable shape for the westerners' governments. But because they could not set forth scientific proofs for these hypotheses about the Qur'ân, they were not able to refute the Muslims' thoughts about the authenticity of the Qur'ân and so the orientalist have failed to reconstruct the textualization history of the Qur'ân. In this article we will mainly rely on their claims about the textualization process of the Qur'ân and would compare their pros and cons hypotheses related to the subject matter. Meanwhile we will touch on the orientalism history in order to remind its characteristic aspects and historical background.

Keywords: Orientalism, Textualization of the Qur'ân, Codex, Collection of the Qur'ân

¹This article is a briefly modified translation of some parts of my book called "Oryantalistlere Göre Kur'ân'ın Kaynağı ve Metinleşmesi" which will be published by Ankara Okulu Yayınları.

Öz

Yahudi ve Hristiyanlar, İslam Peygamber'ine (a.s.) ve Kur'an'a, İslamiyetin ilk ortaya çıktığı tarihten itibaren ilgi duymuşlardır. Yaklaşık hicri II. asırdan itibaren Kur'an'a reddiyeler yazmaya başlamışlardır. İslamiyetin Uzak Doğu'dan Avrupa'nın içlerine kadar yayılmasına paralel olarak Batı dünyasının İslam ile mücadelesi de çeşitlilik göstererek devam etmiştir. XVII. yüzyıldan itibaren Batılılar Müslümanlarla daha iyi mücadele edebilmek için Doğu'yu incelemeye, maddi ve manevi anlamda tanıyıp tanımlamaya ve yönetilebilir bir yapıya sokmaya çalışmıştır. Bu bağlamda kendilerini Doğu'yu incelemeye adanmış ve "Doğu Bilimci / Oryantalist" olarak tanınan bir grup ortaya çıkmıştır. Müslümanların hem günlük yaşam hem de enlektüel hayatları için en önemli kaynağın ve dayanak noktasının Kur'an olduğunu gören oryantalistler, Müslümanları zayıflatmak ve yönetilebilir hale getirmek için bu kaynak ile ilgili olarak yaptıkları çalışmalarda birçok şüphe ve hipotez ortaya atmış, fakat bu iddialarında kabul edilebilir bilimsel delillere dayanamadıkları için Kur'an'ın kaynağı ve mevsukiyeti noktasındaki İslami kanıtları çürütememiş ve dolayısıyla Kur'an'ın metinleşme sürecini yeniden inşa edememiştir. Biz de bu çalışmamızda temel olarak onların Kur'an'ın metinleşme süreciyle ilgili görüşlerine dayanacak, lehte ve aleyhte olan hipotezlerini karşılaştıracacağız. Görüşlerinin devamında ise konuyla ilgili kendi değerlendirmelerimizi verecek ve oryantalistik düşüncenin arka planında yatan asıl nedeni göstermeye çalışacağız. Bununla beraber konunun daha iyi anlaşılması için oryantalizmin tarihine ve oryantalistlerin temel mantalitesine de kısaca değineceğiz.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Oryantalizm, Kur'an'ın Metinleşmesi, Mushaf, Kur'an'ın Toplanması

INTRODUCTION

Jews and Christians have been interested in the Islam Prophet (pbuh) and the Qur'an from the very beginning of the Islamic history. This close interest has been intensified parallel to expansion of the Islam from the Far East to the Middle Europa. Alongside with the conquest of Spain, the Western World started to perceive the Islam as a serious threat and consequently Westerners tried to be cautious about it. Throughout the middle ages the West carried out smear campaign about the Islam but could not make out the success that it hoped. By the end of the seventeenth century the West worked hard to make close acquaintance with the East. The scientists who were educated for this aim examined the East's various aspects such as literature, culture, ect. and by this way they tried to transfer East's lore to the West. For centuries, the Westerners have scrutinized Islamic studies, got seriously interested in manuscripts, transferred them legally or illegally to Europa, prevented them from vanishing, edited, classified, taught, translated and

published them.² They tried to weaken the Islam and Muslims, who were counted as the enemies of the Westerners by them, by many arguments and hypotheses via the information that they have obtained from the Islamic sources, such as criticizing the Muslims' most important source, the Qur'an, claiming that it has been altered and it has gone through a series of changes till it reached us and it was gathered from the Biblical and very inaccurate oral culture of Biblical texts and so on. But because they continually challenged with each other and could not rely on the scientific documents in their claims, they were not able to come up with satisfied data about the alleged textualization process of the Qur'an. In this article we will mainly rely on their claims about the textualization process of the Qur'an and would compare their pros and cons hypotheses related to the subject matter. Meanwhile we will touch on the orientalism history in order to remind its characteristic

² Zakzūk, Maḥmūd Hamdī (1997). *al-Istīsrāk wa'l-ḥalfiyyetu li'ş-şirāi'l-ḥaḍārī*, Cairo: Dāru'l-Ma'rife, pp. 62-67.

aspects and historical background.

1. The History of the Orientalism

Jews and Christians studies on Islamic sciences have a long history. Their interest in the Qur'ân has started when Muhammad (pbuh) was alive. But it's possible to say that the written literature of criticism started with John of Damascus (d. 132/749)³ and continued with his follower Theodor Abū Qurra (d. 205/820),⁴ Nicetas of Byzantium (ninth c.)⁵ and Bartholomew of Edessa (twelfth c.)⁶ and such persons.

Eastern writers had close acquaintance with the Islamic thought whereas Western writers did not know almost anything about the Islam till 1100. Until the beginning of the twelfth century, according to the Westerners, the Islam was not but primitive paganism or Manichaeism and a huge enemy mass that has surrounded and threatened Christianity from all sides. The Westerners, instead of obtaining their information about the Islam from Islamic sources such as the Qur'ân; they acquired this information from their own writers who did not know anything about the Islam. We can not find the name of Muhammad (pbuh) in the middle ages Europa literature before 1100 except Spain and the South Italy. After 1120, many legends which did not have any relationship with the reality started to be made up about Muhammad (pbuh) and the Islam. Muhammad's (pbuh) success was attributed to magic, his destruction of churches and liberation of fornication. The Muslims were introduced as peoples who worship a lot of idols. The view, "It's safe to speak evil of one whose malignity exceeds whatever ill can be spoken" was the main attitude of the Westerners towards Muhammad (pbuh). Con-

sequently this opinion was the source of the inspiration of legends and slanders that would be made up.⁷

Nevertheless, the facts about the Islam have started to be written since the middle of the twelfth century. By some expressions and writings of William of Malmesbury (1080-1143), Spanish Petrus Alphonsi (eleventh-twelfth c.) and Otto of Freising (1114-1158), Western superstitious veils about Islam were torn up for the first time.⁸

The scientific conflict of the West with the Islamic world started by the Benedictine abbey of Cluny called Peter the Venerable (1092-1156) on his visit to Toledo (Spain). On this visit he composed a group to fight the Islam on the intellectual ground. In the year 1143 Peter the Venerable, made an Englishman called Robert of Ketton (1110-1160) translate the Qur'ân into Latin and prepared a detailed criticism collection on Muslims, Muhammad (pbuh) and his doctrine.⁹ The Bene-

⁷ Hurgronje, Christiaan Snouck (1916). *Mohammedanism: Lectures on Its Origin, Its Religious and Political Growth and Its Present State*, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, pp. 18-27; Southern, R. W. (1962). *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, Cambridge, pp. 14-33; Zakzūk, *al-Istiṣrāk*, p. 22. Also see Yaşar, Hüseyin, (2010). *Batı'nın Kur'an Algısı*, İzmir: Işık Akademi Yayınları, pp. 41-44, 55-57; Yaşar, Hüseyin, (2010). *Alman Oryantalizminde Kur'an'a Bakış*, İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, pp. 26-30, 75-76; Bulut, Yücel (2007). *Oryantalizm*, DİA (v. XXXIII, pp. 428-437), İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, pp. 428-429. The famous epic poem *La Chanson de Roland* introduces the Muslims as pagans. See, Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, p. 32. For details see Léon Gautier (1832-1897), *La Chanson de Roland*, L'Académie Française et L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Tours 1875.

⁸ Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, pp. 34-36; Yaşar, *Alman Oryantalizmi*, p. 31.

⁹ Zakzūk, *al-Istiṣrāk*, pp. 24-26; Yaşar, *Batı'nın Kur'an Algısı*, pp. 48-58; Yaşar, *Kur'an Karşıtı Söylem*, p. 23; Durmuş, Zülfikar (2007). *Kur'an'ın Türkçe Tercümeleleri*, İstanbul: Rağbet Yayınları, pp. 95-97; Bulut, *Oryantalizm*, p. 429; Sönmezsoy, Selahattin (1998). *Kur'an ve Oryantalistler*, Ankara: Fecr Yayınları, pp. 54-62; Juan Pablo Arias Torres (2007). *Bibliografía sobre las traducciones del Alcoran en el ambito hispano*, *Revista De Traductología*, 11, 261-272, p. 263. But this first translation

³ Yaşar, Hüseyin (2010). *Hristiyan Dünyasında Kur'an Karşıtı Söylemin Tarihsel Kökleri*, İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, pp. 63-81.

⁴ Yaşar, *Kur'an Karşıtı Söylem*, pp. 86-140.

⁵ Yaşar, *Kur'an Karşıtı Söylem*, pp. 148-226.

⁶ Yaşar, *Kur'an Karşıtı Söylem*, pp. 231-247.

dictine abbey of Toledo called Raymond (1126-1151), taking the advantages of Toledo, started scientific translation movement.¹⁰ Also Francis of Assisi, taking into the consideration that Muslims must be communicated, has often visited the Islam countries. It's said that a lot of Muslims were converted to the Christianity by Wilhelm of Tripoli's (1220-1273) businesslike missionary efforts. Also Ricoldus de Monte Crucis (1243-1320) visited the Islamic countries, learnt the Arabic and Islam and prepared important guide books for missionaries. And Raimund Lull (1232-1316), visited North Africa for several times as a missionary and forced the *Council of Vienne* (1311-1312) to accept the opening of departments of the East languages such as Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac and Greek in the Western universities like Sorbone and Avignon (France), Oxford (England), Bologna (Italy), Salamanca (Spain) and Rome.¹¹ In the middle of the fifteenth century some Western intellectuals such as John of Segovia (1400-1458) and Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1464), who worked hard for the project, claimed that fighting the Muslims could be carried out only by big conferences where intellectuals who are equipped with knowledge will debate and come out with critics on the Qur'an and the basic Islamic sources.¹² As a result, the Western world has developed different intellectual fighting methods against Muslims from the conquest of Spain till the conquest of Istanbul, approximately eight centuries, tried to define Muslims by relying mostly on legends and half-baked information, but could not be able to success in any way.¹³

was published after 400 years. See Durmuş, *Kur'an'ın Türkçe Tercümeleri*, p. 96.

¹⁰ Yaşar, *Alman Oryantalizmi*, pp. 20-21.

¹¹ Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, p. 72; Zağzük, *al-Istisrāk*, pp. 28-29; Yaşar, *Kur'an Karşıtı Söylem*, pp. 23-25; Bulut, *Oryantalizm*, p. 429. It was Raymund of Pennafort (1175-1275) who started teaching Jews and Muslims' basic doctrines such as Talmudic culture in order to convert them to the Christianity. See Yaşar, *Batı'nın Kur'an Algısı*, p. 118.

¹² Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, pp. 85-94.

¹³ Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, pp. 108-109.

The Western's studies on the Islamic world continued after the conquest of Istanbul with a higher density. Theodore Bibliander (1509-1564), has prepared three volumed bibliography which started with a detailed criticism written for the Christian readers and included all the critiques that have been written since Robert of Ketton's (1110-1160) Latin Qur'an translation¹⁴ until the *Reform's* time.¹⁵ The Qur'an has been translated into the other European languages, too. First Italian translation was made by Andreas Arrivabene (1473-1542) in 1547; first German translation was made by Salomon Schweigger (1551-1622) in 1616; first French translation was made by André du Ryer (1580-1660?) in 1647; first English translation was made by George Sale (1697-1736) in 1734 and first Spanish translation was made in twentieth century.¹⁶

Actually, the things that we have expressed above are the preparation phase of the orientalism. That is why, some studies accept the date of the first Qur'an translation (1143), or the meeting of the *Council of Vienne* (1311-1312) as the commencement date of the orientalism.¹⁷ But the term "orientalism" appeared for the first time in England in 1779 and in France in 1799. And "orientalism" as "oriental study" was included in the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* in 1838. "Orientalism" is derived from Latin origin word "orient" and means "oriental study". "Orientalist" which was also derived from the same stem as "orientalism" means "scientist in ori-

¹⁴ Robert of Ketton's Latin Qur'an translation is the foundation of the translations made in the other European languages. That is why, many faults such as omissions, falsification and summarizing have passed to the translations made later on. See Sönmezsoy, *Kur'an ve Oryantalistler*, pp. 54-55, 61-67; Yaşar, *Batı'nın Kur'an Algısı*, pp. 134-145; Bulut, *Oryantalizm*, p. 429.

¹⁵ Yaşar, *Kur'an Karşıtı Söylem*, p. 25.

¹⁶ Yaşar, *Batı'nın Kur'an Algısı*, pp. 253-262; Yaşar, *Alman Oryantalizmi*, p. 165. First Muslim translation of Qur'an in German was made by Mevlana Sadreddin (1881-?), who is a member of al-Jamā'ah al-Islāmiyyah al-Ahmediyyah, in 1939 in Berlin. See Yaşar, *Batı'nın Kur'an Algısı*, pp. 223-225, 300.

¹⁷ Zağzük, *al-Istisrāk*, p. 19.

ental issues".¹⁸ First orientalist's congress was held in Paris in 1873. The purpose of this congress was to develop the interaction among the orientalist's internationally. Especially in France and England, orientalism departed from theology in the eighteenth century. At the end of this century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, especially parallel to the commencement and development of the colonialism, orientalism has both conceptualized and constitutionalized as scientific discipline in Europa. Although the orientalist's studies were mainly about the philology at the beginning, later on these studies spread to the other social sciences such as sociology, anthropology, politics, demography, economics and so on.¹⁹ The orientalist's published 60.000 works since the beginning of the nineteenth century till the middle of the twentieth century.²⁰ Consequently, orientalism's best epoches were nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The most important Qur'anic studies were written in this period and the studies that have done later on were often basen on these studies.²¹

Taking into the consideration its aims and philosophy, "orientalism" can be defined as: Starting roughly at the end of the seventeenth century, orientalism is a systematical discipline which aims to manage the East politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically and culturally and dominate the East by force and authority; put forward the judgment about the East; define and reconstruct the East's perception; as an

intellectual power on oriental issues, compose an information archive and teach it. Orientalism is a field which became means of colonialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and based on the perception and the distinction that the West is powerful, superior, wise whereas the East is weak, vulgar, underdeveloped and ignorant and orientalism stressed out this distinction between the West and the East a long with its (orientalism) historical development and admitted the Western oriental studies as starting point and milestone.²²

As mentioned above the orientalism, in methods of fighting the Muslims, relied on legends, superstitions, subjective and biased mentality until the end of the seventeenth century. But starting from the end of the seventeenth century, a view of orientalism which accompanied by some sympathy to the Islam and which followed the objectivism and scientific datum began under the leadership of Pierre Bayle (1647-1706), Richard Simon (1638-1712), Hadrian Reland (1676-1718), Simon Ockley (1678-1720), George Sale (1697-1736), Richard Pococke (1704-1765), Johann Jakob Reiske (1716-1774), Edward Gibbon (1737-1794), Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron (1731-1805), Sylvestre de Sacy (1758-1838), Joseph von Hammer Purgstall (1774-1856) and continued up to today. This view got stronger after the second half of the

¹⁸ Dubois, Jean (2000). *Dictionnaire du Français d'Aujourd'hui*, Paris: Larousse, Entries; *Orient, Orientalisme, Orientaliste*.

¹⁹ Zağzūk, *al-Istīsrāk*, pp. 56-57.

²⁰ Said, Edward W. (1978), *Orientalism*, New York: A Division of Random House, p. 204; Zağzūk, *al-Istīsrāk*, p. 67.

²¹ Zağzūk, *al-Istīsrāk*, pp. 20, 40-41, 43-47, 57; Yaşar, *Batı'nın Kur'an Algısı*, pp. 50, 276; Yaşar, *Alman Oryantalizmi*, pp. 38, 47, 51; Bulut, *Oryantalizm*, pp. 428, 431-432, 434, 436.

²² Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 2-3, 7-8, 19-20, 26-27, 41-42, 44-45, 209, 300-301, 306-307; Zağzūk, *al-Istīsrāk*, pp. 46-47; Sönmezsoy, *Kur'an ve Oryantalistler*, pp. 32-33; Yaşar, *Alman Oryantalizmi*, pp. 15-18; Yaşar, *Batı'nın Kur'an Algısı*, p. 54; Bulut, *Oryantalizm*, pp. 428, 430, 432-433, 436; el-Cenābī, Emced Yūnus (2015). *Āğāru'l-isrīrāḳi'l-almānī fi'd-dirāsāti'l-Kur'ānī*, Riyadh: Markazu Tafsīr li'd-Dirāsāti'l-Kur'āniyya, pp. 17-50. The *Twenty Ninth International Orientalists Congress* held in Paris in 1973 decided to quit the utilization of the word "orientalism". Because the nineteenth century orientalism was criticized because of its ideological content and its being mainly Eurocentric. So, the name of the *International Orientalists Congress* was changed to *International Congress of Asian and North African Studies*. See Bulut, *Oryantalizm*, pp. 435-436.

nineteenth century by the foundation of many orientalist institutions, academic journals, publishers and holding of the international orientalist congresses.²³ But nevertheless we can not say that the orientalism has got rid of the biases and become completely a scientific field.²⁴ Because most of the orientalist of nineteenth century were bounded to each other politically, too. For instance, Sylvestre de Sacy (1758-1838) was an inevitable counselor of ministerial offices for all kinds of issues related to the orient; Alfred von Kremer (1828-1889) has provided an adviser service for Austro-Hungarian Empire for thirty years as an expert of Alexandria, Cairo, Beirut and their surroundings; Henri Duveyrier (1840-1892) has studied the history and geology of the Sahara Desert and guided France government when they took over this territory. *The School of Oriental Studies*,²⁵ which was established in London in 1916, was a counselor assembly for England about the management of its Eastern colonies; Wilhelm Barthold (1869-1930) was a scientist who was commissioned by Russia for its political benefits of the Central Asia; Carl Heinrich Becker (1876-1933) was one of the head counselor of Germany related to the colonies in the Africa; Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) was a direct counselor of Germany related to the Indonesian Muslim colonies; Duncan Black Macdonald (1863-1943) and Louis Massignon (1883-

1962), as experts in Islamic studies, were constant advisors of the states that have colonies from North Africa to Pakistan. The experts like these had a big influence in shaping the understanding of the all Western states about the East. When we think from this point of view, we can say that the orientalism, after the defeat Crusades, is a means by which the West scrutinizes all the East's aspects, such as ideological, sociological, psychological, spiritual and cultural, to find the strong parts and weaken them and to find the weak parts and exploit them.²⁶ Orientalist studies are based on the understanding that the West is superior whereas the East is vulgar, underdeveloped and the missionaries were the most important pioneers who deepened these thoughts.²⁷ Thus Theodor Nöldeke (1836-1930), who is famous for the punctilio in his studies, could declare in 1887 that the sum total of his work as an orientalist was to confirm his "low opinion" of the Eastern peoples.²⁸ Rudyard Kipling's (1865-1936) saying: "OH, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet, Till Earth and Sky stand presently

²³ Hurgronje, *Mohammedanism*, pp. 18-27; Zakzūk, *al-Istişrāk*, pp. 26, 33-37, 40-45; Yaşar, *Batı'nın Kur'an Algısı*, pp. 52-53, 58-64; Bulut, *Oryantalizm*, pp. 429-430. For details see Pfannmüller, Gustav (1873-1953), *Handbuch Der Islam-Literatur*, Verlag Von Walter De Gruyter & Co., Berlin und Leipzig 1923. The Western states have made huge investments into the orientalism and helped the academicians in this field, have always supported the institutions financially and in return have oriented the orientalist and benefited from their knowledge about the orient on behalf of their political interests. See Zakzūk, *al-Istişrāk*, pp. 57-58.

²⁴ Zakzūk, *al-Istişrāk*, pp. 26, 37-39, 76-83; Yaşar, *Alman Oryantalizmi*, p. 57; Yaşar, *Batı'nın Kur'an Algısı*, pp. 296, 302.

²⁵ *The School of Oriental Studies*, became later on, University of London School of Oriental and African Studies. See, Said, *Orientalism*, p. 214.

²⁶ Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 201, 263-264, 275-276, 294, 296; Zakzūk, *el-Istişrāk*, pp. 46-51; Rodinson, Maxime (2002), *Oryantalizmin Doğuşu*, (trans. Ahmet Turan Yüksel), *Marife*, 2/3, 171-188, p. 182; Bulut, *Oryantalizm*, pp. 431-434; Davutoğlu, Ahmet (2003). *Batı'daki İslâm Çalışmaları Üzerine*, (editor: Abdullah Aydınli i.a.) in, *Oryantalizmi Yeniden Okumak: Batı'da İslâm Çalışmaları Sempozyumu*, (pp. 23-39), Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, pp. 23-34; Kavas, Ahmet (2003). *Geçmişten Günümüze Fransız Şarkiyatçılığı ve Kurumları*, (editor: Abdullah Aydınli i.a.) in, *Oryantalizmi Yeniden Okumak: Batı'da İslâm Çalışmaları Sempozyumu*, (pp. 109-152), Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, pp. 109-111.

²⁷ Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 7, 42, 44-45, 209, 300-301, 306-307; Rodinson, *Oryantalizmin Doğuşu*, p. 182; Kalın, İbrahim (2007). *Napolyon ile Ceberti Arasında: Modern Döneme Girerken Oryantalizmin Yeni Yüzleri*, (editor: Lütfi Sunar) in, *Uluslararası Oryantalizm Sempozyumu*, (pp. 169-183), İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye Kültürel ve Sosyal İşler Daire Başkanlığı Kültür Müdürlüğü, pp. 179-181.

²⁸ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 209.

at God's great Judgment Seat"²⁹ is striking in relation to the subject matter.

Especially by the fall of India after 1780, the East-centric world thought turned to the Eurocentric world thought. According to the Western thought which has been developed under the influence of these biases, the Eastern peoples do not have any value which a pioneer civilization of history must have. On the contrary the Eastern peoples are composed of vulgar, primitive and ignorant peoples who need the mastery, guidance and management of the West. Consequently orientalist studies, which are based on Eurocentric thought, point out that the West is perfect in all materialistic and spiritual fields; in science, art, philosophy and so on whereas the East is primitive. So, the orientalist studies composed a huge literature accordingly with this thought and spread it all over the world.³⁰ In this literature the West is pointed out as if it is the center of the universe and the last point of the history. The history of the Ancient civilizations is reduced to the lowest level whereas Modern West history is elevated to the highest level. The 3000 years East Ancient history is summarized just in a chapter whereas 500 years Modern West history is handled in long chapters. That is why the orientalism is the victim of the Western philosophy of history which projects the West as a fruit of the seeds that were sowed in ancient times and the zenith that all the civilizations have reached. This philosophy also accepts Jesus as a unique prophet after all the prophets who were sent to Israel and after the completion of the theological development and the clearance of all

the deficiencies of the past.³¹

We would not handle detailed orientalism history here, of course. Our aim here is to handle the orientalist views on the textualization process of the Qur'ân. Nevertheless, in order to mention the process of the orientalist studies and point out their main targets and mentality, we have touched on the background of the orientalism briefly.

2. Reconstruction of the Textualization History of the Qur'ân

The orientalists have come out with many studies on the textualization process of the Qur'ân.³² The orientalists, assuming the Muslims' data about the history of the Qur'ân doubtful, intended to reconstruct the textualization process of the Qur'ân with a sceptical approach. It was Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1464) who put forward suspicions about the authenticity of the Qur'ân and attempted to provide a scientific basis for fundamental criticism of the text for the first time. He claims that the Jews, who were the counselors of Muhammad and used to make textual corrections for him, distorted the text partially after his death.³³ Also Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838), who is the most important teacher of orientalists, is among those who claim the falsification of the Qur'ânic text. He puts forward that the Qur'ânic text has gone through some additions-omissions after the death of Muhammad.³⁴ Gustav Weil (1808-1889), too, alleges that Abu Bakr (d. 13/634) has forged some

²⁹ Stedman, Edmund Clarence (1895). *A Victorian Anthology (1837-1895)*, Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, pp. 596-598.

³⁰ Davutoğlu, *Batı'daki İslâm Çalışmaları Üzerine*, pp. 23-34; Şenay, Bülent (2003). "Yahudi-Hristiyan İlişkileri Tarihi, Anti-Semitizm ve Oryantalizm, (editor: Abdullah Aydın i.a.) in, *Oryantalizmi Yeniden Okumak: Batı'da İslâm Çalışmaları Sempozyumu*, (pp. 87-106), Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, p. 87.

³¹ Hanefi, Hasan (2007). *Oryantalizmden Oksidentalizme*, (trans. Hakan Çopur, editor: Lütfi Sunar), *Uluslararası Oryantalizm Sempozyumu*, (pp. 79-90), İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültürel ve Sosyal İşler Daire Başkanlığı Kültür Müdürlüğü, p. 82.

³² See Islamic Awareness (2014). <http://www.islamic-awareness.org/Quran>; Gökkır, Bilâl, "Modern Dönemde Kur'an Tarihinin Ortaya Çıkışı: Kur'an'ın Korunmuşluğu Hususunda Oryantalist İddialar ve Müslümanlardan Cevaplar", *İÜİFD*, 27 (2012), pp. 9-28.

³³ Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, pp. 93-94.

³⁴ Silvestre de Sacy (1832), Taberistanensis, id est Abu Dschaferi Mohammed ben Dscherir Ettaberi Annales regum, *Le Journal des Sçavans*, pp. 532-544, pp. 532-544.

verses and added them to the Qur'ān and many verses have been forgotten, lost or excluded from the new redaction intentionally over the caliphate period of his and Othman's (d. 35/656).³⁵ And according to Max Henning (1848-1892?), because the Qur'ān was collected after the death of Muhammad, it's probable that some parts of it were lost.³⁶ Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921), who is one of the most important fathers of orientalist, examines *seven aḥrūf* and *qira'ats* and consequently tries to give an impression as if the Qur'ān has more than one text and these texts differ from one another very much and so he puts forward some hypotheses about the collection of the Qur'ān.³⁷ He claims: "No book among those which were assumed to be obtained via divine revelation has had such a nonstable aspect as had the Qur'ānic text in the first period."³⁸ Theodor Nöldeke (1836-1930), who is the builder of the Europeans' thought of the Qur'ān, cites some verses -which are based on the forged traditions- that are treated as abrogated verses in Islamic literature and accordingly claims that some verses were not included in the Qur'ān and so, the Qur'ānic text has not reached us as it was revealed. He puts forward various hypotheses and suspicions in accordance with his claims.³⁹ According to

Nöldeke, the Prophet must have forgotten many parts of the revelation and he claims that also the Qur'ān points out this fact. Nöldeke believe that the Othmanic Codex is not complete because Zayd b. Thābit omitted some parts and did not add them to the collected text. Nevertheless Nöldeke expresses that the Codex of Othman includes only the authentic texts.⁴⁰ According to Hubert Grimme (1864-1942) some parts of the Qur'ān have been lost. He alleges that: "Muhammad used the revelation just orally for a long time. But when he needed to write down this revelation most parts of his preaches were still in hand. Because Muhammad used to use this revelation in his preaches and prayers. Besides, the Arabs of that time were mostly familiar with oral culture. Nevertheless we can say that most of the revelation was protected by writing. Muhammad used to make some changes and corrections in his revelation when he needed. Especially at the Madina period he made a lot of changes. But this behaviour caused lots of problems for the coming generation and in order to overcome these problems they developed the naskh/abrogation theory."⁴¹ Orientalists like Friedrich Schwally (1863-1919) and Arthur Jeffery (1892-1959), too, followed their predecessors and alleged that the Qur'ān has not been transferred to us with the same form as it had been revealed to Muhammad.⁴² According to Jeffery, most of Muslims' claims about the textualization history of the Qur'ān are imaginary and forged, because the Qur'ān was not written at the period of the Prophet and at that time it relied partially on written materials and partially on memorising. That is why some parts of the

³⁵ Weil, Gustav (1878), *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in den Koran*, Bielefeld: Verlag von Velhagen & Klasing, pp. 51-91; Nöldeke, Theodor (1919). *Geschichte des Qorāns* (v. II), Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, v. II, p. 81.

³⁶ Henning, Max (1901), *Der Koran*, Leipzig: Reclam, pp. 27-31.

³⁷ Goldziher, Ignaz (1920), *Die Richtungen Der Islamischen Koranauslesung*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 2-32.

³⁸ Goldziher, *Die Richtungen*, pp. 2-3.

³⁹ Nöldeke, (1909). *Geschichte des Qorāns* (v. I), Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, v. I, pp. 234-261. At the beginning, Nöldeke put forward that the muqatta'at letters (disjoined letters/disconnected letters/mysterious letters) were added to the Qur'ānic text by scribes when they collected the text and probably these letters refer to the names of these scribes. (See Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, v. II, pp. 68-78) But later on he gave up this idea and accepted that it's highly probable that these letters belong to the Prophet period. See Nöldeke, (1992). *The Qur'an: An Introductory Essay*, (editor: N. A. Newman), Pennsylvania: Interdisciplinary Biblical Research Institute, p. 21.

⁴⁰ Nöldeke, *The Qur'an*, pp. 5, 18, 24-25.

⁴¹ Grimme, Hubert (1895). *Mohammed: Zweiter Teil: Einleitung in den Koran, System der koranischen Theologie*, Münster: Druck und Verlag der Aschendorffschen Buchhandlung, pp. 1-10.

⁴² Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, v. II, pp. 81-119; Jeffery, Jeffery, Arthur (1937). *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 5-8.

Qur'ān were lost at the Battle of Yamama.⁴³ He says that; "Also we are not sure whether the collection that has done by the Prophet's successors was the very thing that Muhammad wished to do."⁴⁴ Until the successors of the Prophet decided to collect the Qur'ān into a codex, most of it was lost."⁴⁵ According to Jeffery, the Qur'ān did not have skeleton dots and diacritical marks at the beginning and when these dots were added to it they caused some falsifications. So, the Qur'ān underwent to some changes from generation to generation till it has reached us.⁴⁶ In addition, Giulio Basetti-Sani's (1912-2001) saying: "Muhammad did not leave a completed book after him. Consequently, the Qur'ān is a book which has been redacted and completed after his death"⁴⁷ reminds us of Jeffery's thought.

Related to the subject matter, it was Goldziher who started the sceptical approach about traditions of Muhammad (ḥadīth). He claimed that the verification chain of the traditions/isnāds were forgery.⁴⁸ Following this sceptical approach of Goldziher, Joseph Schacht (1902-1969) alleged that the traditions and their isnāds were forged by the traditionists at the first half of the second century of hijra.⁴⁹ The sceptical approach on traditions was followed by other orientalists and so it reached the summit by John Wansbrough (1928-2002). Because according to him and

other orientalists who followed his opinions, the Qur'ān was a changeable text and it underwent through arrangements, corrections and design and at last it could obtain its stable form (*ne varietur*) at the end of the second century or at the very beginning of the third century of hijra by imitating some styles of the ancient sacred scriptures. Consequently, the traditions which outline the Qur'ān as a standard text have obtained their last form at this period.⁵⁰

2.1. The Corpus Coranicum Project

The orientalists have prepared lots of studies about the textualization process of the Qur'ān. Certainly, the most important one of these studies is *Corpus Coranicum Project*. At the beginning of the XX. century Gotthelf Bergsraßer (1886-1933) and Arthur Jeffery (1892-1959) planned the main framework of *Corpus Coranicum Project* which was to handle all the qira'at variants and evaluate them with a critical viewpoint.⁵¹ Jeffery has collected materials for this project for years and as the first step of this big study he published his work called *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān* which included qira'at variants and whose materials were collected from

⁴³ Jeffery, *Materials*, pp. 5-6; Jeffery, Arthur (1952). *The Qur'ān as Scripture*, New York: Russell F. Moore Company, pp. 92-94.

⁴⁴ Jeffery, *The Qur'ān as Scripture*, p. 69.

⁴⁵ Jeffery, *The Qur'ān as Scripture*, p. 91.

⁴⁶ Jeffery, *The Qur'ān as Scripture*, pp. 90, 97.

⁴⁷ Giulio Basetti-Sani (1967), *Introduzione allo Studio del Corano*, Brescia: Editrice Civiltà, pp. 53-54.

⁴⁸ Goldziher, Ignaz (1917). *Mohammed and Islam*, (trans. Kate Chambers Seelye), London: Oxford University Press, pp. 43-50; Schoeler, Gregor (2002). *Ecrire et Transmettre dans les Débuts de l'Islam*, Fransa: Presses Universitaires de France, pp. 2-10.

⁴⁹ Schacht, Joseph (1982), *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, New York: Clarendon Press, p. 34; Schoeler, *Ecrire et Transmettre*, pp. 2-10.

⁵⁰ Wansbrough, John (2004). *Qur'anic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation*, New York: Prometheus Books, pp. 1-52, 78, 202, 207-208, 225-226; Karl-Heinz Ohlig (1999). *Neue Wege der Koranforschung: Der Koran als Gemeindeprodukt?*, Universität des Saarlandes, *Magazin Forschung*, 1, 33-37, p. 33; José Ramírez del Río (2008). *La Aleya Robada por el Diabolo: Un Versículo Coránico Perdido, y Encontrado en Al-Andalus*, (Editor: Ana Ramos) in, *El Corán Ayer y Hoy: Perspectivas actuales sobre el islam: estudios en honor al Profesor Julio Cortés*, (pp. 415-427), España: Berenice, p. 416; Schoeler, *Ecrire et Transmettre*, p. 12; Motzki, Harald (2007). *Alternative Accounts of the Qur'ān's Formation*, (editor: Jane Dammen McAuliffe) in, *The Cambridge Companion to the Qur'ān*, (pp. 59-75), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 60-62.

⁵¹ Jeffery, *The Qur'ān as Scripture*, p. 103; Jeffery, *Materials*, p. vii; Burton (2001). *Collection of the Qur'ān*, *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, (v. I, pp. 351-361), Leiden: Brill, v. I, p. 361.

exegeses, dictionaries and qira'at books.⁵²

Gotthelf Bergsräßer, too, started to collect the oldest copies of the Qur'ān from various libraries all over the world in 1930s⁵³ and as a result of this study he outlined a road map of comparison and criticizing of the thousands of copies that he has gathered.⁵⁴ But because of the unexpected death of Bergsräßer, his student Otto Pretzl (1893-1941) carried out the project. Otto Pretzl, after describing Bergsräßer's collection and the photographs and his (Pretzl's) plan about the project, he also explained how and from which sources the collection and evaluation would be done and what the difficulties of the project are.⁵⁵ Besides, Pretzl explained the results of the report that included the examination of the collected manuscripts saying: "After the detailed examination that was carried out on the collected Qur'ān manuscripts which belong to the different centuries, we have not come across any differences between these copies."⁵⁶ But after the death of Pretzl in 1941 this collection of microfilms of the Qur'ān manuscripts passed on to Anton Spitaler (1910-2003). However Spitaler did not carry out this project. It is possible that he did not believe that this project would be accomplished successfully.⁵⁷ And according to the explanation made by Spitaler, Pretzl, himself too, was not hopeful about the success of the

project.⁵⁸ Maybe that is why Pretzl did not carry out any important study on the project except a road map that he has outlined as soon as he has handled the project. On the contrary he got busy with different fields of Islamic sciences.⁵⁹ Claude Gilliot introduces the *Corpus Coranicum Project* saying: "By this project 9000 old Qur'ān manuscripts' photographs and 11000 manuscripts related to the Qur'ānic studies has been collected. Although Anton Spitaler told that these photographs were destroyed during the war, now it is known that they were transferred to the *Free University of Berlin, Semitic and Arabic Department* after an agreement made between Spitaler and Angelika Neuwirth in 1992."⁶⁰ And Muhammad Hamidullah (1908-2002) introduces the *Corpus Coranicum Project* saying: "*Institut für Koran Forschung of the University of Munich* has collected around 42000 complete or incomplete copies of the Qur'ān and worked on them for fifty years. As a result of this work this institute explained that: 'Except one or two penmen's mistakes, there are no differences between these copies of the Qur'ān. And these mistakes are not made systematically. So, they are not repeated in the next manuscripts but on the contrary they are corrected.'"⁶¹

The *Corpus Coranicum Project* is still going on in *Berlin Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften* under the chairmanship of Angelika Neuwirth and it has been sponsored

⁵² Jeffery, *Materials*, p. vii.

⁵³ Jeffery, *Materials*, p. vii; Donner, Fred McGraw (2007). *The Qur'ān in Recent Scholarship: Challenges and desiderata*, (editor: Gabriel Said Reynolds) in, *The Qur'ān in its Historical Context*, (pp. 29-50), London: Routledge, p. 45.

⁵⁴ Bergsräßer, Gotthelf (1930). *Plan eines Apparatus Criticus zum Koran* (Heft 7). München: Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Abteilung, pp. 3-11.

⁵⁵ Pretzl, Otto (1934). *Die Fortführung des Apparatus Criticus zum Koran* (Heft 5), München: Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Abteilung, pp. 3-14.

⁵⁶ Pretzl, *Apparatus Criticus zum Koran*, p. 13.

⁵⁷ Reynolds, Gabriel Said (2007). *Introduction: Qur'ānic Studies and its Controversies*, (editor: Gabriel Said Reynolds), *The Qur'ān in its Historical Context*, (pp. 1-25), London: Routledge, pp. 6-7.

⁵⁸ Reynolds, *Introduction*, p. 6; Spitaler, Anton (1942), Otto Pretzl: Ein Nachruf von Anton Spitaler, *ZDMG*, 96, 160-170, pp. 163-164.

⁵⁹ See Spitaler, *Otto Pretzl: Ein Nachruf von Anton Spitaler*, pp. 164-166.

⁶⁰ Gilliot, Claude (2008). *Origines et Fixation du Texte Coranique*, *Etudes*, 409/12, 643-652, p. 651; Gözeler i.a. (2012). *Corpus Coranicum Projesi: Kur'an'ı Geç Antik Döneme Ait Bir Metin Olarak Okumak*, *AÜİFD*, 53:2, 219-253, p. 227.

⁶¹ Hamidullah, Muhammed (2005). *Allah'ın Elçisi Hz. Muhammed*, (trans. Ülkü Zeynep Babacan), İstanbul: Beyan Yayınları, p. 182; Hamidullah, Muhammed (2010). *İslâm'ın Doğuşu*, (trans. Murat Çiftkaya), İstanbul: Beyan Yayınları, pp. 37-38.

till the year 2025.⁶²

3. The Criticism of the Sceptical Approach by Orientalists Themselves

The claim that the Qur'ān's textualization occurred in late centuries, the Qur'ān has underwent through some changes, omissions and additions, which was supported by some orientalist like Wansbrough, has strongly been criticized by the orientalist and most of them accept that the Qur'ān manuscripts go back to the half of the first century of hijra.⁶³

For instance Paul Casanova (1861-1926) points out that: "We accept that whole of the Qur'ān is authentic."⁶⁴

Also Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) says that: "There are no differences between the claim that the Qur'ān is not authentic and between the assertion that Muhammad who is known as the prophet of Islam religion has never existed in the history of human being."⁶⁵

Richard Bell (1876-1952), who prepared an original translation of the Qur'ān, remarks that: "Whole of the Qur'ān was in written form when it has been collected at the period of Abu Bakr. Actually, in my opinion, the Qur'ān was written by Muhammad himself or at least it was written by the penmen to whom Muhammad has dictated the whole of

the Qur'ān."⁶⁶

Rudi Paret (1901-1983), an important expert of the field, confesses that: "Although there are traditions about hundreds of qira'at variants in some verses of certain sūras, we can say that whole of the Qur'ān has a complete reliable source. Because the companions of Muhammad listened the Qur'ān from his mouth and similarly repeated it in front of him. The revelation is mostly composed of vocals and diacritical marks. These complementary elements of Arabic alphabet has not been taken into the consideration at first but they were added to the alphabet later on. But the consonant structure which is the main part of the Qur'ānic text has never undergone through any important changes. We do not have any evidence to claim nonauthenticity of even a verse of the Qur'ān and allege that it has not handled down by Muhammad himself. There has not been any message of any religion founder that has reached us in a reliable form as Muhammad's message had. This last religion's book was declared by Muhammad between the years 610-632. These texts which were collected by Othman, after twenty years following the death of Muhammad, can really be qualified as authentic. The existence of someones who have different ideas about the details of the text do not change our thoughts. The experts of the qira'ats are astonished when they witness that although there were not skeleton dots which distinguish the letters of same shape from one another and there were not diacritical marks at the beginning and also there were some different types of writing in Arabic alphabet, these features did not cause any confusion in reading and understanding of the Qur'ān. Besides the writing, uninterrupted oral transmission of the Qur'ān was a second important guarantee for the original text to reach us. We can definitely

⁶² Wikipedia (2016).

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Corpus_Coranicum; Neuwirth, Angelika, (2010). Qur'ānic Readings of the Psalms, (editor: Angelika Neuwirth, Nicolai Sinai, Michael Marx) in, *The Qur'ān in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur'ānic Milieu*, (pp. 733-778), Leiden: Brill, pp. 733-734.

⁶³ Grohmann, Adolf (1958), The Problem of Dating Early Qur'āns, *Der Islam*, 33/3, 213-231, pp. 213-215, 230-231; Motzki, (2001). The Collection of the Qur'ān: A Reconsideration of Western Views in Light of Recent Methodological Developments, *Der Islam*, 78, 1-34, p. 3; Schoeler, *Ecrire et Transmettre*, p. 12.

⁶⁴ Casanova, Paul (1911). *Mohammed et la Fin du Monde: Étude Critique sur L'islam Primitif*, Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, p. 9.

⁶⁵ Hurgronje, *Mohammedanism*, pp. 26-27.

⁶⁶ Bell, Richard (1960). *The Qur'ān: Translated, with a Critical Re-arrangement of the Surahs*, Edingburg: T. & T. Clark, p. vi.

say that the redaction of the Qur'ân which was prepared at the Othman period do not exclude only forgery texts but even, just one example of an imperfect text was not included in this redaction."⁶⁷

W. M. Watt (1909-2006) points out that related to the subject matter: "Although Othman has been blamed by Muslims for many issues, he is not accused related to his Qur'ân collection. If he has not made the Qur'ân be written as it was revealed to Muhammad, it is certain that there would occur a big controversy between Muslims. So, the Qur'ânic studies of our age have not been able to raise any suspicion about the authenticity of the Qur'ân.⁶⁸ Regardless of the earlier forms of the Qur'ân, it is certain that what we possess today is Othman Codex. The comission which was formed by Othman prepared the consonant skeleton of the Qur'ân which did not have skeleton dots and diacritical marks. Our acceptance of the Qur'ân as authentic is based, not on any assumption that it is consistent in all its parts, for this is not the case; but on the fact that, however difficult it may be to understand in detail, it does, on the whole, fit into a real historical experience, beyond which we discern an elusive, but, in outstanding characteristics, intelligible personality."⁶⁹

Relying on the different qira'at variants of some companions such as Ibn Masud's (d. 32/653) qira'ats; Schwally, Bergsraßer and Jeffery claim that some parts of the Qur'ân have not reached us. Related to the subject matter John Burton expresses that: "Arthur Jeffery points out that he feel confident about some different qira'ats of some companions, such as Ibn Masud's qira'ats which are excluded from Othman Codex, that they go back to early period authorities. One is appalled at

the results for European scholars of their too ready acceptance of all that they read in the Muslim reports on this or that aspects of the discussions on the Qur'ân. Remembering that all such reports are, after all, merely ḥadiths which must therefore be treated no differently from the other ḥadiths we daily have to deal with.⁷⁰ Besides, all the manuscripts that have been discovered up to now belong to the Othmanic Codex and not even a small manuscript of other codices such as Ibn Masud Codex has been found.⁷¹ Although different qira'at variants of companions have been transmitted by Islamic sources, these qira'ats have never been so successful enough as to be included in Othmanic Codex. This adds for the Qur'ân an element additional to the suggestion that the Othmanic or non-Othmanic Qur'ân texts were drawing upon an underlying common Qur'ân tradition, whether oral or otherwise. Actually it is not difficult to explain this situation. Indeed, more than one learned Muslim has been seen in the foregoing to be perfectly aware that the variants reported were in fact nothing more than exegetical comments. Although the controversies that the companions had about qira'at variants at the period of Muhammad is scandalous for today's people, actually it was quite a normal thing. Muhammad himself had been aware of their existence and had not insisted on imposing a universal reading. He had urged understanding and mutual forbearance upon his followers, exhorting them by his example to lay aside petty, narrow chauvinism and pedantry. All the companion versions of the Qur'ân (to which we must now add Zaid's) are correct and equally valid."⁷² After examining the Muslim traditions related to the collection of the Qur'ân and after analysing the orientalist's opinions related to the subject matter Burton has come to the result

⁶⁷ Paret, Rudi (2012). *Kur'an Üzerine & İslam Sembolizmi*, (trans. Hüseyin Yaşar), İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, pp. 55-60; Yaşar, *Batı'nın Kur'an Algısı*, pp. 219-220.

⁶⁸ Watt, William Montgomery (1998). *Kur'an'a Giriş*, (trans. Süleyman Kalkan), Ankara: Ankara Okulu Yayınları, p. 65.

⁶⁹ Watt, *Kur'an'a Giriş*, pp. 58-59, 68. See <http://www.truthnet.org/islam/Watt/Chapter3.html>.

⁷⁰ Burton, John (2010). *The Collection of the Qur'ân*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 217-220, 233.

⁷¹ Burton, *The Collection of the Qur'ân*, pp. 178, 239.

⁷² Burton, *The Collection of the Qur'ân*, pp. 150-151, 182-183.

that: "What we have today in our hands is the muṣḥaf of Muhammad."⁷³

Harald Motzki, after summarizing the orientalist's views on the textualization history of the Qur'ân, analyses the traditions about the codification process of the Abu Bakr and Othman Codices from the oldest sources. According to Motzki there is no evidence that these traditions' isnâds are forged. So, they must be accepted as genuine as long as no evidence is found to reject them. Because the Muslims are nearer to the topic and their claims and data are more coherent than European experts' opinions that have been put forward up to now related to the subject matter. Then, the European claims which are alleged to be reliable and scientific are, contrarily, far from being dependable.⁷⁴ For instance, the method which Wansbrough has adopted in his critiques is obtained from the methods which have been used in the Biblical studies.⁷⁵

And related to the context, Angelika Neuwirth points out that: "The Qur'ân presents itself as a kitâb which strongly supports its phenomenon of canonicity. Indeed, it was realised as such by the early community who first understood kitâb to be a transcendent scripture that both was manifested in the texts held sacred by the adherents of the older religions."⁷⁶ Examining the design of the Qur'ân, the traditional scenario of the Othmanic redaction, the hypothesis that the remnants of the Prophet's recitations were collected soon after his death to form the corpus we have in

front of us, is thus plausible though not possible to prove.⁷⁷ New findings of Qur'anic text fragments (San'a), moreover, can be adduced to affirm rather than call into question the traditional picture of the Qur'ân as an early fixed text composed of the sūras we have."⁷⁸ And Neuwirth criticizes Wansbrough saying: "Wansbrough applies the model of the historical criticism⁷⁹ of the New Testament to the Qur'ân, reading the corpus as made up by logia of the Prophet framed by excerpts from later polemico-apologetical debates."⁸⁰

One of the important critiques posed to Wansbrough is that "he have examined the Qur'ân according to the Old and New Testament evaluation methods." Josef van Ess says that: "Generally speaking I feel that John Wansbrough has been overwhelmed by the parallel case of early Christianity. Islam comes into being at a time and in surroundings where religion is understood as religion of the Book. This understanding had been prepared by the developments in Judaism and Christianity as well as in Manichaeism. Canonization was no longer something novel. It was expected to happen. This, in my view, suffices as a justification of the process in Islam taking

⁷³ Burton, *The Collection of the Qur'ân*, pp. 239-240.

⁷⁴ Motzki, *The Collection of the Qur'ân*, pp. 1-31.

⁷⁵ Motzki, *Alternative Accounts of the Qur'ân's Formation*, p. 60. For Motzki's critiques about the sceptics see Karapınar, Fikret, "Harald Motzki ve İlk Dönem Hadis-Fıkıh İlişkisiyle İlgili Klasik Oryantalist Görüşe Getirdiği Eleştirisi", (ed. Abdullah Aydın i.a), *Oryantalizmi Yeniden Okumak: Batı'da İslâm Çalışmaları Sempozyumu*, (pp. 293-328), Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, Ankara 2003.

⁷⁶ Neuwirth, Angelika (2007). *Structural, Linguistic and Literary Features*, (editor: Jane Dammen McAuliffe) in, *The Cambridge Companion to the Qur'ân*, (pp. 97-113), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 102.

⁷⁷ Neuwirth, Angelika (2003). *Qur'ân and History - a Disputed Relationship Some Reflections on Qur'anic History and History in the Qur'ân*, *Journal of Qur'anic Studies*, 1, 1-18, p. 11.

⁷⁸ Neuwirth, *Structural, Linguistic and Literary Features*, p. 100.

⁷⁹ Historical Criticism: In order to understand a study by its deep meanings, the study must be evaluated in accordance within the historical environment in which this study has come into being. The place, history and social environment where the study has been given birth is important to understand it in a right way. It is ideal even to know the writer's name, life, personality and at which phase of his life has he written his work. Tablets of pots related to the ancient cultures that are found by excavations are also very important. The perceptions of socio-cultural, economic and historical environment are crucial related to the context. See André Robert & André Feuillet (1967). *Introducción a la Biblia*, Barcelona: Biblioteca Herder, v. I, pp. 275-288.

⁸⁰ Neuwirth, *Qur'ân and History*, p. 5.

place so rapidly.”⁸¹

François de Blois expresses that: “From the onset, the protagonists of the ‘revisionist’ school have declared their debt to the well-established tradition of the historical-critical study of the Christian scriptures which emerged since about the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁸² But the methodology of textual criticism⁸³ and source-criticism,⁸⁴ as applied with success to the New Testament, cannot be transferred automatically to the Qur’an. Because those two sources are different and a different kind of source requires a different kind of methodology.”⁸⁵

Fred McGraw Donner handles the thoughts of the sceptics, such as Wansbrough, about the canonization history of the Qur’an with a different point of view: “Some points which sceptical approach has missed are these: They claim that the Islamic sources do not project the facts. But throughout the Islamic history from the very beginning of the Othman martyrdom, lots of religious, political and social conflicts have occurred and many Islamic sects, who have conflicting thoughts, have come into being and have written their ideas and supported them. Because of non-existence of an authority which was to control this community’s written thoughts, who spread from India till Spain, the historical

facts have been written in this or that way. Because there has never been an authority which has controlled Islamic thoughts. Especially the manuscripts of the early periods, which are being discovered continually, manifest the thoughts of the early Islamic sects clearly. Lots of materials are found in these manuscripts which oppose the ideas of the Orthodox/Sunni Islam which has been standardized later on.⁸⁶ The sceptical approach, like source-critical approach and tradition-critical approach,⁸⁷ was heavily indebted to earlier works in the field of Biblical criticism. The sceptical scholars adopt not only some of the methods of Biblical criticism; they have apparently embraced as well some of the Biblical critics’ conclusions- in particular, the highly pessimistic outlook on the reliability of the tradition as an historical source, and views on hierarchy, redaction, and uniformity of the tradition. It is far from clear, however, that these conclusions- which in the hands of Islamic scholars of Islamic origins, become assumptions- are applicable to the study of Islamic materials, which crystallized much more rapidly than the Old Testament tradition, in much better-known historical circumstances, and which display far greater inner diversity than does the Biblical material.⁸⁸ And instead of following a systematical method, Wansbrough creates a series of loosely connected and wide-ranging hypotheses which together seem to imply his main conclusions about the date and provenance of the Qur’anic text by their collective weight and mutually supporting character, rather than because they form a linear set of deductions. An other weakness of Wansbrough’s case is that he nowhere suggests who was responsib-

⁸¹ Van Ess, J., Review of J. Wansbrough, *Qur’anic studies*, Bibliotheca Orientalis, 35 (1978), pp. 349-353, p. 353. (Cited in Neuwirth, (2002). Form and Structure of the Qur’an, (editor: Jane Dammen McAuliffe), Encyclopaedia of the Qur’an, (v. II, pp. 245-266), Leiden: Brill, v. II, p. 246)

⁸² François de Blois (2010). Islam in its Arabian Context, (editor: Angelika Neuwirth, Nicolai Sinai, Michael Marx) in, *The Qur’an in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur’anic Milieu*, (pp. 615-624), Leiden: Brill, p. 615.

⁸³ Textual Criticism: Is the analysing of a text both morphological (external) and semantical (internal). See Robert y Feuillet, *Introducción a la Biblia*, v. I, pp. 122-136.

⁸⁴ Source Criticism: Is an evaluation method which requires the evaluation of both Muslims and non-Muslims’ sources together in order to eliminate the contradictions that exist in the Islamic sources. See Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, pp. 9-13.

⁸⁵ François, *Islam in its Arabian Context*, p. 619.

⁸⁶ Donner (1998). *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writings*, New Jersey: The Darwin Press, pp. 26-30.

⁸⁷ Tradition-Critical Approach: Is an evaluation method of tradition which requires to assess the traditions with religious, political and sociological context in order to understand the early period Islamic community as a whole. See Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, pp. 13-15.

⁸⁸ Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, p. 29.

le for deciding what did, or did not, belong to the Qur'ānic canon. To pin the responsibility for such a process simply on "the community" or "the scholars" is too vague; we need to have some idea of what individuals, or at least what groups, were involved in making such decisions, and what interests they represented; yet Wansbrough remains silent on this question. Similarly he fails to explain how the eventual Qur'ānic vulgate was, in the late second century AH, imposed on people from Spain to Central Asia who may have been using somewhat different texts for a long time, and why no echo of this presumed operation-which, one imagines, would have aroused sharp oppositions- is to be found in our sources.⁸⁹ According to Wansbrough the traditions and the Qur'ān have been formed at the same time and in the same cradle and some parts were selected to be traditions and the other parts were chosen to be called the Qur'ān.⁹⁰ But when we analyse these two categories we see that they do not resemble to each other neither in content nor in style. Although there are political topics in traditions (such as the caliphate's specialities and the community's responsibility on behalf of him); there is not even a smallest fragment of such subjects in the Qur'ān. That is why because the Umayyad caliphates could not find evidences in the Qur'ān for their political position, they had to improve different theories or make some artificial interpretations of some verses. But if the Qur'ān had come into being at this period, it would be easier and more practical to add some verses which would support their political attitudes. And also, although political conflicts have started just before the first civil war (656-661), the Qur'ān does not include any hint of these conflicts. And this, inevitably, prove that the Qur'ān has not been formed at the same time with

this civil war.⁹¹ Consequently, the silence of the Qur'ān around this topic is because it has been formed earlier, at the period of Muhammad and the companions. In the context of the people, groups and events there is not even a clue of anachronism in the Qur'ān. All the events in it are suitable to the Muhammad's period whereas there are numerous anachronic incidents in the traditions. And this shows that the Qur'ān has obtained its last shape before the first civil war (656-661), at the latest date.⁹² And also, whereas the traditions present Muhammad as a human being equipped with miracles; the Qur'ān introduces him as a mortal prophet who eats and drinks and who does not have any miracle."⁹³

Gregor Schoeler puts forward that: "The data of the traditional Islamic history are true in general, if not specifically and it is true with high probability that the whole of the Qur'ān was in written form before the death of Muhammad."⁹⁴ Today, lots of the Qur'ān manuscripts which are in the different libraries and special collections all over the world and are thought to belong to the early periods have been tested by the radiocarbon (C14) dating method at the laboratory of the Oxford University. According to the mentioned radiocarbon test results most of these manuscripts are found to belong to the 578-694 AD period with % 95 and higher probability.⁹⁵ And also the manuscripts which were discovered at San'a and which are identical to the Otmanic Codex have been dated to belong to the pe-

⁸⁹ Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, pp. 36-39.

⁹⁰ See Wansbrough, *Qur'anic Studies*, pp. 44-52, 78.

⁹¹ Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, pp. 39-47.

⁹² Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, pp. 47-49.

⁹³ Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, pp. 50-52.

⁹⁴ Schoeler, (2010). The Codification of the Qur'an: A Comment on the Hypotheses of Burton and Wansbrough, (editor: Angelika Neuwirth, Nicolai Sinai, Michael Marx) in, *The Qur'ān in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur'ānic Milieu*, (pp. 779-794), Leiden: Brill, pp. 779-782, 788-789.

⁹⁵ Schoeler, *Ecrire et Transmettre*, p. 12; Islamic Awareness (2014). <http://www.islamic-awareness.org/Quran/Text/Mss/hijazi.html>.

riod of Al-Walid Ibn Abd al-Malik (705-715).⁹⁶ Consequently, all these data invalidate the sceptics' claims such as Wansbrough's hypotheses.⁹⁷

A very old manuscript of the Qur'ān which was at the Birmingham University collection has recently been tested with radio-carbon test at the laboratory of the Oxford University and it was found to belong to the 568-645 AD period with % 95.4 probability.⁹⁸

4. Evaluation

Some orientalists' assertions that the Qur'ān has not been written at the early periods depend on the assumption that Arabic was not used as a written language at that time but on the contrary it was used orally. But, in fact, Arabic was in use both orally and written language before Islam and the time of the Prophet (pbuh).⁹⁹ It is not known when the Arabic alphabet has started to be used as written form. But it is certain that it has been started to be used as written form hundreds of years before AD. era.¹⁰⁰ Also archeological data prove that the Arabic alphabet was in use hundreds of years before Islam.¹⁰¹ Because many documents and epigraphes which belong to the pre-Islamic periods have been discovered in different regions of Arabian

Peninsula.¹⁰² And there is a consensus among the experts of the field that Arabic alphabet was in use in VI. century of AD. era in al-Anbār, al-Ḥīrah, Macca and al-Ṭā'if. This alphabet firstly appeared at al-Anbār and then spread over al-Ḥīrah, Macca, al-Ṭā'if and so on.¹⁰³ And also Muhammad Hamidullah (1908-2002); examines the *Sahifa of Hammām b. Munabbih* (d. 101/719) (this *Sahifa* is actually Abu Hurayra's work) who was Abu Hurayra's (d. 58/678) student and after the examination he comes to the conclusion that the collectors of traditions like Ahmad b. Hanbal (d. 241/855), Buḥārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim (d. 261/874) have relied on the written sources for their works; or else not on the folklore of that time as it is alleged by the orientalists. So, they prepared their tradition collections by depending on the authentic data. Because Hamidullah compares this *Sahifa* with the data of the mentioned collectors who have transmitted the *Sahifa* and discovers that there

⁹⁶ Schoeler, (2010). The Constitution of the Koran as a Codified Work: Paradigm for Codifying Hadīth and the Islamic Sciences?, *Oral Tradition*, 25/1, 199-210, p. 206; Schoeler, *The Codification of the Qur'an*, p. 792; François, *Islam in its Arabian Context*, pp. 618-619.

⁹⁷ Schoeler, *The Codification of the Qur'an*, pp. 791-792.

⁹⁸ University of Birmingham (2015). <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/news/latest/2015/07/quran-manuscript-22-07-15.aspx>

⁹⁹ Schoeler, *Ecrire et Transmettre*, pp. 15-20.

¹⁰⁰ Knauf, Ernst Axel (2010). Arabo-Aramaic and 'Arabiyya: From Ancient Arabic to early Standard Arabic, 200 CE-600 CE", (editor: Angelika Neuwirth, Nicolai Sinai, Michael Marx) in, *The Qur'ān in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur'ānic Milieu*, (pp. 197-254), Leiden: Brill, p. 197; Retsö, Jan (2010). Arabs and Arabic in the Age of the Prophet, (editor: Angelika Neuwirth, Nicolai Sinai, Michael Marx) in, *The Qur'ān in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur'ānic Milieu*, (pp. 281-292), Leiden: Brill, pp. 281-282.

¹⁰¹ Watt, *Kur'ān'a Giriş*, p. 46; Gruendler, Beatrice (2001). Arabic Script, *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, (v. I, pp. 135-144), Leiden: Brill, pp. 137-138.

¹⁰² Hamidullah, Muhammad (2007). *İslām Müesseselerine Giriş*, (trans. İhsan Süreyya Sırma), İstanbul: Beyan Yayınları, p. 9; Hamidullah, Muhammad (2007). *Hiz. Peygamber'in Altı Diplomatik Mektubu*, (trans. Mehmet Yazgan), İstanbul: Beyan Yayınları, pp. 54-64; al-A'zamī, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā (2003). *The History of the Qur'anic Text: From Revelation to Compilation, A Comparative Study with the Old and New Testaments*, Leicester: UK Islamic Academy, pp. 135-136; Hoyland, Robert (2007). Epigraphy and the Linguistic Background to the Qur'ān, (editor: Gabriel Said Reynolds) in, *The Qur'ān in its Historical Context*, (pp. 51-69), London: Routledge, pp. 53-57; Schoeler, *Ecrire et Transmettre*, pp. 15-20.

¹⁰³ al-Balāzurī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Cābir (1987). *Futūḥu'l-Buldān*, (editor: 'Abdullāh Anīs al-Ṭabbā', Beirut: Muessesetu'l-Ma'ārif, pp. 659-661; Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan al-İsfahānī (1992), *Kitābu't-tanbīh 'alā ḥudūsi't-taṣḥīf*, (editor: Muḥammed As'ad Ṭalis), Beirut: Dāru Ṣādir, pp. 19-20; Ibn Kathīr, 'Imāduddīn Abu'l-Fidā' Ismā'il (1995). *Kitābu faḍā'il-i-Kur'ān*, (editor: Abū Ishāq al-Ḥunī al-Asarī), Cairo: Mektebetu Ibn Taymiyya, p. 90; Hamidullah, *Diplomatik Mektup*, pp. 24-25; Isabel Toral-Niehoff (2010). The 'Ibād of al-Ḥīra: an Arab Christian Community in Late Antique Irak, (editor: Angelika Neuwirth, Nicolai Sinai, Michael Marx) in, *The Qur'ān in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur'ānic Milieu*, (pp. 323-347), Leiden: Brill, pp. 342-343; Abbott, Nabia (1967). *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri II: Qur'ānic Commentary and Tradition*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, v. II, p. 5.

are no any differences between their data and the *Sahifa*.¹⁰⁴ So, this is an important evidence for the opinion that; Arabic has been used as a written language since early period of Islamic history and the orientalist who claim that the traditions have been written at III. century of hijra do not rely on valid thoughts for their hypotheses.¹⁰⁵

Actually we must try to find the reasons of the orientalist's sceptical approach in their understanding of sacred texts. Because when they have noticed that: There are huge inconsistencies, hundreds of thousands of differences between the manuscripts and data that contradict with the historical events and the scientific results in their sacred texts; they had to improve a methodology in order to cope with these difficulties. According to this methodology, they have claimed that: Their sacred texts include many features of the human being; although these texts are mainly divine, they have been written by the people who had freewill and these people have reflected to their writings their values of knowledge, history, psychology, ideology and culture and they have transferred to the sacred books the information that they perceived through their senses and also they have revised these sacred texts in accordance with the needs of the ages they lived.¹⁰⁶ Consequently, hundreds of thousands of differences between the manuscripts of Old and New Testament have occurred.¹⁰⁷ So, according to the data of

sacred texts, the earth was stable and the sun spinned around it. Because the writers of these texts relied on the information that they perceived through their senses and they have written what they have experienced. And some historical data that exist in the sacred texts are wrong because the community, among whom the writers of the sacred texts

¹⁰⁴ Hamidullah, Muhammed (2010). *Kur'an-ı Kerim Tarihi*, (trans. Abdülaziz Hatip ve Mahmut Kanık), İstanbul: Beyan Yayınları, pp. 16-17; Hamidullah (2007). *Muhtasar Hadis Tarihi ve Sahife-i Hemmam b. Münebbih*, (trans. Kemal Kuşçu), İstanbul: Beyan Yayınları, pp. 44-72.

¹⁰⁵ See Hamidullah, *Hadis Tarihi*, pp. 12, 72-87.

¹⁰⁶ Robert y Feuillet, *Introducción a la Biblia*, v. I, pp. 40, 43, 46-60, 79-81, 133-136, 164-165, 174-176, 290-295, 299, 322-324; v. II, pp. 107-109.

¹⁰⁷ Würthwein, Ernst (1995). *The Text of the Old Testament: An Introduction to the Biblia Hebraica*, (trans. Erroll F. Rhodes), Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, p. 46; Martini, Carlo Maria (2012). *Profonda Consonanza di Radici*, (editor: Paravia Bruno Mondadori) in, *Il Libro*

Sacro, (pp. XI-XXIII), Milano, p. xi-xxiii; Robert y Feuillet, *Introducción a la Biblia*, v. I, pp. 127-129; al-A'zamī, *Qur'anic Text*, pp. 242, 282-289; François, *Islam in its Arabian Context*, p. 617; Ehrman, Bart D. (1993). *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament*, New York: Oxford University Press, p. xii; Paçacı, Mehmet (2002). *Kur'an ve Ben Ne Kadar Tarihseliz?*, Ankara: Ankara Okulu Yayınları, p. 98. See Ibn Kathīr, *Faḍāil*, p. 70. Although the differences between the manuscripts are stated to be 200.000 in the study made under the chairmanship of Robert and Feuillet which has been written in French and called *Introduction à la Bible* (See A. Robert et A. Feuillet, *Introduction à la Bible*, Declée & Cie 1959, v. I, p. 111, cited in al-A'zamī, *Qur'anic Text*, p. 303); the number of the differences is reduced to 150.000 in the English and Spanish translations of the mentioned study without any extra explanation. (See Robert y Feuillet, *Introducción a la Biblia*, v. I, p. 128; A. Robert and A. Feuillet, *Interpreting the Scriptures*, translated by P.W. Skehan et al, Declée Company, NY 1969, v. I, p. 115, cited in al-A'zamī, *Qur'anic Text*, p. 303) The Gospels started to be written approximately in the middle of the first century by the students of the Apostles. But we do not possess even one original manuscript of these first copies. (See Robert y Feuillet, *Introducción a la Biblia*, v. I, pp. 155, 158, 185, 210, 229, 248; v. II, pp. 310, 554-563, 570, 580-587, 579; al-A'zamī, *Qur'anic Text*, p. 280; Paçacı, *Kur'an*, p. 100) And also Torah has been destroyed for many times and recomposed relying on the remnant data and it has also been revised again and again in accordance with the needs of the ages. (See Robert y Feuillet, *Introducción a la Biblia*, v. I, pp. 40, 66-67, 290-295, 299, 322-324; v. II, pp. 107-109) The oldest manuscripts of the Old Testament that have been discovered are thought to belong to the X. century. (See Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament*, p. 11; Robert y Feuillet, *Introducción a la Biblia*, v. I, pp. 104-105; al-A'zamī, *Qur'anic Text*, p. 240) So, there are six thousand differences between the Torah of Samaritans and Jew of which one thousand and nine hundreds include serious differences in meaning. See Ibn Kathīr, *Faḍāil*, p. 70; Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament*, p. 46; Robert y Feuillet, *Introducción a la Biblia*, v. I, pp. 109-116; al-A'zamī, *Qur'anic Text*, p. 242.

lived, knew these historical data wrongly. So the writers also knew these information in this way and they reflected them in the sacred books in the form they knew them.¹⁰⁸ That is why whether some parts of the sacred texts must be accepted as sacred or not is still a controversial topic among the adherents of these texts.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, according to the followers of these texts, the texts which are perceived as sacred texts (The Bible) today were not proclaimed as sacred texts by God or by the prophets but by the communities.¹¹⁰ So, they regarded these texts as the works of human being. As a result of this understanding they advise for the commentators of the sacred texts to act as a philologist, learn Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek; go beyond the texts and try to obtain the oldest manuscripts and penetrate into the intention of the writer and understand the texts in a wholistic way within its surroundings.¹¹¹

Therefore, at the beginning of the XIX. century, the adherents of the sacred texts developed methods like *historical criticism*, *textual criticism* and *literary criticism*¹¹² in order to explain the inconsistencies that exist in their sacred texts and they evaluated their texts in accordance with these methods. So, the orientalisists tend to evaluate the Qur'ān, too, according to these methods because of their mentality about the sacred books' nature. Because according to their knowledge and experience of sacred books, a sacred text could not have come from God literally/word for word. These texts were written by people

although their message have come from God. And also these texts could not have been preserved literally with the exact first form. Because their sacred books have not had such an experience but, on the contrary, they have been redacted continually. So, in accordance with this mentality they intentionally use the terms like "redaction", "edition", "variant" for the Qur'ānic text which signify some alterations of the original text.¹¹³ That is why when we analyse the orientalisists' thoughts about the textualization history of the Qur'ān we notice that; their opinions about the textualization history of the Qur'ān resemble with a high percentage to their ideas around the textualization history of the Bible. These similarities are very important evidences to prove that; while studying the textualization process of the Qur'ān they mostly rely on their biases, background knowledge, culture, belief and experience about their sacred texts' history or else there would not be such a high similarity between their ideas about the textualization history of the Bible and the Qur'ān. So, on the contrary to their persistent claims, the orientalisists do not depend on the scientific data related to the subject matter.

CONCLUSION

Many orientalisists like Abraham Geiger (1810-1874), Josef Horowitz (1844-1910), Friedrich Schwally (1863-1919), Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921), Theodor Nöldeke (1836-1930), Gotthelf Bergsraßer (1886-1933), Hartwig Hirschfeld (1854-1934), Alphonse Mingana (1878-1937), Otto Pretzl (1893-1941), Richard Bell (1876-1952), Arthur Jeffery (1892-1959),

¹⁰⁸ Robert y Feuillet, *Introducción a la Biblia*, v. I, pp. 54-60, 86-90.

¹⁰⁹ Robert y Feuillet, *Introducción a la Biblia*, v. I, pp. 69-72.

¹¹⁰ Jeffery, *The Qur'ān as Scripture*, pp. 4-7.

¹¹¹ Robert y Feuillet, *Introducción a la Biblia*, v. I, pp. 93-95.

¹¹² Literary Criticism: It is an effort of understanding a text by analysing its grammar, words, linguistic and syntactic structure, literature form and literature mentality of the socio-cultural environment where the text in question has been given birth. The text is tried to be understood with the help of the literature forms that exist in the environment of the text in question such as fable, poetry, prose and legend. See Robert y Feuillet, *Introducción a la Biblia*, v. I, pp. 137-162.

¹¹³ See Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, v. I, p. 41; Wansbrough, *Qur'anic Studies*, pp. 44-52; Basetti-Sani, *Introduzione allo Studio del Corano*, pp. 53-54; Gilliot, Claude (2007). Reconsidering the Authorship of the Qur'an. Is the Qur'an Partly the Fruit of a Progressive and Collective Work?, (editor: Gabriel Said Reynolds) in, *The Qur'ān in its Historical Context*, (pp. 88-108), London: Routledge, p. 101; Gilliot, *Origines*, p. 645; Gilliot (2006). Les Sources du Coran, *Le Monde des Religions*, 19, 30-33, p. 31; Gilliot, (1983). Deux études sur le Coran (La composition des sourates Mekkoises. Le Coran, Muhammad et le "judeo-christianisme"), *Arabica*, XXX, 1-37, p. 15.

Rudi Paret (1901-1983), Wilhelm Rudolph (1891-1987), Edmund Beck (1902-1991), John Wansbrough (1928-2002), Maxime Rodinson (1915-2004), Günter Lüling (1828-2014), Patricia Crone (1945-2015), Michael Cook, Sidney Griffith, Claude Gilliot, Christoph Luxenberg claim that; Muhammad has composed the Qur'ān with the information that he has obtained from the sources of Jews and Christians orally or with the help of translation through Syriac, Hebrew, Aramaic or Ethiopian languages; some parts of the Qur'ān have been lost before Othmanic Codex; some additions or omissions have occurred during or after the redactions of Abu Bakr and Othman and parallel to these assumptions they have tried to reconstruct the historical background of the Qur'ān. But because they could not have proved their claims by the scientific data, they had to put forward different speculations and hypotheses. For everyone of them has set forth different hypotheses, the data which they obtained could not form a developmental approach. So, they could not reconstruct the historical background of the Qur'ān and in the end the orientalist themselves began to express their suspicions about their claims and hypotheses.¹¹⁴ But although there are lots of main differences in their ideas, all of them are of the same opinion that in one way or another the Qur'ān which we have in our hands today has been taken from a prototype root Qur'ān.¹¹⁵

Today, there are many manuscripts of the Qur'ān which have dispersed all over the

world and which belong to the first century and so on.¹¹⁶ According to el-A'zamī's guess the quantity of these manuscripts, complete or incomplete, is around 250.000.¹¹⁷

As a result, all the data of Muslims or non-Muslims which we cited above show that; what we have today in our hands is exactly the Qur'ān itself which has been revealed to Muhammad (pbuh).

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¹¹⁴ Reynolds, *Introduction*, p. 8.

¹¹⁵ Reynolds, *Introduction*, pp. 8-19; Donner, *The Qur'ān in Recent Scholarship*, pp. 30-32; Bowering, Gerhard (2007). Recent Research on the Construction of the Qur'ān, (editor: Gabriel Said Reynolds) in, *The Qur'ān in its Historical Context* (pp. 70-87), London: Routledge, pp. 70, 79-81; Gilliot, *Authorship*, pp. 88-101; Griffith, Sidney (2007). Christian Lore and the arabic Qur'ān: 'The Companions of the Cave' in Sūrat al-Kahf and in Syriac Christian Tradition, (editor: Gabriel Said Reynolds) in, *The Qur'ān in its Historical Context*, (pp. 109-137), London: Routledge, p. 130.

¹¹⁶ Nöldeke, *The Qur'an*, p. 27; José Miguel Puerta Vilchez (2008). El Corán Como Objeto Artístico: Orígenes de la Caligrafía Sacra en el Islam, (Editor: Ana Ramos) in, *El Corán Ayer y Hoy: Perspectivas actuales sobre el islam: estudios en honor al Professor Julio Cortés*, (pp. 491-510), España: Berenice, pp. 491-510; Virgilio Martínez Enamorado (2008). La Azora CXII (Sūrat al-Ijlās) Como Argumento Arqueológico: Su Divulgación por al-Andalus, (Editor: Ana Ramos) in, *El Corán Ayer y Hoy: Perspectivas actuales sobre el islam: estudios en honor al Professor Julio Cortés*, (pp. 511-528), España: Berenice, pp. 513-514; Ġānim Kaddūrī al-Ḥamad (1982). *Rasmu'l-muṣḥaf: Dirāsatuṭ-ṭaḥqīqiyatun tāriḥiyyatun*, Baghdad: al-Lacnātu'l-Ṭāniyye, pp. 519-520; Hans Caspar Graf von Bothmer, Karl-Heinz Ohlig und Gerd Rüdiger Puin (1999), *Neue wege der Koranforschung*, Universität des Saarlandes, *Magazin Forschung*, 1, 33-46.

¹¹⁷ al-A'zamī, *Qur'anic Text*, pp. 109-112, 151.

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