Critical Analysis of the Proposed Theories on How the Holy Quran Was Collected

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ABSTRACT

The Holy Quran is the most important religious heritage and the foundation of Islamic civilization. Various works have addressed the subject of the Quran history since the third century AH. Proving the authenticity and accuracy of the text of the Holy Quran, as the most important source of the religion of Islam, is related to the knowledge of the history of the Holy Quran. These works, like all other scientific works, can be criticized in terms of their research approach and method. In many of these works, the nature of the Quran as a historical and social phenomenon has not been taken into account, and this issue has led to the weakness of the method of studying the Quran history. Therefore, rewriting different parts of the Quran history, considering the historical and social nature of the Quran, based on scientific approaches and methods, is a necessity, and by using different approaches of structuralism and critical approach, studies of the Quran history can be written in a manner that is more in line with historical truth.

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Problem Statement

Studies of the Quran history are one of the most important topics in Quranic sciences and one of the most important topics that affect some important interpretive foundations, such as the authenticity of the appearances of the words of the Holy Quran and the validity of the context in interpretation (Mirmohammadi Zarandi, 1420, p. 283). For this reason, most jurists and commentators have dealt with this issue in their works in a brief or expanded manner. Studying the history of this book from the day it was expressed by the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) as the word of God to the present day, when it is recited from the Musahif in Islamic societies, is the task of the science of "the history of the Holy Quran". Topics such as collection and collection, writing, calligraphy, and readings of the Quran are examined in this science (Mohammadi, 2006, 18; Maarif, 2004, 21). It is clear that the most important challenges in the Quran history are related to the Quran collection in the first and second centuries of the Hijri (AH).

The first book entitled History of the Quran is the work of German scholar Theodor Noldeke. Although some issues had been raised about the Quran history before, in works titled "Al-Musahif", "Jum'ul-Quran" and "Fada'il Al-Quran", the starting point of these studies should be considered after the 18th century (Ma'arif, 2004, 20). The legacy that has been available on the subject of the history of the Quran collection in the last century has suffered from various damages that make it necessary to criticize these texts.

This study identifies necessary and efficient approaches in the studies of the history of the Quran collection and seeks to answer the question: What approaches are efficient in resolving the ambiguities and challenges of the studies of the history of the Quran collection? And what criticisms are there on the methods of the studies of the Quran history?

Regarding the background of the research, it should be said that comprehensive research with this approach has not been organized in the Quran history, but among the works and books with these approaches, some works can be mentioned such as the Streamology of studies on the Quran history in the West by Saeed Shafi'i Khozani, the article entitled The role of Zahari in the narrations of the Quran collection by Muhammad Nasih, Zayd ibn Thabit and his role in the history of the writing of the Quran by Ali Reza Zakizadeh, and the article entitled The Quran collection by Harald Motsky, in the criticism of the chain of narrations of the Quran collection. In these articles, the weakness of Zayd ibn Thabit and the issue of the uniqueness of the chain of narrations of Zahari have been mentioned. in addition, an article by Morteza Karimi Nia, an interview, entitled "Quranic Studies in our Today's Iran" has been published, which has briefly discussed the lack of new approaches and methods in Quranic studies.

However, so far, firstly, no research has been conducted on the validation of the book of "Al-Musahif", "Fada'el Al-Quran" and the weakness of the branch narrations. Secondly, no research has been organized on the results of a critical approach to these sources.

1. Research Method

The method of this study is a library study of historical research approaches and a comparative study of these approaches with the history of the Quran collection as a historical and social event. The approach is a general theory and perspective that is adopted in facing with a specific problem or situation. An approach is the collective view of scholars in a field of knowledge (Parsania, 2009, 118-126). The historical method and approach are two sides of the same coin and complement each other (Mehrabi, 2018, 319). Research method is an idea for the method of understanding and may not be universally accepted (Moftakheri, 2012, 76). Research method deals with the quality of application of data collection tools, description, judgment and understanding of theory and methods of producing science in the field of science and human knowledge (Parsania, 2001,

10). However, approach is a type of research method that is accepted by a large number of scientists due to its basis on correct theoretical foundations and must be considered in any study as a necessity. Therefore, in studying the history of the Quran collection, two structuralism and critical approaches can also be used.

2. Explanation of the structuralism approach in historical studies

Structuralism is an approach that considers phenomena in a field as a coherent whole with mutual influence (Group of Authors, 2014, 353-381). Various elements such as politics, intellectual tendencies, historical actions that play their role in a structure. This theory has transformed many existing theories in the humanities, including historical studies (Kowtharani, 2012, 219). In the past, historians in general, both Muslims and non-Muslims, considered divine will and providence as the main factor in the occurrence of historical events and did not feel the need to state any other cause. This approach was called "Determinism", or the main denial of causality. Early Muslim historians focused on describing biographies, wars, etc., and paid less attention to religious, cultural, and social issues and their impact on historical events, and more attention was paid to the role of individuals in events (Taha, 2004, 97). In these works, historical criticism was limited to criticizing hadith documents at most (Mala'i Tavani, 2007, 152 and 156). However, modern historians examine the causes and motivations of an event. They consider things such as economy, climate, race, historical figures, religion, etc. to be among the factors influencing historical events. Today, in scientific historical study, it is not enough to simply describe the facts; rather, it is also necessary to recognize the contexts and premises of an event, the real causes and roots of social changes (Mala'i Tavani, 2007, 167).

Today, deterministic historical study is an outdated method, and according to contemporary historians, what causes an event is a change in social structures. The way people think and their

actions are the most important drivers and factors of historical events, and in the study of history, the relationship of historical events with fundamental infrastructures, especially culture, must be considered. Today, paying attention to this approach in a historical study is essential (Hoffer, 2006, 133; 261; Stanford, 2005, 373; Methodology Group, 2014, 358-359; Piaget, 2005, 14).

In this study, the historical study of the collection of the Holy Quran is done using a structuralism approach.

2.1 Historical study of the Quran collection with a structuralism approach

In the structuralism approach, the infrastructure is the laws and structures on which general affairs, developments, and social and structural order are based, and without paying attention to it, a correct interpretation of the superstructure issues cannot be made (Kowtharani, 2012, 219). Islamic civilization has been established based on two foundations. Because the Quran and the Sunnah are actually the same laws and structures on which general affairs, developments, and social and structural order in the Islamic society were based during the lifetime of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). The Holy Prophet (PBUH) himself, in an authentic narration, introduces the two infrastructures of Islamic civilization as the Quran and his Sunnah (Saffar, 1404, 412/1).

By careful look at the history of Islamic civilization and the starting point of this civilization and the historical stages of its formation it is indicated that the foundation of religious thought arising from the Quran and the Prophet Sunnah in the formation of the structure of Islamic civilization (Sobhani, 1418, 11/1; Kowtharani, 2012, 219). Although this foundation can be examined as the most important and major fundamental factor in the events of the history of Islamic civilization, this study does not claim the stability and lack of change of the foundation or the exclusivity of the foundation to the Quran and Sunnah; rather, the focus is on the fact that in studying the Quran

history, the relationship of this foundation with the structure of Islamic civilization and the other foundation, namely the Family (Atrat) or the Prophet Sunnah, should be considered. Failure to pay attention to these two foundations leads the researcher and historian to errors and illusions both in understanding the events related to the Quran and the Prophet Sunnah and in understanding the events of the history of Islamic civilization. Most important events of the first century AH in the structure of the history of Islamic civilization are completely related to the foundation of the Quran and the Atrat.

With this explanation, a few examples of the issues of Quranic collection will be presented, which studying with a structuralism approach has an important impact on understanding and resolving its ambiguities.

2.1.1 Example 1: The order to abstract the Quranic Musahif from the Prophet Sunnah

After the death of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), Umar ibn al-Khattab reduced the texts of Sunnah by issuing a government order prohibiting the transmission and writing of hadith and ordering the abstraction of the Musahif from the narrations, and made ijtihad al-ra'i (Judgment of opinion) a new source for government jurisprudence (Ibn Abdul-Barr, 2019, 121/2; Ibn Asakir, 1415, 26/382). His action in this regard stemmed from his view regarding the lack of revelation and authenticity of the Prophet Sunnah (Amil al-Kurani, 2000, 390). The elimination of this important foundation from Islamic civilization led to the substitution of opinion, analogy, and ijtihad of the companions instead of referring to the Prophetic Sunnah (Aameli, 1426, 302/1; Ayyub, 1416, 324). Based on the verses of the Holy Quran, such as "The Prophet does not speak from his own desire. It is only a revelation revealed to him" (Najm:4); "Obey Allah and obey the Messenger" (Nisa:59), etc., the words of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) were, like the Holy Quran, proof and must be followed. The words of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) were often written in Musahif and sometimes in separate pages of

hadith (Najjarzadegan, 1424, 453). Most of these narrations were jurisprudential narrations on the subjects of Hajj, Jihad, Marriage, etc. Therefore, it should be noted that the Quran and the Prophet Sunnah were recorded in a single collection (Ahmadi Miyanji, 1998, 481/1).

2.1.2 Example Two: A scientific approach to understanding the narratives of the Quran collection

The lack of effort to discover the common line and path and the connection between the attitudes of the three caliphs and the structuralism approach to the history of Islam and the Quran is the cause of the lack of explanation of the process that took place in connection with the Quran collection during this period. One of the actions of the historian is to discover a generalizable pattern and the connection between historical events (Mehrabi, 2018, 113). When faced with conflicting narrations on the issue of the Quran collection, Quran scholars have presented different opinions; some have believed in a fall, citing the conflict in the narrations. Some have also tried to justify the Quran collection by making it a staged process, considering the rule of "Addition is preferable to subtraction whenever possible". The first stage was memorization in the hearts during the time of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), the second stage was writing on the pages during the time of Abu Bakr, and the third was compiling the official version during the time of Uthman (Research Group, 2014, 28; Authors' Committee, 2001, 54). These justifications are not based on any historical evidence or reason, and the only way to overcome conflicting reports is to collect the Quran. The use of two methods of collecting between reports or omissions in historical study is a methodological flaw. The narrations of collecting the Quran should be studied with a structuralism approach and the method of historical study. If the subject of collecting the Quran is studied with a structuralism approach, it cannot be imagined that these multiple collections are unrelated to each other. While the conditions of Uthman's caliphate mention following the tradition of the

two sheikhs (Malti, n. d., 104; Ameli Kurani, 1426, 144/3; Amadi, 1402, 207/4). This indicates the existence of a generalizable pattern in the religious thought of the three caliphs, which should also be considered in the Quran collection.

2.1.3 Example Three: Studies on the manuscripts of the first century AH Qurans

A structural study of the history of the Hadith and the Quran can also answer the reason for the erasure of the lower layer of the first century AH Musahif, such as the Sana'a Musahif, and the cutting of the margins of these Musahif at the end of the first century AH, i.e. the years of Al-Hajjaj's reign, which is one of the unanswered questions of orientalists in the study of the manuscripts of the first century AH. One of the issues that emerges from the study of the first century manuscripts and the Sana'a Mosque Musahif is that the edges of these Musahif were cut because a sufficient margin was not provided for the Quran. That is, despite sufficient distance between the words and lines, there is not enough margin for the pages of these Qurans, and it cannot be imagined that this happened to save on paper costs, because there is a lot of space between the lines and words. In these Musahif, there is an underlying layer that indicates the existence of synonymous words, explanations, and interpretations in the Quran, which have been erased for unknown reasons [to orientalists] (Daroush, 2015, 124). With a structuralism approach and attention to the approach of the Umayyad government to the Prophet Sunnah, the reason for this deletion from the Musahif of the first century AH is understandable. Hajjaj ibn Yusuf Thaqafi, in a government action during his reign, had ordered the abstraction of the Musahif from the Prophet Sunnah and the necessity of following the Ottoman Musahif, which was a Mushaf free from any interpretative explanation, and had forbidden Muslims from transcribing and writing the Prophet Sunnah. For this reason, he has been called the destroyer of the Prophet Sunnah (Balathari, 1417, 391/13).

Description:

1. The underlying layer that has been removed from the first century Qurans (Musahif).

2. The material around the pages has been cut out so that the Quran has no margins.

3. The Syriac (Nabati) script with which the Quran is written.

The abstraction of the Musahif from the jurisprudential texts of the Prophet Sunnah was initially prohibited by the three caliphs due to its conflict with the method and vision of governance, and was vigorously pursued as a government policy due to its compatibility with the type of governance of the Umayyad caliphs. During the Umayyad rule, the most severe treatment was given to jurisprudence and jurists, and if anyone expressed a word of the Prophet Sunnah alongside the Quran, the punishment was death (Tastari, 1422, 333/1; Nowwi, 13929/50; Aini, n. d., 90/10; Ibn Asakir, 1425, 160/12; Jahiz, n. d., 285).

Pursuing this policy during the time of Hajjaj was essential. In particular, in the method of conquering countries and the rules of war and the division of spoils, which certainly spread and practicing based on the Prophet Sunnah, was an important obstacle to implementing this type of governance. Because the Prophet Sunnah limited religious war, and the Prophetic jurisprudence did

not allow for the conquest of a country under the pretext of jihad and this type of division of the public treasury (Deraz, 2003, 63). Therefore, the policy of formalizing the Ottoman Qurans (Musahif) was pursued with all seriousness.

In the structuralism approach, when the study of historical sources, with a deconstructive and critical approach, shows the possibility of distorting historical truth, it is necessary to reconstruct history based on identifiable documents and structures. Critical study of historical sources themselves provides the historian with a lot of documents and evidence to reconstruct history. In this reconstruction, or construction, the historian must use rational, structuralism thinking, test the results, and use valid and reliable information as support to avoid falling into the trap of bias and assumptions (Mukala, 2016, 67).

Here, one of the results of the structuralism study is presented. If the issue of the Quran collection is viewed with a structuralism approach and attention to the fundamental differences between the thoughts of Imam Ali (AS) and Omar ibn al-Khattab, it becomes clear that the term "collection" should be interpreted in accordance with the attitude of these two people. Because the word "collection" means the joining of similar matters or objects (Hasan Jabal, 2010, 890). When the expression "the Quran collection" was used in the first century AH, considering the conditions of the Quranic manuscripts (Musahif) at that time, three possibilities are at least conceivable: First: the collection of scattered verses of the Quran into a single collection. Second: Collecting and separating the verses of the Quran from other things that were mixed with it and preparing the Quran in an independent collection. Third: Collecting the verses of the Quran with a collection that is consistent with it; that is, the narrations of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), which are also of the revelations' type and have unity with the Quran.

In order to understand the type of collection that has been spoken of in the sources of the Quran

history, attention must be paid to fundamental and structural thinking. There are various narrations and documents that indicate that the Holy Quran was collected between the two ends (Ma bey Al-Daftayn) during the lifetime of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and the Quran was not scattered. The only evidence that indicates the scattering of the verses of the Quran is the narrations of Zaid bin Thabit.

In the opinion of Omar bin Al-Khattab, the Prophet Sunnah lacked authority, so his goal in collecting was to separate the verses of the Quran from the collection mixed with the Prophet Sunnah, and this policy continued during the time of Uthman and Al-Hajjaj, when the Musahif free from the Prophet Sunnah became official and mandatory in all Islamic countries. And since, in the view of Imam Ali (AS), the words of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) were revealed and in terms of authenticity, they were no different from the Quran, therefore, Imam Ali (AS) gathered the Quran and the Prophetic Sunnah into a single Thobe (material).

3. Explanation of the critical approach in historical studies

Another necessity of historical studies is the use of a critical approach in the study of the Quran history. The critical study approach is also based on a structuralism approach in historical study, but this time the history narrated by historians is deconstructed according to the structure that the historian has in that field. In critical thinking, the effect of power on the type of historical report must be examined and history must be studied with a critical and deconstructionist approach. Deconstructionism is a type of text reading in which an attempt is made to discover the assumptions within a text. In deconstructionism, the understanding of history is based on the historian's understanding and insight into history, which is derived from his social context, motivation, and assumptions (Mukalla, 2008, 43; Radavi, 1400, 29-53). The term deconstruction was first used by Jacques Derrida, a post-structuralism philosopher who believed that there

is no certainty in language-based texts. According to the deconstructionisms' view, no reality is free from historians' assumptions and interpretations (Manslow, 2015, 72).

Deconstructionist historians, with a critical approach, believe in the influence of the primary historian's motivation and the influence of power and society on historical reporting. According to this approach, historical explanation and meaning are influenced by the motivation based on the historian's assumptions. The historian expresses his interpretation and explanation of historical reality by citing documents that are based on knowledge, insight, and assumptions. Historical reality only comes into play when the historian interprets it, and the historian interprets it based on his own assumptions arising from knowledge, emotions, interests, methods of reasoning, cultural context, etc. It is the historian who decides which documents are presented and in what structure and order (Manzello, 2015, 157; Stanford, 2005, 60). Assumptions cause the historian's motivation to arise, and motivation guides the historian to an effective understanding of the external world. Motivation is found in the questions that historians ask of the documents, and it is not always the case that the historian's motivation is the same as the interests of the ruling class, but often the early Muslim historians wrote history under the influence of the interests of the ruling class. Therefore, in a deconstructionist study, the historian's mental world, that is, those who created the historical sources or the power and culture in which the historical text was formed, must be identified and the historical documents must be evaluated in a new construction, or at least its evaluation must be left to the reader (Maneslow, 2015, 157-164; Makala, 2008, 48).

3.1 Historical study of the Quran collection with a critical approach

The need for a critical approach to the Quran history is important because the first sources of the history of the Holy Quran were written completely under the supervision of the ruling class, and only documents are presented in these books that are in harmony with the interests of the ruling class and political tendencies. Topics such as: the lack of collection of the Quran during the lifetime of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), the means of writing the Quran, the motivation of the three caliphs for the act of collecting the Quran, the justification of the act of burning the Quran by Uthman ibn Affan and the coordination of the companions with him, etc.

The five main narrators of the narration documents of the Quran collection are all people who were influenced by political and religious motives and, with specific motives, have reflected only those aspects of the truth of the Quran history that are compatible with the interests of the ruling power and the religious foundations of the Sunni sect. These people include; Zaid ibn Thabit, Ibn Shihab Zuhri, Shu'bah ibn Hajjaj, Abu Ubaid Qasim ibn Salam, Ibn Abi Dawood Sijistani.

3.1.1 Critical study of the narrations of Zayd ibn Thabit

The only reporter of the decision-making sessions for the Quran collection by Abu Bakr and Uthman is "Zayd ibn Thabit" (Sajistani, 2007, 40). "Zaid bin Thabit narrated to him: Abu Bakr sent to me the news of the killing of the people of Yamamah", that is Zayd ibn Thabit is the only witness and present in many narrations of the collection of Abu Bakr and Uthman". It is essential to deconstruct the premise and motivation of Zayd ibn Thabit in describing the historical event of the Quran collection. Due to his coexistence with the Jews (Sajistani, 2007, 57), Zayd ibn Thabit was influenced by the jurisprudential and religious thinking of the Jews and Pharisees, such as Ka'b al-Ahbar, and was a believer in opinion. According to recent research, some have even suggested that he was a Jew (Najjar, 2013, 121). He was a Nasibi, therefore, there is a possibility that he distorted historical statements in a way that would question the authenticity of the Quran or protect the interests of the ruling class (Zakizadeh, 2019, 31). Zayd

ibn Thabit is famous for his enmity with Imam Ali (AS) (Mamqani, 1431, 29/131). It is clear that, considering the Sirah of Imam Ali (AS), this enmity is not a personal enmity arising from jealousy or anything else, but rather this confrontation is related to a clear difference regarding fundamental issues such as the authenticity or lack of authenticity of the Prophet Sunnah and the issue of the sufficiency of the Quran. In a narration from Imam Baqir (a.s.), it is stated: "The ruling is of two type: the ruling of God and the ruling of the pre-Islamic period. And God has said: What ruling is better for the believers than the ruling of God?" Imam Baqir (a.s.) testified that Zaid ibn Thabit was the one who ruled based on the ruling of the pre-Islamic period" (Astarabadi, 1422, 5/290; Ameli, 1415, 231/1).

Therefore, the narrations of Zaid ibn Thabit, who is the only narrator present in the Quranic narrations, can be criticized from various aspects.

First: The use of the term collection for an act that was actually the abstraction of the Qurans (Musahif), because according to the texts of the Ahl al-Bayt (a.s.), the real collection was carried out only by Imam Ali (a.s.). As Imam Baqir (a.s.) said: "Except for the successor of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), no one collected the Quran, and whoever claims to have collected the Quran has lied" (Ibn Shahr-Ashhub, 1956, 41/2; Qomi, 1404, 451/2; Saffar, 1404, 1/194; Kulayni, 1407, 1/228). And the first person who used the term collection for the act of abstraction was Zaid ibn Thabit.

Second: The lack of explanation of the real reasons and motivations for his act of abstracting the Quran (Musahif). Because these narrations indicate the aversion and turning away of Abu Bakr and Zayd and their lack of courage at the beginning of the matter.

Third: The narrations do not mention the political aspects and the three-person agreement that was made between them about the quality and how to implement this plan. While certainly, in order to eliminate the Prophet Sunnah, a plan had to be made, and this work had opponents among the companions, and the implementation of such a process was not easily possible. On the other hand, making a decision about such an important matter was not within the competence of these three people, and it was necessary to use other great companions to implement it. And other texts also indicate the objection of some great companions to this arbitrary action (Ibn Asakir, 1415, 33/138).

Fourth: In Zayd's report, it is stated that; two witnesses had to testify in order to record verses in the Mushaf (Sajistani, 2007, 52). Knowing Zayd's personality and his political orientation, one cannot trust the existence of such a condition for recording verses of the Quran, because there is no other document of the testimony of the companions for recording verses in the Musahif, while it is impossible that there is no report of such a great and important process.

Assuming the existence of such a condition, it should be considered a strategy to collect the Musahif from the companions and gain their trust. Because in another place, a similar issue is raised, namely that Umar ibn al-Khattab ordered the collection of the Musahif under the pretext of compiling a single Prophet Sunnah and then said; I feared that a book like the books of the Jews would appear and burn all the Musahif (Ibn Sa'd, 1415, 5/188). Changing to such a contradictory view in a short period of one month is unacceptable. Perhaps such a justification would be acceptable to early historians who had a deterministic approach to history, but for a historian with a structuralism and critical approach, it is a matter of reflection. In the view of a critical historian, his statement was either made to create the illusion of distortion in the Quran, as some have interpreted this narration in this way, or it should be considered a strategy for collecting the Qurans (Musahif).

3.1.2 Critical Study of the Narrations of ibn Shihab Zuhri

The common thread in the narrations of the Quran collection by Abu Bakr and Uthman is

Muhammad ibn Shihab Zuhri. He served the Umayyads, especially Omar ibn Abdul Aziz, and his policy of convergence (Jassoos, 1416, 15-50; Sharbasi, 1374, 669-675). He had close ties to the court during the reign of Abdul Malik ibn Marwan to Hisham ibn Abdul Malik, during which he held important positions such as judge, tax collector, and head of the police (Dhahabi, 1413, 5/341). It should be noted that in a structuralism study, a ruler, or an individual in the government, cannot act outside his cultural framework. Every individual is forced to act within the cultural framework of his society (Islamic History Research Institute, 2014, 320). In the ideological system of the Umayyad government, the three caliphs were just and the door to any objection to them, especially Uthman ibn Affan, was closed. The political orientation of the Umayyad government was the Ottoman orientation, and the indicator of the Ottoman orientation was the love of the three caliphs and the hatred of Imam Ali (AS) (Hedayat Panah, 2009, 30). Therefore, Zuhri also had sufficient motivation to distort historical facts, especially the motivations of Quran collection and justifying the actions of Uthman ibn Affan (Ghayb Harsawi, 2014, 179-230; Nasih, 2016, 167-190). He has been weakened in the eyes of most Shiite scholars. Some Shiite scholars who are more familiar with Sunni narrators have called him an enemy, which can perhaps be considered among the most severe words of weakening (Tusi, 1994, 119; Helli, 1402, 250). It should be noted that Muslim historians believe that in the historiography of the Umayyad or Abbasid governments, political awareness did not exceed the interests of the state and public order (Mehrabi, 2018, 98; Zayn al-Abidini, 2009, 149). Therefore, it is clear that Zuhri's report will not be outside this scope.

The study of the narrations of the Quran collection, especially the collection narrations of Uthman, of which Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri is the common link, must be done with a critical approach. In the study of these narrations, it should be noted that what they have stated is not the entire collection of texts, but only a part that was approved by the ruling class. In a critical study, attention should also be paid to texts that are inconsistent with these narrations. For example, texts that indicate the disagreement of the reciters and companions with Uthman's action regarding the Quran. Texts that indicate that Uthman forbade this action by the companions, or texts that explicitly introduce the burning of the Quran by Uthman as the cause of people's anger against him. The critical reader should pay attention to other texts in history that indicate the opposition of the companions to the collection act of Uthman and his burning Qurans. A new reconstruction of the Quran history, consistent with the structuralism approach, must be presented through the method of critical study. A picture in which the result and consequences of the innovation of abandoning the Prophet Sunnah and removing it from the infrastructure of Islamic civilization can be predicted.

Relying only on the Quran and attention to the ijtihad of the companions' opinions, instead of paying attention to the Prophet Sunnah (Munqari, 1404, 490), created an illusion for a group of companions that they could issue a ruling on the Caliph and his action in burning the copies of the Holy Quran (Musahif). They did not refer to Imam Ali (a.s.) as the explainer of the Prophet Sunnah to receive God's ruling, and despite Imam Ali's (a.s.) opposition and relying on their own ijtihad and opinion, they executed him. They left him in the grave and did not pray over his body (Maliki al-Andalusi, 1405: 1/225). Some of them even did not consider it permissible to offer condolences and pray for him. These texts clearly indicate the ruling of Uthman's apostasy and departure from Islam among some companions. Otherwise, no sinful Muslim would be dealt with in this way (Taha Hussein, 140; see: Alawi Ali Abadi, 1401, pp. 148-172). However, Sunni theologians, in the following centuries, used this argument to justify the actions of this group of companions and to resolve the contradiction between the silence of the companions on the murder of Uthman and the justice of all

companions, which was raised by the Shiites (Tabari, 1415, 676; Asqalani, bi-ta, 164; Mufid, 1424, 499). They called the murder of Uthman a sedition that the companions were obliged to remain silent about (Halabi, 1417, 292) and they justified Uthman's action of burning the Quran in order to resolve the differences in readings (Baqalani, 1407, 534; see: Alawi Ali Abadi, 1401, 33-70). The justification of burning the Quran on the pretext of resolving the differences between the copies of the Quran (Musahif) was first put forward by Ibn Shihab Zuhri. He justified many of the other actions of the three caliphs, Aisha, Muawiyah and even Yazid. In all these narrations, the chain of narrations is unique in his name and his narrations often contain conflicting narrations. In this matter, the justification that was presented by him caused the emergence of complex problems in the Quran history.

3.1.3 Critical study of the narrations of Shubah ibn Hajjaj (160 AD)

The common thread of narrations that introduce the collection of Uthman and his burning of the Quran as approved by all the companions, especially Imam Ali (AS), has a unique chain of narration in Shubah ibn Hajjaj (Sajistani, 2007, 51). Shubah ibn Hajjaj is one of the hadith scholars and a companion of Imam Sadiq (AS). Some have considered him a Batri and a Zaidi; however, Shiite jurists consider him weak (Mamqani, n. d., 2/85). During the time of Shubah, Aban ibn Abi Ayyash, the narrator of the book Asrar Muhammad's family (PBUH), objected to the general recitation of the Quran by Muslims and the neglect of the Quran of Ali (AS) and claimed that the Quran collected by Uthman was a distorted and incomplete Quran (Hilali, 1405, 2/659). In order to end the old dispute between Shiites and Sunnis over the book of Ali (AS), instead of understanding the exact origin of the disagreement, Shubah made two claims, which were claimed only by him in history and no one else made such a claim, and were considered as the definitive, certain and unquestionable principle after him.

First: The recitation of Abu Abd al-Rahman Salmi is only from Imam Ali (AS) and he did not take his recitation from anyone else. While the narrations before him do not show such a limitation. It is stated in Tabaqat as follows; " Abu Abd al-Rahman Al-Salami, whose name is Abdullah bin Habib, narrated on the authority of Ali, Abdullah, and Othman. Shubah said that Abu Abdul Rahman Al-Salami did not hear from Othman, but he heard from Ali" (Ibn Sa'd, 1410, 6/171). Shubah's claim that Salami's recitation was limited to Imam Ali (a.s.), although there is no historical evidence for this, according to a contemporary scholar, was intended to silence the contemporary Shiites who objected (Madrasi Tabataba'i, 2001, 41-78).

Second, he claimed for the first time that Imam Ali (a.s.) had said that if he had been in Uthman's place, he would have done the same thing as Uthman, and that none of the companions opposed Uthman's burning of the Quran, and that Uthman's burning of the Quran was approved by the elders of the companions. " Shu'bah told us... Ali said in the Masahif: If Uthman had not made it, I would have made it" (Sajistani, 2007, 51). While this narration does not appear in any other hadith source from the Shiite or Sunni hadith collections. In addition to the fact that his narrations contradict numerous authentic narrations and historical evidence, the chain of these narrations is unique in the name of Shubah. The Shubah's statement is related to a religious dispute in the second century AH with Aban ibn Abi Ayyash. Shubah believed that if he drank animal urine or committed adultery, it would be better than narrating the narrations of Aban Ibn Abi Ayyash (Jurjani, 1409, 1/381). Although Shubah is a well-known and trustworthy narrator among the Sunnis, there are sufficient reasons to distrust his report for three reasons. First: the uniqueness of the chain of transmission of these narrations in him, second: the existence of many conflicting narrations, and third: his reputation as a popular and fanatic narrator among the Sunnis. Fourth: the permissibility of expedient lies among them.

If the issue of the Quran collection by Uthman ibn Affan is studied with a structuralism and critical approach, it becomes clear that this action had nothing to do with the issue of differences in readings in the sense that Ibn Abi Dawud and Qasim ibn Salam later claimed, but was a government policy with a history. This government action was accompanied by a strong reaction from a group of Muslims. In this case, new studies should be conducted on the Quran of Ali (a.s.) and its contrast with the Ottoman Musahif. This contrast was not related to interpretative additions or the quality of words, but to the legal and jurisprudential charter, which, according to the Ahl al-Bayt (a.s.), was the only authority with the authority to govern and prevented the conflict in the Islamic nation.

The result of a critical historical study is the rejection of the idea that Shubah was in a position to establish. This idea is that Imam Ali (AS) agreed with Uthman's action and that Hafs' narration from Asim agrees with Imam Ali's (AS) reading. While both ideas are open to criticism. These two ideas, which have been considered as certain matters by most Muslims, have led to the emergence of a complex historical deconstruct that has placed the truth of what happened with the Quran in a halo of ambiguity in the following centuries. The era of Shubah ibn Hajjaj is a period when only one official reading of the Quran is known, and that is the reading of the Uthman Mushaf, but there was still an objection among the Shiites to the abandonment of Ali's (AS) Quran (Salim ibn Qays, 247; Mufid, 1424, 499). Shubah ibn Hajjaj, regardless of the beginning of the semantic change of the term "recitation", during the period of Hajjaj's Emirate, considered the recitation of Muslims to be consistent with the recitation of Imam Ali (AS). However, the point of dispute was not the recitation of the verses of the Quran, but rather the abstraction of the Quran from the Prophetic Sunnah.

3.1.4 Critical Study of the Book of Al-Musahif by Ibn Abi Dawud Sijistani (336 AD)

Abdullah ibn Sulayman ibn al-Ash'ath, or Ibn Abi Dawud Sijistani, is the author of the Book of Al-Musahif, in which most of the narrations of the Quran collection were first mentioned. He was known in Isfahan as a Nasibi. His father (the author of the Book of Sunan) said: "This son of mine is a liar. The hadith scholars have considered him to be full of mistakes and unreliable and have said about him "His narrations should be viewed with suspicion" (Ibn Asakir, 1415, 29/85). The Alawis were enemies of him (ibid.). In such circumstances, one cannot rely on the narrations of an individual Uthmani and Nasibi, because in accepting a historical narration, one must pay attention to the reliability and trustworthiness of the historian (Mehrabi, 2018, 52). The book of al-Musahif was written with a clear orientation, not to express the phenomenological history of the Quran, but to justify the burning of the Quran by Uthman and in response to the protesting Shiites.

3.1.5 Critical study of the book of Fada'il al-Quran by Abu Ubaid Qasim ibn Salam (224 AD)

The book of Fada'il al-Quran, written by Qasim ibn Salam Harwi Azdi al-Khuza'i, includes another part of the narrations of the Quran collection. The author was also a Sunni narrator and a Nasibi (Shushtari, 1410, 8/471-472). His father was a Roman slave from Herat (Qifti, 1406, 3/12), his kunya is Abu Ubaid (Ibn Sa'd, 1410, 7/355), his tribe had a treaty of allegiance with the Umayyads or the Azdi tribe (Ibn Hibban, 1975, 9/17). He was in charge of the judiciary in Tartous for eighteen years and served in the Abbasid government (Namazi Shahroudi, 1419, 5/225). He would give every book he wrote as a gift to Abdullah ibn Tahir, who would pay him ten thousand dirhams monthly (Safadi, 1420, 24/93). Abdullah ibn Tahir (d. 230 AH) was the son of Tahir ibn Hussein, the third Amir of Tahir, and one of the Iranian generals of Ma'mun Abbasid. He first consolidated Ma'mun's power in those regions by suppressing the rebels in Syria and Egypt, and during the reign of Ma'mun and even Mu'tasim, he was one of the most powerful

political and military characters after the Caliph (Sam'ani, 1408, 4/33). It is clear that this book was written to serve the goals and policies of the Abbasid rulers, and the policy of the Abbasid government, in terms of religion, continued the policy and religious attitude of the Umayyads. Undoubtedly, when Qasim ibn Salam received a salary for his works from the Tahiri rulers who were servants of the Abbasids, he cannot be considered an influential historian without any presuppositions or motivations. With these premises, his history can be considered a kind of court writing and he narrated history in the way the Abbasid rulers allowed. He has also been counted among those who, after the Messenger of God (PBUH), believed in the superiority of Uthman over Ali (PBUH) (Ahmad ibn Faris, 2006, 41).

Critical study should make us doubt the correctness of Ibn Abi Dawud and Qasim ibn Salam's interpretation of the terms "recitation" and "reciter". This incorrect interpretation of the terms "recitation" and "reciter" had already begun in the late first century AH, and this semantic evolution was completed in the third and fourth centuries AH. A study of the Quran history shows the change and semantic evolution of the terms "recitation" and "reciter" in the first centuries AH. The actions of Hajjaj ibn Yusuf Thaqafi in insisting on the abstraction of the Quranic texts from the Prophet Sunnah, formalizing the Uthman Mushaf, paying attention to the recitation of the words and letters of the Quran, and abstracting the Quran from jurisprudential texts, as well as the special attention of Ma'mun al-Abbasid to literature and music in the third century AH, especially in the recitation of the Quran (Ibn Khaldun, 1408, 1/764) caused change in the semantic term of recitation and reciter and its emptying of its implicit and associated meaning, namely the concept of jurisprudence and jurist, Bahuti says: "The reason that jurists were called reciters was because the reciters of the Quran read and understood its meanings and for this reason they were distinguished from other people" (Bahuti, 1418,

4/249). It is clear that one cannot ignore this semantic evolution in understanding the book of Al-Musahif and Fadael Al-Quran. Ibn Abi Dawud and Abu Ubaid Qasim ibn Salam, both were scholars of the science of recitation in the third and fourth centuries AH, and did not pay attention to semantic evolution in their works and imagined that the difference in recitation, meaning the difference in the quality of the pronunciation of words and letters, had existed since the first century AH, while there is no reliable document on the existence of this difference in the first century.

If the narrations of the Quran collection are studied with the critical study method and with regard to the assumptions and motivations of historians, it becomes clear that many of the perceptions and deconstructions can be criticized and reconstructed based on new documents and approaches. In this section, only a part of these reconstructions has been briefly discussed, and it is clear that these reconstructions can also be criticized. However, the start of such movement presents a picture of the history of the Holy Quran that is less influenced by the assumptions and motivations and also benefits from other historical documents and insights.

3.1.6 Critical study of the documents of the lack of Quran collection during the time of the Holy Prophet (PBUH)

In the critical approach, many propositions must also be re-read. The historian must pay attention to the many motives that have existed to distort the facts of Islamic history, especially the damage to the credibility and authenticity of the Quran and the Prophet Sunnah, and set aside the deterministic attitude. The issue of the Quran collection during the time of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), considering the historical facts of the Hijaz in the sixth century AD, is not far-fetched (Rajabi Qudsi, 2019, 38; Zaino Saegh, 2011, 31; Saleh Atiyeh, 2001, 29; Asgharpour, 1399, 114; Ameli Kurani, 2020, 126; Qadravi, 2003, 18). Especially since the transmission and preservation of the Quran, based on the text of the

Holy Quran, was one of the concerns of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and Muslims, and Ibn Saad has emphasized in the oldest narration the Quran collection during the time of the Messenger of God (PBUH) (Ibn Saad, 1410, 2/271).

What causes doubt about the Quran collection during the lifetime of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) are the documents and evidence that indicate the collection of the Holy Quran by the four caliphs. Therefore, the appropriate way to understand the truth of the Quran collection during the lifetime of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) is to critically study the statements that prove the idea that the Quran was not collected during the lifetime of the Holy Prophet (PBUH).

Some have tried to prove, by studying documents and evidence such as Arab memory, the efforts of the Companions and the Holy Prophet (PBUH) to learn and recite the Quran, the number of memorizers, the Musahif of the Companions, etc. (Ali Sagheer, 1420, 86; Hussaini Zadeh, 2013, 45) that it is impossible that the memorization, recording, and collection of the Holy Quran, as the most important concern and mission of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), was not carried out during his lifetime and was left to later periods. This important task was certainly carried out during his lifetime and the Quran was collected then. Many of the early scholars also believed in the Quran collection during the time of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), including Ibn Qutaybah-Dinuri (276 AD), Abu Jafar Nahas (338 AD), Baghalani (403 AD), Seyyed Morteza (436 AD), (Tabatabai, 1982, 19; Ayazi, 1999, 22-35; Asgharpour, 2020, 134).

This approach is appropriate in studying the Quran history in this section, but it cannot be considered complete, because the statements that prove the opposite of this issue should be evaluated with a critical study approach. Among these cases is the issue of the instrument used to write the Quran and the number of scribes of the Quran.

An issue that should be paid close attention to in the history of the Quran collection is that;

First: Was the collection of the Holy Quran in the first century AH based on a written method or was the written method one of the methods of memorizing/preserving the Holy Quran? What was the motivation for the monopoly of the method of memorizing and collecting the Quran in a written method that was first proposed by Noldeke, and have historians of the Quran history paid attention to this issue or not?

Second: Why is there an obvious attempt in the narrations of the Quranic collection to portray the instrument of writing the Quran as a primitive instrument (Muhaisin, 1400, 136; Ali-Sagheer, 1420, 74; Mohammadi, 2006, 156; Khalili, 2013, 64; Mahdavi, n. d., 82; Ershad, 1989, 23; Ashiqar, n. d., 63) and to portray the scribes as few people and incapable of writing the Quran, and also an attempt has been made to say that many scribes and memorizers of the Quran were martyred and there was a fear of the destruction of the Quran? And because the instrument of writing was primitive, the Quran was recorded only in memories (Attar, 1996, 169).

All the points mentioned can be criticized and re-read with the approach of historical study. For example, in the study of Arab history before Islam, the issue of illiteracy and the lack of writing tools is completely criticizable. Mecca and Medina are on the trade routes from southern Yemen to the Mediterranean countries, through which perfumes, spices and Indian fabrics were transported to Egypt, Syria and Europe, and papyrus paper and etc. were traded to Yemen and India on the other side (Rajabi Qudsi, 2019, 31). Mecca and Medina have always had the best markets in the world throughout history, the most diverse, highest quality and cheapest goods have always been traded in the markets of Mecca and Medina (Saleh Atiyah, 2001, 13) to the extent that the Holy Quran itself refers to the issue of the movement of trade caravans as the most reliable historical document and witness: "The familiarity of the Quraysh is the journey of winter and

summer" (Quraysh: 1). How is it that the scribes of the Holy Quran, who always expected the revelation to come, could not have a notebook ready for this purpose in their four-legged bags? In the sixth century AD, in the Hijaz region, there were various types of paper suitable for writing the Quran, including parchment, scroll, paper, green leaf, leather, silk, cloth, cotton, etc. (Rajabi Qudsi, 2019, 38; Zaino al-Saegh, 2011, 31; Saleh Atiyeh, 2001, 29; Asgharpour, 2020, 114; Ameli Kurani, 2000, 126; Hamad, 2003, 18).

What does it prove to hear that the Quran was written on a camel's shoulder bone, a stone, or a date leaf? Why did these undocumented and unreliable narrations attract Noldeke's attention? Were those who, in order to question the authenticity of the Quran's revelation, created the legend of Gharaniq and Waraqah ibn Nawfal in order to deny the authenticity and divinity of revelation (Allaf, 2001, 1/228) incapable of creating such statements that are the illusion of the destruction of the Quran? Why have these false statements been presented as a means of writing the Quran in books on the Quran history without any criticism?!! Some orientalists have concluded from this information that although the Quran was collected during the time of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), due to the primitiveness of the script and writing tools, part of the Quran has undoubtedly been lost (Berton, 1400, 152) and although this Quran was the legal Quran of Muslims, it was not the original Quran (Reynolds, 2012, 82).

It should be noted that the narrator of the narrations that say that the Quran was not collected during the lifetime of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and was scattered on stones and bones, etc. is Zaid bin Thabit, who has sufficient motivation to distort the historical event of the Quran collection and doubt the quality of the reliable and complete transmission of the Quran (Ameeli, 1998, 70). On the contrary, many statements can indicate the existence of literacy among the Arabs (Ahmad ibn Hanbal; 6/225; Waqidi, 2/868; Rajabi Qudsi, 2019, 35).

Moreover, the memorization and recording of the Quran among the Arabs was not only dependent on writing, rather, the oral transmission of the Quran was more important than the writing of the Quran, and the exaggeration of the issue of writing the Quran in the Quran history by Noldeke was not without reason (Daruzah, 2004, p. 36). According to some researchers, the exclusiveness of the Quran history to the history of the written Quran is a methodological error in studying the Quran history (Badr al-Din, 2018, 32; Kurdi, 1953, 39; Abdul Saboor Shahin, 2003, 38). Noldeke considers the verb "qara" to mean reading from the written text. Therefore, he limits the Quran history to the written transmission of the Holy Quran and does not pay attention to the oral transmission method in the first century AH (Noldeke, 2004, 13).

Another important point in this regard is that despite the existence of Arabic script, Zayd ibn Thabit used the Nabataean or Syriac script without any correction in writing the Quran. Some orientalists have considered the Quran to be non-Arabic and adapted due to this type of adapted writing (Bertan, 1400, 152; Reynolds, 2012, 150; Group of Writers, 2008, 14). While Imam Ali (AS), at the same time, took steps to correct the Nabataean script in a way that would remove this doubt and used the Kufic script, which was a script with higher accuracy and clarity, in writing the Quran (Rafi'i, 2015, pp. 14-37).

This important step in writing the Quran, which proves the surviving manuscripts of the Quran from the first century AH, is the most important evidence of the motivation of people like Zayd ibn Thabit to raise doubts about the Quran being adapted and not being authentic. How could a new Muslim with a Jewish background, such as Zayd ibn Thabit, Ka'b al-Ahbar, Abu Hurairah, etc., be trusted to such an extent? In other words, it should be said that proving the authenticity and legitimacy of the text of the Holy Quran and the Prophet Sunnah, as a source that proves the illegitimacy of many of their actions, could not have been a proper concern. It is natural that some

steps have been taken by the ruling class to doubt this authenticity and legitimacy. Therefore, it is necessary to restudy many of the Muslim narrations and statements in the history of Quran with a critical and structuralism approach.

Results

The Holy Quran is a spiritual phenomenon with social dimensions. Islamic civilization has been created around the Quran and the Prophet Sunnah, and the Quran is one of the two important foundations of Islamic civilization. Despite the time gap and lack of information, at the same time, due to the extent of the impact of this text on Islamic civilization, it has the ability to be known historically. However, in order to correctly understand the history of this phenomenon, scientific study methods must be used.

It should be noted that what is available as narrative and material sources of the Quran history can lead to a phenomenological and systematic study. To achieve such an important achievement, it is necessary; in the first stage that the Quran history be studied with a structuralism approach, meaning that the Quran should be considered as a social phenomenon and the foundation of the structure of Islamic civilization. In the second stage, in the study of the Quran history, considering the two important trends of the entry of Israelite and the exaggeration and motivation of historians, the documentation of the sources of the Quran history should be studied with a critical and structuralism approach.

Criticism of Quranic history studies is a necessity to improve the accuracy of information, due to the importance of the Quran in Islamic civilization, which has not been given due attention. Different types of Quranic history studies can be criticized, especially in the field of historian's motivation and information collection method. The most important methodological flaw in Quranic history studies is the use of sources quoted by historians who have reported the Quran history under the influence of political-theological motivations.

The most important and oldest sources of Quranic history, namely the two books Al-Musahif and Fada'il Al-Quran, were written by two Sunni Nasibis. In addition, most of the narrations of the Quran collection in their chain of transmission are unique to a common thread named Ibn Shihab Zuhri and Shubah bin Hajjaj, who is a historian of the Umayyad court and a fanatical narrator of Sunnis. It is clear that their narration of history is influenced by the interests of the ruling class or assumptions such as the justice of the companions. This issue is especially important in the report of Uthman bin Affan's action regarding the Holy Quran. On the other hand, a critical study of the narrations of the first source reporting the issue of collection, Zayd ibn Thabit, is essential.

Criticism of approaches to Quranic history studies shows that due to the importance of the subject of Quranic history, it seems necessary to form a committee of historians and Quranic scholars to write Quranic history with a phenomenological and realistic approach, without being influenced by the insights of atheistic or heretical historians, which can lead to the production of knowledge and increase the credibility of knowledge of Quranic history.

The Holy Quran is the infrastructure of Islamic civilization, and an important deviation that occurred in this structure in the first century AH had important consequences for the superstructure and history of Islamic civilization. Lack of attention to this important issue has caused historians to face challenges in analyzing some important historical events of the first century AH, such as the murder of Uthman, the Battle of Siffin, the uprising of Mukhtar, the actions of Hajjaj, etc.

The official narrations of the Quran collection were written under the direct supervision of the rulers and caliphs and only reveal the picture approved by them. This history is full of ambiguity and contradictions, somehow reducing it to an insignificant and unrecognizable knowledge. While the Quran history and Hadith

is an important part of the history of Islamic civilization, and its correct identification has an important impact on understanding the phenomena and social trends of the first centuries.

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