

Chronological Order for Qur'ānic Hermeneutics:

***Al-Tafsir al-Ḥadīth* of 'Izzat Darwaza**

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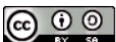
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Abstract

This paper analyzes the methodological stakes of interpreting the Qur'ān through *tartīb tanzīlī/tartīb al-nuzūl* (chronological order of revelation) by examining 'Izzat Darwaza's *al-Tafsir al-Ḥadīth* and the hermeneutical "value added" created by sequencing *sūras* along the arc of revelation rather than the canonical *muṣḥafi/tawqīfī* order. It argues that Darwaza's project reconfigures Qur'ānic interpretation into a developmental narrative of guidance tracking how themes, ethical demands, and communal norms unfold across the Meccan and Medinan phases and thereby offers an alternative map for relating Qur'ānic meaning to *sīra*, socio-political change, and the formation of law. Methodologically, the study combines intellectual-contextual framing with close reading of Darwaza's stated textual decisions and interpretive patterns. It notes his adoption of an Egyptian standard chronology mediated through the Kadirgali *muṣḥaf* tradition (with selective departures, such as beginning with *al-Fātiḥa*). The analysis highlights signature features of Darwaza's chronological hermeneutics. They include a consistent "verse-in-revelation-context" orientation that treats *asbāb al-nuzūl* and historical circumstance as primary interpretive variables, selective deployment of *ḥadīth/riwāyāt* to reinforce contextual meaning rather than to foreclose semantic development, and coherence-seeking treatment of tension and abrogation claims, including stage-specific readings of conflict verses vis-à-vis earlier proclamations of religious coexistence. This paper concludes that Darwaza's approach yields strong benefits for historical-thematic coherence, clarifies gradual moral-legal formation, and provides a pedagogically powerful "learning curve" for modern audiences. At the same time, it stresses inherent constraints as chronological lists are not universally agreed. Its heavy reliance on socio-historical reconstruction can invite historicism and reduce engagement with micro-linguistic debates central to other tafsir genres.

Keywords: Muḥammad 'Izzat Darwaza, *al-Tasir al-Ḥadīth*, chronological hermeneutics, historical-thematic coherence, *Tartīb al-nuzūl*.



Introduction

Many Muslims believe that the text of their Scripture, the Holy Qur'ān, in its current form, was sequenced based on *tawqīfī* or specific prophetic instruction. The Prophet specifically instructed Muslims to arrange the text in order of *āya* (verses) and *sūra* (chapters). The Qur'ān consisting of 114 *sūra*, beginning with QS. al-Fātiḥa (1) and ending with QS. al-Nās (114), is the result of this sequencing. Despite complex debates on the history of the Qur'ān, the first *muṣḥaf* or Codex was initially organized at the time of Abū Bakr (573-634) and 'Uthmān b. 'Affān (576-656), eventually leading to the first printed *muṣḥaf* in Egypt in 1923. Still, as widely discussed in Islamic law as well in Qur'ānic studies, all the verses of the Qur'ān were revealed in separate pieces or groups of *āya* and *sūra* across a timespan of 23 years, often in response to specific socio-religious events at the time of the Prophet. Scholars refer to this order as *tartīb tanzīlī* or the chronological order.

Thousands of Muslim legal and exegetical (*tafsīr*) works have been written on the basis of the *tawqīfī* or *muṣḥafī* sequencing. However, some jurists and *mufasssirs* (Muslim exegetes) have utilized different approaches and methods for writing their legal and *tafsīr* works by employing the *tartīb tanzīlī* order. For example, Ibn 'Atiyya (1088-1147), Mulla Huwaisy (d. 1398/1978), Habannaka (d. 2004), al-Jābirī (d. 2010) and Shihab (b. 1944), and especially 'Izzat Darwaza (1888-1984) are contemporary *mufasssir* who paid special attention to the *tanzīlī* order in their *tafsīr* works. This paper explores Darwaza's *al-Tafsīr al-Ḥadīth* and his interest in extracting Islamic law and interpreting the Qur'ān by employing the *tanzīlī* method. This paper observes the Qur'ānic hermeneutical impact of his choice of the *tanzīlī* sequencing in his work *al-Tafsīr al-Ḥadīth*. This also includes his other works related to this genre of legal and *tafsīr* studies.

Socio-Political and Intellectual Profile

Darwaza was a well-known figure in politics, education and history in the Arab world. Born as Muhammad 'Izzat b. 'Abd al-Hādī b. Darwīs b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan Darwaza in Nablus-Palestine in 1887, he emerged as an activist fighting against colonialism in Palestine and Syria around 1908-1920, and was also an activist of the Arab movement from around 1946-1948. As a state official he held several government positions such as secretary of the Public Department in Beirut,

headmaster of al-Najah al-Wataniya school, and head of Palestinian Waqf Affairs (1921-1937). In 1937, the British administration accused him of being involved in one of the Palestinian revolts and imprisoned him in Mazza and Qal'a in Damascus.

He joined the Arab Fertile Crescent as part of his commitment to the Arab political struggle under the banner of Arabism and Arab nationalism. Initially, he had high hopes for the Arab revolutions of 1908 and 1916. Politically, however, he was at first more of a staunch supporter of the 'Uthmāniyya movement, rather than Arabism, Islamism, Pan-Arabism, Arab nationalism, or Palestinian nationalism. His loyalty to the 'Uthmāniyya was based on his belief that Muslims should be united under an unified political force. This loyalty diminished after the Turkification and repressive policies of the Young Turks, which led him to fully support Pan-Arabism and Arab nationalism. In the end, he lent his support to Arab nationalism through the concept of a Greater Syrian Arab state. He returned to Nablus after the resignation of King Faisal of Syria by the British Administration and supported the national political struggle of Palestine (Darwaza, 1959) which he believed to still be part of his commitment to Arab nationalism (Darwaza, 1971).

Darwaza was committed to Arab nationalism because he saw the concept as not being new or imported from the West but having deep roots in Islamic teachings. 'Arab' here refers to the Arab people who speak Arabic and were committed to the same history and set of interests.¹ He supported the idea by maintaining that Arab identity and Arabic had a prestigious place in Islam. He refers to the Prophet Muhammad as an Arab and notes the Qur'ān was revealed in Arabic to the Arabs. He argues, for example, that Q. al-Baqara [2]: 143 (...and We made you upright umma and become witness for humankind) and Q. Āl 'Imrān [3]: 110 (...you are the best umma sent down to human kind, commanding to the right and forbidding evil) refers to Arab Muslims (Poonawala, 1976, p. 244). He confidently brought this idea to his legal and Qur'ānic studies works.

¹He explores Arab related ideas extensively in several works including thirteen-volume on Arab. See 'Izzat Darwaza, *Tārīkh al-Jins al-'Arabī fī Mukhtalif al-Atwār wa al-Adwār wa al-Aqtar* (n.d.a.) See also his three-volume *al-'Arab wa al-'Urūba*. Damascus: Dār al-Yaqzha al-'Arabiyya (1960). Also *Mashākil al-'Ālam al-'Arabī al-Ijtīmā'iyya wa al-Iqtisādiyya wa al-Siyāsiyya* (n.d.b).

His imprisonment in Mazza and Qal'a in Damascus led Darwaza to occupy himself with Qur'ānic studies. He was eventually exiled to Turkey and produced works on Qur'ānic studies and discourses. Thus, he received no specific training or education as a traditional or modern scholar of Islamic or Qur'ānic studies.

By examining his works on Islamic studies, we can see he was intensely focused on *tafsīr* and prophetic history (*sīra*). His imprisonment in Damascus gave him time to finish his first three works on the Qur'ān and prophetic history. They include *‘Aṣr al-Nabī wa Bī'atu-hu qabla al-Bi'tha: Ṣuwar Muqtabasa min al-Qur'ān al-Karīm wa Dirāsāt wa Tahlīlāt Qur'āniyya* that was finished in 1940 and initially published in 1947; *Sīra al-Rasūl: Ṣuwar Muqtabatsa min al-Qur'ān al-Karīm wa Tahlīlāt wa Dirāsāt al-Qur'āniyya* that was also finished in 1940 and initially published in 1947; and *al-Dustūr al-Qur'āniyya wa al-Sunna al-Nabawiyya fī Shu'ūn al-Ayāt* (1966) that was previously published under the title *al-Dustūr al-Qur'āniyya li-Shu'ūn al-Ḥayāt: al-Sunna al-Nabawiyya*. Darwaza referred to these three works as *Silsila Qur'āniyya* or the Qur'ānic studies series. Darwaza also penned other Qur'ān- related works.

Subsequently, his exile in Turkey granted him great access to significant works in Qur'ānic studies. He finished a rough draft of his magnum opus *al-Tafsīr al-Ḥadīth* in Bursa. He complemented this voluminous *tafsīr* with an introduction to Qur'ānic studies entitled *al-Qur'ān al-Majīd*, in which he explores his methodology for writing *al-Tafsīr al-Ḥadīth*. This introductory work includes four important chapters. They cover Qur'ānic styles and revelation, *qirā'āt* and their ordering, exemplary *tafsīr* methods, and commentary on *mufasssirs* and their methodology.

In the first chapter of *al-Qur'ān al-Majīd*, Darwaza explores the close relationship between the Qur'ān and the *sīra* on the one hand, and pre-Islamic Arab on the other. The second chapter examines the history of the compilation of the Qur'ān and the sequencing of the text. Darwaza came up with three approaches to understand the numbering and the ordering of the Qur'ān. First, the Qur'ān had not been compiled in a *muṣḥaf* at the time of the Prophet – the text was compiled after his death. Second, the *muṣḥaf* of the Companions differ from each other in ordering and the addition and removal of *āyāt* (Kara, 2019. p. 122). Third, the entire scope of the verses and chapters of the Qur'ān had been written and ordered at the time of the Prophet. Chapter three outlines his attempt to employ

tafsīr al-Qur'ān bi al-Qur'ān, namely that the *āyāt* of the Qur'ān are self-interpretive; they interpret each other on the basis of a classic expression that the *Qur'ān yufassir ba'du-hu ba'da*. This is what he refers to as the exemplary approach to *tafsir* that classic *mufasssirs* employed but had not been systematically applied. The last chapter features his comments on early *mufasssirs* and their *tafsir* works.

Tafsīr based on Chronological Order

Few *mufasssirs* have dedicated their *tafsīr* works to chronological ordering. Some of them simply demonstrated the practice of chronological *tafsīr* when dealing with particular cases or themes. Others committed to arranging their *tafsīr* works on the basis of the chronological order from the beginning to the end. Mulla Huwaisy (w. 1398/1978) wrote his *Bayān al-Ma'ānī* with special attention to the chronological order as suggested by the sub-title '*Alā Hasb Tartīb al-Nuzūl* (Gazi, 1962). He argues that in addition to the many advantages of conducting *tafsīr* using the chronological order, he found no such theological restrictions on interpreting the Qur'ān using the *tartīb nuzūlī* order (Gazi, 1962, pp.4-5). He even emphasized that what he was doing was adhering (*muttabi'an*) to this tradition in the interpretation of the Qur'ān. At the same time, conversely, he insisted that it was not an illegal innovation (*lā mubtadi'an*). He even proposed that his work was a good initiative to follow (*sunna hasana*) to understand the meaning of the Holy Scripture comprehensively.

Mulla Huwaish's *Bayān al-Ma'ānī* is considered one of the most prominent modern methodological attempts to read the Qur'ān according to the chronological order, rather than the order of the printed *muṣḥaf*. Published in Damascus by al-Taraqqi (1382 AH/1965 CE) in several volumes, this work is even considered one of the first printed Arabic works to comprehensively adopt this approach. Recent academic studies have noted that Mulla Huwaish represents a prominent example of interpretation according to the order of revelation in modern interpretive approaches (Fayyād, 2019, p. 425-427).

Mulla Huwaish proceeded from his conviction that understanding the verses of the Qur'ān is enhanced when they are placed within their historical and developmental context in the course of the prophetic mission. Thus, the early Meccan *suras*, which establish monotheism, are read before the later Meccan

suras, in which doctrinal arguments intensify, followed by the Medinan *suras* that deal with the organizing of society and legislation. This biographical approach allows the reader to see the gradual development of the message and the transformation of the discourse from establishing faith to building laws and systems (Fayyād, 2019).

The author begins his book with introductions to the principles of interpretation and what the interpreter needs, then proceeds to interpret the *suras* according to the chronological order of revelation, starting with QS. al-‘Alaq, then Nūn, and so forth. He pays close attention to outlining the reasons for revelation, linguistic and rhetorical allusions, and the thematic connections between one stage and others. The indexes of the book highlight this phased structure and the distribution into Meccan and Medinan sections.

Another *tafsīr* work dealing with the chronological order is *Ma‘ārij al-Tafakkur wa Daqāiq al-Tadabbur* by a Syrian scholar ‘Abd Al-Rahmān Ḥassan Ḥabannaka al-Maydānī (1927-2004) (Ḥabannaka, 2000). The *tafsīr* is a contemporary, encyclopedic commentary on the Holy Qur’ān. It distinguishes itself by being a reflective commentary arranged according to the order of revelation, not the order of the Qur’ānic text as it appears in the *muṣḥaf*.

Ḥabannaka states that his work is a reflective commentary that adheres to the methodology of his other book, *Qawā‘id al-Tadabbur* (Ḥabannaka, 2012). The commentary *Ma‘ārij al-Tafakkur* is predominantly characterized by an emphasis on contemplation and guidance rather than comparative argumentation with books of fundamental and jurisprudential differences of opinion. This makes it suitable for education, spiritual development, and understanding the objectives of the Qur’ān, while still requiring consultation alongside traditional analytical commentaries.

Through his *Ma‘ārij al-Tafakkur*, he reads the *sūras* or chapters within their historical context according to the stages of the prophetic mission which consist of early Meccan, late Meccan and Medinan phases. This *tafsīr* is strongly focused on reviving the context of revelation through a biographical reading that shows the relationship of the verses to the circumstances of their initial reception. This facilitates understanding apparent contradictions and abrogation, attributing them to differences in the stage and rhetorical function of the verses. In this work, he highlights the overall objectives and educational guidance of the Qur’ān. It

serves as an educational framework for building curricula based on the Qur'ān according to the stages of revelation and gradually linking value formation with practical application. This work also has a clear focus on the linguistic, rhetorical, and social aspects of the text, connecting the themes through a timeline that clarifies the gradual development of the Qur'ānic discourse from establishing faith to building legislation and society. Recent studies have benefited from the text of this commentary in analyzing rhetorical aspects, reflecting a linguistic richness that enables the researcher to engage in rhetorical and critical analysis of the text (Sarbāz, 2022).

Muhammad 'Ābid al-Jābirī has also contributed to the discourse on the chronological order. In addition to his philosophical project, al-Jābirī also made significant contributions by incorporating several concepts from his *al-Turāts wa al-Tajdīd* project into the discipline of exegesis. Toward the end of his life, al-Jābirī wrote the introduction to Qur'ānic studies entitled *al-Madkhal ilā al-Qur'ān al-Karīm* (al-Jābirī, 2008b) and his three-volume commentary *Fahm al-Qur'ān al-Ḥakīm* (al-Jābirī, 2008a) an application of *burhānī* epistemology to Qur'ānic studies. Al-Jābirī structured his commentary according to the order of revelation, not the order of the *muṣḥaf*. He used the chronological reconstructions of the scholars, although he acknowledged differences in detail (al-Jābirī, 2008a, I, p.5). His objective was not to replace the 'Uthmānī *muṣḥaf*, but to re-read the Qur'ānic message by emphasizing the process of revelation. He sought to prove that the Qur'ān could be understood rationally and historically, while still providing ethical guidance for modern society.

This commentary adopted a chronological approach based on *tartīb al-nuzūl*. With this chronological sequence, al-Jābirī aims to recapture the inner and outer dynamics of all revelation processes, namely the development of themes, vocabulary, and horizons of the first readers (*ummī al-Quraisy*) from the Meccan to Medinan phases.² He also aims to capture the ethical-theological “learning curve” of the first community, namely monotheism, ethics, and then socio-legal institutionalization in sequence. In addition, with this chronological arrangement, he is able to maintain thematic coherence through grouping *sūras*/clusters by period and issue, especially the Meccan and Medinan clusters, where he maps the evolution of ideas-themes (*tawḥīd*, morals, law, society) of

²See introduction (al-Jābirī, 2008a)

the Qur'ānic verses. With this internal/semantic coherence, he aims to examine the semantic-argumentative networks within and between *sūras* (al-Jābirī, 2008a, 1). He does criticize that the classical *tafsīr* tradition is too dominated by *bayānī* and *'irfānī*, resulting in atomistic interpretations and full of *isrā'iliyyāt* (stories related to pre-Muhammad Jewish and Christian communities and stories). Chronological interpretation, for al-Jābirī, is an effort to revive *burhānī* by returning the text to its revelatory context and universal purpose (*maqāṣid*).

Chronological Order in *al-Tafsīr al-Ḥadīth*

This work is commonly referred to as *al-Tafsīr al-Ḥadīth*, with the subtitle “*Al-suwar Murattabah Ḥasb al-Nuzūl*” which marks its character as a chronological commentary based on the order of revelation of the *sūras*. Bibliographically, the initial edition was published in Cairo (Dār Ihya' al-Kutub al-'Arabīyah) around the early 1960s, and circulated in several volumes, totaling over 5,000 pages. This work has also been republished in compilation form by other publishers.

Literally meaning modern *tafsīr*, *al-Tafsīr al-Ḥadīth* aimed to remind younger generations of Muslims of oft-neglected classic *tafsīr* works.³ Younger generations are facing more significant challenges in examining Islam. On the one hand, they face serious religious, social and moral issues in modern times, and, on the other hand, Islamic materials provided in *tafsīr* works do not match their interests and needs. Through *al-Tafsīr al-Ḥadīth*, Darwaza utilized a new *tafsīr* approach to serve the interests of the younger Muslim generations.

Initially published by Dār Ihya' al-Kutub al-'Arabīyya (Beirut) in twelve volumes and then by Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī (Beirut) in ten volumes, (Dhahabī, n.d.; 'Iyāzī, n.d., p. 452) this work explores the Qur'ān on the basis of chronological ordering. Darwaza believes this approach would satisfy the curiosity of Muslims regarding their lives in the contemporary era, and fulfil their desire to understand their Holy Scripture. Previously, he provided a thematic approach of sorts to *tafsīr* by publishing his *silsila qur'āniyya*, the three-book Qur'ānic studies series mentioned above.

The Qur'ān was revealed over twenty-three years during the prophetic life of Muhammad in response to specific socio-religious events at the time. It was

³See footnote number two in (Darwaza, 2000, p. 5).

revealed via *āyāt* from different *sūras*, or in one *sūra* all at once. Most Muslim scholars agree that the first *āyāt* Muhammad received was QS. Al-‘Alaq [96]: 1-5, and the first chapter was QS. al-Fātiha [1]: 1-7. Both units were revealed at different times. The former was believed to have been revealed on 17 Ramaḍān 13H or 6 August 610, while the latter was revealed in Mecca before the Hijra. According to another report, QS. al-Fātiha [1]: 1-7 was revealed again in Medina after the Hijra. However, ulama identify it as Meccan for the first time it was revealed.

The main issue facing the chronological order is reliable dating and arrangement. Scholars may use many reports mentioning that an *āyāt* dealt with particular events. For example, QS. al-Anfāl [8] dealt with the battle of Badr (624 H.), QS. al-Ahzāb³³ with the battle of Khandaq (627 H.), or QS. al-Fath [48] with Hudaybiya treaty (628 H.). This assists the dating process, but there are few cases like this and they do not cover all *āyāt*, especially those revealed in Mecca. In Qur’ānic studies, these reports are referred to as *asbāb al-nuzūl* or moments of revelation and *Makkiyya* and *Madaniyya* (verses revealed in Mecca before Hijra and Medina after Hijra). Early specific works dealing with *asbāb al-nuzūl* include al-Madīnī’s (d. 234/849) *Asbāb al-Nuzūl*, al-Wāḥidī’s (d. 467/1075) *Asbāb al-Nuzūl*,⁴ al-‘Asqalānī’s (d. 852/1448) *al-‘Ujāb fī Bayān al-Asbāb*,⁵ and al-Suyūṭī’s (d. 911/1505) *Lubāb al-Nuqūl fī Asbāb al-Nuzūl*.⁶

The problem facing these reports lies in the quality of their *sanad* or chain of transmission and inconsistencies. Nevertheless, most scholars have no choice but to use these historical, semi-historical or questionable traditional sources and materials. Some Muslim and Non-Muslim scholars critically engaged with these materials. However, they are forced to assume the dating period with these sources.

The Qur’ān itself hints at historical events implied in the sacred text. Scholars might find the date of something by referring to historical events clearly mentioned or implied by the Qur’ān. Dating events in Medinan verses seems to

⁴(al-Wāḥidī, 1989). The book consisting of 266 pages and explores the whole *sūra* of the Qur’ān.

⁵(al-‘Asqalānī, 2002). The book consists of 533 pages but it only describes the whole second chapter which is *sūra* al-Baqara.

⁶(al-Suyūṭī, n.d.a) The book consists of 264 pages and provides narratives and explanations for the whole *sūra* of the Qur’ān.

be easier as the Qur'ān mentions or implies more events during the Medina period after Hijra than those during the Meccan period. These sources also involve complicated interpretive efforts among *mufasssīr*. In this regard, scholars might refer to different reports and narratives according to their understanding of an *āyat*.

The opening verses of QS. al-Rūm [30],⁷ for example, mention that the Romans will be victorious against the Persian empire, several years after the Romans suffered defeat. These verses refer to the victory of the Persians against the East Romans headquartered in Constantinople in 613, but also foreshadow the future victory of the Romans against the Persians within several years which took place in 622-625. Based on these historical events, many scholars argue that these verses refer to the year 613 when the Persians defeated the Romans.

Commenting on these verses, especially QS. al-Rūm [30]: 1-5, al-Wāḥidī (d. 1075) quotes a story describing Meccan bullying of Muslims, with the Meccans saying they would defeat the Muslims as the Persians (representing the political and theological interests of the Meccans) defeated the Romans (in 613). Al-Wāḥidī also quotes a story by Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī that these verses were revealed on the day of the Badr battle (624 H.) when the Romans defeated the Persians (al-Wāḥidī, 1989, p. 198). Both stories indicate that the group of verses (QS. al-Rūm [30]: 1-5) were revealed either in 613 or 624. Interestingly, al-Suyūṭī mentions two different stories, both referring to two different *qirā'a* or readings of QS. al-Rūm [30]: 2 (al-Suyūṭī, n.d.a, p. 184). One reading of *ghulibat al-rūm* is that 'the Romans have been defeated' – this is the most widely accepted reading. The other reads *ghalabat al-rūm* as 'the Romans have defeated'. On this basis, the first reading refers to the year 613 when the Persians defeated the Romans, while the second one to the year 624 when the Romans defeated the Persians, confirming the year of the battle of Badr as mentioned in the quoted story.

The different years mentioned in these stories are not the only issue. One might ask, in addition, what is the dating for the rest of the *sūra* (QS. al-Rūm [30]: 6-60)? Are there any differences? Is one stronger than the other? Which one is more reliable? Is it possible to use different accounts for the dating of the whole

⁷QS. al-Rūm [30]: [2] the Romans have been defeated; [3] in the nearest land, and they (the Romans) will defeat after their defeat; [4] within several years, the matters belong to Allah before and after, and the Believers will rejoice on that day.

sūra? Most scholars argue that many stories provide *asbāb* or occasions of revelation indicating the dating for early *āyāt* of a *sūra*, from which the rest of the *sūra* would follow. Al-Suyūṭī, however, notes several *āyāt* are exempted from the rest of their associated *sūra*. For example, QS al-Baqara [2] is *Madaniyya* but verses 109 and 272 were revealed in Mecca (al-Suyūṭī, n.d.b, I, pp. 14-15). Al-Suyūṭī outlines many *sūra* like this. These are some of the issues that one needs to take seriously in dating and arranging the Qur’ān chronologically.

However, some Companions of the Prophet have provided their own chronological order of the Qur’ān. Ibn ‘Abbās, for example, argues that there were 85 *sūra* revealed in Mecca and 28 *sūra* in Medina (Nadīm, 1996, p. 41). Companions who supplied chronologies include ‘Ikrima and Husayn,⁸ Ibn ‘Abbās,⁹ ‘Alī b. Abi Talḥa,¹⁰ Qatāda,¹¹ or Nu‘mān b. Bashīr.¹² Regardless of the quality of *sanad* behind them, they are authoritative in the sense that they were among the writers of revelation at the time of the Prophet. Although they did not witness the whole revelation process of the Qur’ān, they were familiar with time and sequence of revelation. The writers of the earlier pre-‘Uthmānī *Muṣḥaf*¹³ should be familiar with the chronological order, however, they simply provide the *tahḥīlī* sequence as printed in the Qur’ān. Only Ibn ‘Abbās supplied the

⁸This is from al-Bayhaqī in his *Dalā’il al-Nubuwwa* who received from Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Hāfiz, from Abū Muhammad b. Ziyād al-‘Adl, from Muhammad b. Ishāq, from Ya‘qūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī, from Ahmad b. Nasr b. Mālik al-Khuzā‘ī, from ‘Alī b. Husayn b. Wāqid, from Husayn b. Wāqid, and from Yazīd al-Nahwī (al-Suyūṭī, n.d.b, p. 10). Al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1392) provides the same list and only mentions the source from Ibn al-Durays in his *Fadā’il al-Qur’ān* that is also mentioned by al-Suyūṭī as Ibn ‘Abbās’ chronology. See (al-Zarkashī, 2006, p. 136-7).

⁹This is from Ibn al-Durays in his *Fadā’il al-Qur’ān* who received from Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Ja‘far al-Rāzī, from ‘Umar b. Hārūn, from ‘Uthmān b. ‘Atā’ al-Khurāsānī, and from ‘Ata’ al-Khurāsānī. See (al-Suyūṭī, n.d.b, I, p. 10-1).

¹⁰This is from Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām in his *Fadā’il al-Qur’ān* whp received from ‘Abd Allāh b. Sālih, and from Mu‘āwiya b. Sālih. See (al-Suyūṭī, n.d.b, I, p. 10-1).

¹¹This is from Abū Bakr b. al-Anbārī who received from Ismā‘īl b. Ishāq al-Qādī, from Hujāj b. Minhāl, and from Hamām. See (al-Suyūṭī, n.d.b, I, p. 11)

¹²This is from Muhammad b. Yūsuf who received from Muhammad b. Ghālib, from ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Hujjāj al-Madīnī, from Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Madīnī, from al-Wāqidī, from Ma‘mar b. Rāshid, and from al-Zuhri. See (al-Nadīm, 1996, p. 40-1).

¹³Ibn Abī Dāwud provides a number of *muṣḥaf* writers in his *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* such as ‘Umar b. al-Khattāb, ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib, Ubay b. Ka‘b, Ibn Mas‘ūd, Ibn ‘Abbās, Ibn al-Zubayr, among other 20 *muṣḥaf*. See (Ibn Abī Dāwud, 1985). For some reasons, Jeffery classified these *Muṣḥaf* into primary and secondary. See (Jeffery, 1937).

chronological order in his Codex. Nevertheless, these *muṣḥaf* are slightly different from each other especially in the number of their *sūra*.¹⁴

In addition to those supplied by Muslims, Western scholarship of Qur'ānic studies has also provided chronological sequences for the text. Muir (d. 1905) initiated studies on the chronological order of the Qur'ān in Western scholarship. While Muslim scholars divided the chronology into *Makkiyya* and *Madiniyya* only, Muir divided the historical order of the revelation into six periods. First, 18 *sūra* before the prophethood of Muhammad. Second, 4 *sūra* starting from QS. al-‘Alaq [96]. Third, 19 *sūra* till the migration to Abyssinia. Fourth, 23 *sūra* from the sixth year to the tenth year of prophethood. Fifth, 31 *sūra* from the tenth year of prophethood to the migration to Medina. Sixth, 20 *sūra* in Medina (Muir, 1878, pp. 22-8). Meanwhile, Weil (d. 1889) and Nöldeke (d. 1930) outlined the historical order of the *sūra* into first Meccan, second Meccan, third Meccan, and Medinan periods based on differing characteristics, length, and styles of the *āyāt* of the Qur'ān. Nöldeke explores his arguments in detail and provides examples from the Qur'ān (Nöldeke, 1909, n.d). Other Western scholars who proposed chronological ordering include Blachere (1947, 1974), Grimme (d. 1942) (1892), Hirschfeld (1902), Bell (Watt, 1977), and Rodwell (1861).

The chronological ordering by Companions such as ‘Ikrima and Husayn, Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Alī b. Abi Talḥa, Qatāda, or Nu‘mān b. Bashīr differ slightly from one another. Comparing ‘Ikrima and Husayn’s chronology to that of Ibn ‘Abbās, for example, the former listed 82 *sūra* for the *Makkiyya* period, while the latter listed 85 *sūra*. The list for both is the same up to number 37, with the remaining *sūras* being in different sequences. For the *Madaniyya* period, ‘Ikrima and Husayn listed 29 *sūra*, while Ibn ‘Abbās listed 28 *sūra*. They also had different *Madaniyya* chronologies from beginning to end.

Western scholars’ Qur’ānic chronologies show more complicated differences. Comparing Weil, Nöldeke, and Blachère, they each begin with the same first two *sūras* for the *Makkiyah* period, while the sequence of the remaining *sūras* differ. They agree that there are three *Makkiyya* periods, but Weil lists 45 *sūras* for the first Meccan period, while Nöldeke and Blachère list 48 *sūra*. For the second period, Weil and Nöldeke present 21 *sūras*, while Blachère lists 20 *sūras*. Their sequencing also differs greatly. For the third *Makkiyya* period, Weil lists 26 *sūras*,

¹⁴For introductory observation, see (Ibn Abī Dāwud, 1985; Ibn al-Nadīm, 1996; Jeffery, 1937).

Nöldeke 21, and Blachère 22. There are also differences in their sequences. For the *Madaniyya* period, both Nöldeke and Blachère list 24 *sūras*, while Weil only lists 23 *sūras*. Once again, the sequencing of the *sūras* also differs from one to another.

Modern Muslim scholars, meanwhile, have continued efforts to present the Qur'ān chronologically alongside the *tawqīfī* (traditional) presentation as printed in the Qur'ān. The significant influence of Ibn 'Abbās' chronology has extended to modern times. The Egyptian standard chronology adopted most of Ibn 'Abbās' approach. The slight differences lie on the Darwaza outlines that his *al-Tafsīr al-Ḥadīth* adopted the chronological order from a *Mushaf* written by Mustafā Nazhīf, who was better known as Kadirgali (Darwaza, 2000, p. 13). He arrived at this decision because the publication was under the supervision of authoritative scholars. Kadirgali finished writing the *Mushaf* and it was initially published in 1889 in Cairo (Kadirgali, 1888). It was one of the 'Uthmānī Codices in Egypt and it clearly adopted the Egyptian standard chronology. Both listed 86 Meccan chapters and 28 Medinan chapters with a similar chronological order. However, Darwaza developed his own chronology differing slightly from the Egyptian standard. This difference also includes additions in different editions of *al-Tafsīr al-Ḥadīth*. Darwaza begins his tafsir with al-Fātiha, which is chapter five in the Egyptian chronology.

Contemporary Western scholarship on the Qur'ān shows ongoing disagreement regarding its chronological order and the implications this has for interpretation. It has long been established that Western scholars are heavily influenced by Nöldeke's chronology, and to this day there has been no substantial critique of his ordering. Even his contemporary followers such as Neuwirth made no effort to criticize Nöldeke's legacy.

Darwaza's Qur'ān ic Hermeneutics

Darwaza places his *al-Tafsīr al-Ḥadīth* as a modern *tafsīr* utilizing the chronological sequencing, which is a re-reading of the Qur'ān that best fits with the dynamics of the Prophet's *da'wa* (*sīrah*) and the socio-historical context of each phase in Mecca and Medina. His central aim is to uncover the underlying wisdom of the chronological order, the development of major themes, and the trajectory of Qur'ān ic messages from the first phase to the last, enabling readers

to comprehend the continuity and the escalation of values, rather than treating each verse in isolation. Secondary studies emphasize the uniqueness of Darwaza's chronological approach, compared to the Uthmānī or *mushafi* order.

With this chronological order or *tartīb nuzūlī*, Darwaza interprets *sūra* by *sūra* following the order of revelation. In this way, readers are invited to trace the flow of the Qur'ān's argumentation, which moves from the affirmation of monotheism and the formation of faith (early Meccan phase) to the formation of community, law, and public ethics (Medinan phase). This approach allows for a close correlation with the *sūra*, so that the *asbāb al-nuzūl* and socio-political conditions become the main interpretative variables. In line with the aim of employing *tartīb nuzūlī*, one of the key characteristics of this *tafsīr* is "reading the verse in the context of its revelation," involving the social structure of Mecca, intergroup relations, theological tensions, and the configuration of power in Medina. This contextual focus distinguishes it from more philological or *fiqh*-oriented *tafsīr* (Asgharpour & Safari, 2024). Therefore, the use of Ḥadīth and other classical sources in this *tafsīr* is quite specific. Darwaza is very selective in using Ḥadīth and *riwāyāt*. He pays close attention to and considers the connection of *riwāyāt* to the sociological context and tends to avoid relying on *isrā'iliyyāt* stories. A methodological study highlights that the function of Ḥadīth is positioned as a reinforcement of context and values, not merely an authority that kills the movement of the historical meaning of verses (Asgharpour & Safari, 2024).

In the presentation of *al-Tafsīr al-Ḥadīth*, linguistic expressions are very moderate and communicative, linking major themes such as monotheism, religious freedom, public ethics, and social order with various moments and events in the history of revelation. It does not involve many micro-linguistic debates (*i'rab*, *qirā'āt*) as in other *tafsīr* methods. Its focus is on the flow of values and missions, resulting in an interpretive narrative that feels moving and alive. Readers feel as if they are experiencing the transformation from an oppressed minority to a sovereign community, along with its ethical and legal consequences.

One prominent example is Darwaza's reading of QS. al-Kāfirūn [109], which he places in the Meccan phase as a declaration of the principle of religious freedom (*mabda' ḥurriyat al-tadayyun*). This pattern is certainly in line with the various methodologies he employs. This assertion is consistent with his interpretive

tendency to avoid communal conflicts and emphasize the coexistence of religious groups in certain phases of revelation.

As another example, Darwaza rejects the generalized reading of the 'verses of the sword', such as QS. al-Taubah [9]: 5, as *nāsikh* or total abrogators of verses about peace and tolerance. He chooses a hierarchical reading with the understanding that the verses about the sword must be understood in the context of war, and that the violation of a specific treaty does not constitute permanent permission for conflict. Contemporary studies of Darwaza's position show that he prioritizes harmony between verses through chronology and context, rather than blind *nāsikh*.

Thus, from the explanation above and other reliable sources and studies on Darwaza and his *tafsīr*, we can assess that the strength of this *tafsīr* lies in several important aspects. *First*, historical-thematic coherence. The chronological sequence, or *tartīb nuzūlī*, makes shifts in themes and *da'wa* strategies clearly legible. For modern readers, this provides a unique satisfaction, especially for those seeking sense of development and process, not just a legal catalogue. *Second*, moderation and the ethos of coexistence. The emphasis on religious freedom, dialogue, and engagement with the context of conflict provides a normative foundation for responsibly reading verses related to inter-community relations. Therefore, its relevance to today's discourse on pluralism is compelling. *Third*, the aspect of methodological effectiveness. Rather than piling up technical debates, Darwaza emphasizes the structure of the message, from monotheism to morality, to community and to institution. This is very helpful and accessible to non-specialist readers without sacrificing historical depth. *Fourth*, the pedagogical aspect, or teaching power. The narrative format greatly facilitates learning, which also utilizes the thematic *tafsīr* method. For example, policy studies on human rights or religious freedom, are also greatly assisted, because this interpretation has summarized various socio-political processes into a timeline of values from Mecca to Medina.

However, the various advantages described above do not necessarily cover or eliminate some of the weaknesses of this interpretation. Some weaknesses that are also easily identified in this interpretation include, *first*, the reliance on reconstructing the sequence of the *tartīb nuzūlī*. The chronological order of the *sūras* is not a matter of consensus. There are variants of the lists of *tartīb nuzūlī*

in various sources and available literature. Therefore, an argument that relies heavily on a single *tartīb nuzūlī* can be questioned if alternative lists show significant differences for a particular *sūra*. This poses a serious methodological challenge for the entire project of *nuzūlī* interpretation.

According to Reynolds, there are no reliable and responsible arguments to justify one chronological order over other. Through his Qur'ānist approach, he theoretically and methodologically criticizes the discourses of the chronological order and its use in the practices of Qur'ānic interpretation. He begins his criticism by questioning the chronological order arranged by major Western scholars in Islamic studies including Nöldeke, Weil, Blachère, Hirschfeld, Bell, Watt, and contemporary scholars such as Neuwirth and Sinai. He also criticizes the use of Muslim legal methods such as *asbāb al-nuzūl*, *nāsikh*, and the dichotomy of Makkiyya and Madaniyya employed by *mufasssirs* as very specific and limited legal discourses rather than the capacity of the Qur'ān as a historical narrative (Reynolds, 2011, 2020).

Second, the risk of historicism. The strong emphasis on the socio-political context sometimes makes the transhistorical dimension less explicit. Readers need theoretical and conceptual bridges so that values tied to historical moments can be drawn into normative principles across time. *Third*, the lack of methodological technical space. When compared to in-depth *taḥlīlī* exegesis on *qirā'āt*, *balāgha*, or morphology, *al-Tafsīr al-Ḥadīth* appears more frugal, resulting in a certain methodological technical space being less available.

Fourth, the selectivity towards Ḥadīth. This strength can also be a point of criticism. Darwaza's selectivity regarding Ḥadīth and *riwāyāt*, due to the criterion of suitability to context, can be considered too hermeneutic by some who emphasize *taqlīd* on the corpus of *riwāyāt*. A paper written by Etrat criticizes the way Darwaza employs and deals with Ḥadīth and Prophetic traditions in this *al-Tafsīr al-Ḥadīth*. Etrat criticizes Darwaza in terms of his extensive use of old sources linked to Isrā'īliyyāt and the pre-Islamic period narratives, as well as Jewish religious sources, and his relatively lesser utilization of authentic Ḥadīth among Muslims. In this case, Darwaza relies very heavily on Nāṣif's *Tāj al-Jam'ī Li al-Usūl fī Aḥādīth al-Rasūl* when dealing with the validation of Ḥadīth. Etrat was also critical of Darwaza's quotation of historical reports, wherein he often only relies on interpretive sources (Doost, 2023).

Conclusion

Among modern works, *al-Tafsīr al-Ḥadīth* has been often cited as laying the foundation for the chronological tradition of *tafsīr* in the 20th century. This can be understood by comparing this *tafsīr* to other works that use other chronological readings, such as al-Jābirī's *Fahm al-Qur'ān al-Hakīm*, Habannaka's *Ma'ārij al-Tafakkur*, or Mulla Huwaish's *Bayān al-Ma'ānī*. Darwaza was clearly the first exegete to write a systematic *tafsīr* with *tartīb al-nuzūlī*, while other works, although chronological *tafsīr*, take different methodological choices, for example, al-Jābirī places significant emphasis on the epistemological aspects of Arabic Islamic reason.

Several key values emerge from this chronological approach. *First*, it clarifies the principles of gradual legislation. Issues such as the prohibition of alcohol, the ethics of peace and war, and family building appear within a gradual educational and social process, not as isolated excerpts. *Second*, it rationalizes issues of abrogation and apparent contradictions. The order of revelation clarifies the differences in objectives according to the stage, thus reducing the scope of claims of abrogation and providing a more accurate reading of the “verses of severity” within their historical context. *Third*, it leaves a natural educational map. It is useful in teaching as it provides the teacher and student with a learning curve that begins with monotheism and values, then moves on to legislation and the social structure, which has been praised by research examining the effectiveness of “interpretation according to the order of revelation” within the modern school, citing Darwaza's *al-Tafsīr al-Ḥadīth* as an example.

Unlike commentaries arranged according to the order of the Qur'ānic text, which force the reader to jump between chronologically disparate topics, *al-Tafsīr al-Ḥadīth* provides a historical lens that traces the development of Qur'ānic themes (doctrine/ethics/society/legislation) from the Meccan period of persecution to the Medinan one of state-building, employing an approach that is both “biographical and thematic,” connecting the text to its original context of reception, while maintaining attention to language and rhetoric. Scholarly indexes and encyclopedias attest to the work's significance among the attempts of the 14th century AH to renew the methodology of Qur'ānic exegesis and produce an ideal Qur'ānic hermeneutics.

As a methodological note, there is no single, universally agreed-upon list for the chronological order. The order of revelation is based on scholarly interpretation, not consensus, hence, the methodological framework relies on transparency in adopting specific lists for the order, which the reader should keep in mind when drawing conclusions. Therefore, Darwaza explicitly states his sources and presents theoretical introductions outlining what the exegete needs when adopting this approach. Consequently, his findings should be read within the limits of the adopted chronological hypothesis, not as a definitive order.

In his commentary *al-Tafsīr al-Ḥadīth*, Darwaza presented an early and comprehensive model of revelational exegesis. Its strength lies in reviving the context of revelation, highlighting the gradual development of objectives, and providing a clear educational methodology for the student of the Qur'ān, while acknowledging the constant need to clarify and critically discuss the sources used for the order of revelation. This makes the book an important reference for every researcher in the historical and thematic interpretation of the Qur'ān.

This work has contributed significantly by providing a framework for many recent studies on Muslim-non-Muslim relations, the discourse of the sword verses and the peace verses, and cross-cultural religious literacy. Recent studies have utilized Darwaza's methodological framework to consider the Qur'ān's ethical coherence and limitations, such as the context of the war verses, while affirming religious freedom as a principle that is not abrogated by the verses of conflict and war. *Al-Tafsīr al-Ḥadīth*, is a milestone in modern *nuzūlī* interpretation, balancing fidelity to the historical context with the ethical orientation of the Qur'ān for today. It offers a roadmap for reading revelation as a gradual pedagogical process, while also providing critical yet constructive exegetical tools for sensitive issues such as religious freedom and conflicting verses.

Above all, based on the observations presented above, *al-Tafsīr al-Ḥadīth* offers distinct advantages over other *tafsīr* works based on chronological order, particularly in its organic integration of the Qur'ānic text with the Prophet's history (*sīra*). It also maps the development of the major themes and rhetoric of the Qur'ān by clarifying issues of abrogation and intertextual tensions through a sequential, time-sensitive perspective. By doing so, Darwaza successfully presents the Qur'ān as an absolute source of law, which demonstrates legislation processes and phases through socio-cultural education and graduated

pedagogy. These strengths make Darwaza's work the leading and primary source for learners, researchers, and anyone who wishes to understand the Qur'ān as a revelation that exists within and responds to history, while retaining its normative power across centuries.

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