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Daftar Isi

Sidang Pembaca,

Refleksi yang berada di tangan sidang pembaca ini adalah nomor kedua tahun pertama. Nomor perdana jurnal ini cukup mendapat sambutan yang baik. Kami menerima berbagai saran, kritik dan sumbangan naskah. Sambutan itu tentu membuat kami semakin menyadari tantangan ke depan bagi pengembangan jurnal ini lebih lanjut. Terus terang, kami sebenarnya cukup *was-was*. Sebab perahu kecil **Refleksi** ini dengan awak yang 'cukup' sedikit jelas menanggung muatan yang luar biasa banyaknya. Karena itu, kami tetap menunggu saran, kritik, dan tentunya sumbangan tulisan para pembaca agar perahu ini tidak limbung dan karam selamanya.

Menyambut *Silaturahmi dan Reuni Alumni Fakultas Ushuluddin* pada medio Maret tahun ini, kami sengaja menghadirkan edisi khusus sebagai kado istimewa dan bentuk partisipasi kami untuk acara itu. Kali ini kami berusaha menggali khazanah Tafsir al-Qur'an yang menjadi inspirasi berkembangnya wacana ilmu dan peradaban kaum Muslimin. Beberapa di antaranya ditulis dalam bahasa Inggris. Bukan untuk sok atau sombong. Hanya sekedar menunjukkan betapa apresiatifnya para Sarjana Ushuluddin pada bidang ini beberapa tahun belakangan. Pada penerbitan-penerbitan yang akan datang, kami Insya-Allah juga akan menampilkan diskursus lain di Fakultas tercinta ini seperti filsafat, ilmu kalam, dan studi agama-agama.

Sekali lagi jurnal ini adalah milik kita bersama. Tanpa sidang pembaca, **Refleksi** tak akan pernah berarti apa-apa. Karena itu kami terus mengharapkan partisipasi para pembaca untuk ikut mewarnai "*intellectual exercise*" di lingkungan Fakultas Ushuluddin ini. Dan **Refleksi**, tentunya, adalah salah-satu wahana idealnya. Selamat membaca.!

Redaksi

TAḤRĪF IN THE SCRIPTURES: A STUDY OF AHMAD KHAN'S TABYIN AL-KALĀM

Yusuf Rahman

MUSLIM belief in the *taḥrīf* ("corruption")[1] of Christian and Jewish scriptures has, from the beginning, been a major factor in Muslim polemics with Christians and Jews. However, just as Muslims have tried to prove *taḥrīf*, the latter have tried to refute this and to assert that Muslims themselves have altered the Qur'an.

The Muslim contention is based on the Qur'an which make several allusions to *taḥrīf* and employs different notions which denote it e.g., *tabdil* ("substituting words"), *kitman* ("concealing the truth"), labs ("confounding the truth with vanity"), *layy* ("twisting the tongue when reciting

the Book") and *nisyan* ("forgetting the admonishment").[2] Consequently, Muslims produced many interpretive works which seek to explain these terms and, undoubtedly, to prove the truth of this claim.[3]

Muslims, however, vary with regard to whether ahl al-kitab have altered the meaning (*taḥrīf al-maʾānī*) of the Old and New Testament Or their texts (*taḥrīf al-nass*). One Muslim scholar, for example, who has systematically argued for the falsification of the words contained in the Bible is the Zahirite theologian and jurist Ibn Hazm (d. 1064).[4] Having examined the Biblical text, he concluded that the existing Bible has been falsified, that it is a pure invention of Jews and Christians, and therefore is not the original text previously revealed to Moses and Jesus.[5] Besides Ibn Hazm and other scholars who held the *taḥrīf lafzi* (textual corruption), there were Muslims, like Ibn Khaldun and al-Tabari, who subscribed to the view that the corruption of the Bible to which the Qur'an refers concerns the scriptural meaning, not the text.[6]

While the argument of Arab Muslim scholars against the Bible have been studied extensively,[7] one cannot say the same for the Indian and Pakistani scholars' attitudes towards the Bible and Christians.[8] In fact, there were controversies between Muslims and Christians on the subcontinent, too. There is even one work which, according to Andrew Rippin, "is remarkably free of polemic and is aimed at bringing about a common understanding and inspiration through revealed scripture within the Judeo-Christian-Muslim tradition."[9] This work is *Tabyin al-Kalām fī Tafsīr al-Tawrat wa al-Injil ʿalā Millat al-Islām*[10] and authored by Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898).[11]

The present paper is a study of *Tabyin al-Kalām*, especially in relation to the notion of *taḥrīf*. Some scholars, like Bruce B. Lawrence,[12] believe that Ahmad Khar's thought was not original, and depended heavily on *al-Tafsīr al-Kabir* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1209). In order to assess this assumption, the paper will also compare *Tabyin al-Kalām* with *al-Tafsīr al-Kabir*.

Tabyin al-Kalām

Compared to his earlier works which dealt mostly with Islamic traditions a biography of Muhammad, moral treatises and the translation of theological works[13] Ahmad Khan's *Tabyin al-Kalām* and other works of his written after the Revolt of 1857 reflect his religious and socio-political

response to the Revolt. In this period, his views were described as rational and critical;[14] critical both towards the British Christian missionaries who misinterpreted Islam and Indian Muslims, and towards Indian Muslims, particularly the conservative 'ulama' who misunderstood and were biased against the British.

To the former, Sir Sayyid wrote books refuting Christian allegations such as that of William Muir in *The Life of Mahornet*. Among other things, the latter work criticized the reliability of Muslim sources.[15] Sir Sayyid's response, however, did not aim merely to correct the mistaken ideas of Muir, but to review the traditional belief of his contemporary Muslims. This is quite apparent, for example, in Ahmad Khan's critical view of *ḥadīth* material, upon which Sheila McDonough comments thus:

> He (Sir Sayyid) knew that the Western hostility towards Islam was often based on the writings of Western scholars like William Muir .... Muir and others had used *Hadīth* materials as the basis for their description of Muslim beliefs and practices. Sayyid Ahmad Khan was concerned to deny that these *ḥadīth* materials truly represented Muslim life as it had been or should be. Much of it he considered forged and unreliable.[16]

Similarly, Sir Sayyid reviewed William Hunter's *The Indian Musalmans*, which asserted that the Indian Muslims had a religious duty to wage a holy war (*jihad*) against the government. Ahmad Khan argued that Muslims be loyal to the government as long as they do not interfere with the religious duties of Muslims.[17]

For Muslims, Ahmad Khan wrote many articles and books to dispel their misunderstandings of Christianity. His *Risālat al-Aḥkām al-Ta'āmi Ahl al-Kitāb* ("An epistle pertaining to the question of eating with the People of the Book") was directed against the doubts raised by Indian 'ulama' about the lawfulness of eating with Christians.

He also wrote a short article *Taḥqiq Lafz Nasara* ("Inquiry into the word Nasara") affirming that the word Nasara meant "the helpers of God." He refers to the verse of the Qur'an in which Jesus asked his disciples *man ansari ilā Allāh* ("who are my helpers with God"), to which the apostles replied *naḥnu ansar Allāh* (we are the helpers of God). For this reason, those who followed the disciples and those who believed in Jesus were known by the word *Nasara*.[18]

The most important book in which he discusses Christianity is without doubt *Tabyin al-Kalām*, being the first Muslim commentary on the Bible. The book was published in three parts between 1862 and 1865. The first

part was published by his private press in 1862 in Ghazeepore. The title page gives the Arabic text and English rendering of QS. 3:84. It contains ten "discourses" and two "appendixes," intended to solve basic issues concerning the authenticity of the Bible and its place in Islam. These ten discourses are: 1) "on the necessity of the coming of the prophets"; 2) "what is Revelation and the Word of God?"; 3) "what are the books which the Qur'an calls *Taurat*, *Suḥuf al-Anbiyā'*, *Zabur* and *Injil*?"; 4) "what faith do Muslims have in these books?"; 5) "how many books did God reveal to the Prophets, and are they all included in the Bible?"; 6) "what methods do Muslims use to examine and authenticate a religious book?"; 7) "what is the opinion of Muslims concerning the corruption of sacred texts?"; 8) "are the books which now constitute the Bible the same as those which the inspired authors originally wrote?"; 9) "what belief do Muslims have in the different versions of the Bible?"; and 10) "what, according to Muslim faith, is meant by one divine decree canceling another or being canceled by another?".[19] The second part of the *Tabyin al-Kalām* was also published by the author's private press in 1865 at Ghazeepore. Its title page gives the verse of the Qur'an 4:47. This volume contains a commentary on Genesis 1-11, with an introduction to both the Old Testament as a whole and to the book of Genesis in particular.[20] The third volume, which is not included in the existing printed edition of *Mahomedan Commentary*, is on Matthew 5, 17-20. This was printed in Urdu only in *Tasanif-i Ahmadiyyah*, vol. 1, part 2 (1887).[21]

Ahmad Khan did not write a complete commentary on the Bible, although he planned to do it. Lawrences argues, that "given the mammoth responsibilities Sir Sayyid undertook simultaneously in several spheres of activity, he simply did not have time to fulfill his original project on the Bible."[22]

Discussion on *Taḥrīf* in *Tabyin al-Kalām*

To understand Ahmad Khan's interpretation of *taḥrīf*, we refer to his Seventh Introductory Discourse of *Tabyin al-Kalām* where he discusses the term. "What is the opinion of Muslims concerning the corruption [*taḥrīf*] of sacred scriptures" (*Musalmanon ke madhhab me kutub muqaddasa ki taḥrīf ka kiya mas'ala he*).[23]

Ahmad Khan begins his discussion by defining the term *taḥrīf* in the manner of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī that is, to change, alter, or turn aside anything from its truth.[24] In addition to this general meaning, Sir Sayyid gives its technical meaning (*istilahi ma'non me*), which covers three conditions the application of which corrupt the sacred scripture:[25] first, the corruption must be done knowingly: second, it must be done willfully or deliberately, and finally, there must be an obvious conversion of the true meaning of the text.

These three conditions (*qayd*) are very important in Sir Sayyid's definition, since, according to him, if someone altered the scripture unintentionally and unconsciously, he would not be regarded as *muharrif*. Similarly, if the action does not clearly corrupt the text, it is not *taḥrīf* as the terminology requires. Sir Sayyid then enumerates eight ways in which scripture may be corrupted: 1) by adding words or phrases which were not there originally; 2) by striking out existing words or phrases; 3) by substituting other words, differing in meaning from those struck out; 4) by making verbal changes while reading, so as to convey to the ear words different from what were written; 5) by reading only some passages, and omitting others; 6) by instructing the people in a manner contrary to God's teaching in his holy word, and yet making them believe that this instruction is the true word; 7) by adopting an improper meaning of certain words of ambiguous or equivocal interpretation (*alfaz mushtarak al-ma'na*) which does not suit the sense intended; 8) by misinterpreting (*ghalat ta'wil*) those verses which are hidden (*khafiyya*) and obscure (*mutashabih*).[26] These eight different kinds of *taḥrīf*, he divides into two classes: *taḥrīf lafzi* ("textual corruption") and *taḥrīf ma'nawi* ("corruption of the sense or meaning of scripture").[27] He maintains, however, that the first three kinds of corruption do not exist in the text of Bible, and that therefore there is no textual corruption in the Bible.[28]

To prove this point, Ahmad Khan bases his reasons on four sources: *Sahih Imam al-Bukhari*, *Fath al-Bari* of Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, *al-Fawz al-Kabir* of Shah Wali Allah and *al-Tafsīr al-Kabir* of al-Rāzī. These sources explain that the corruption does not occur by changing the words (*taḥrīf lafzo me*) but by misinterpreting the meaning of the text (*tabdil ma'no me*).[29]

In his *al-Fawz al-Kabir*, Wali Allah believes that the Jews have corrupted both the text (*taḥrīf lafzi*) and the meaning (*taḥrīf ma'nawi*) of the Torah. Wali Allah, however, defines *taḥrīf lafzi* similar to that of *taḥrīf ma'nawi*, that is a corruption "*fi tarjamat al-tawrat wa amthaliha la fi asl al-tawrat*" (i.e., in the translation of the Torah, not in the original text of Torah).[30] Ahmad Khan borrows this definition because it supports his position that the text of Bible is corrupted only in its meaning.[31]

One of the sources which Ahmad Khan often employs is the tafsir of Razi. In his commentary on the verse "Those who conceal [*yaktumuna*] God's revelations in the Book..." (QS. 2: 174), Razi argued that it is impossible to alter the texts of the Bible, since they were transmitted from one generation to another. This transmission reaches the level of *tawatur*

and *shuhra*, and therefore prevents people from corrupting the text of the Bible.[32]

As to "how it was possible to corrupt the Old Testament when it was s0 well known among the people," Razi's response is based on QS. 3:78. He answers that the passages in the Bible which foretold the prophethood of Muhammad are not s0 clear and require deep thought (*tadqiq al-nazar*) in order to be fathomed. Therefore, when people questioned the meaning of those passages, the Jews responded to them with false interpretations and claimed that it was the true meaning.[33]

In his commentary on QS. 4: 46, Razi responds to the same question by holding that the reason for the corruption of the verse's meaning is to give a false interpretation (*ghalat ta'wilon ka karna*).[34] This is the true meaning of *taḥrīf* according to Razi and Ahmad Khan.

Having examined these sources, Ahmad Khan concludes that "the learned doctors of our faith [*hamare madhhab*] are not of the opinion that the text of the Sacred Scriptures has been corrupted in any of the first three modes."[35] We rather maintained, Sir Sayyid continues, that the corruption occurs in the other-five types, "*hamari madhhabi kitabon se bihi inhi panc qismon ki taḥrīf ka huna kutub muqaddasa me paya jata he*".[36]

A careful look at the remaining methods, and the verses which Ahmad Khan quotes for each method, reveals that he just lists the other terms of *taḥrīf*, such as *layy*, *kitman* and *labs*. For example, the fourth way of corruption is making verbal changes while reading so as to convey to the ear words which differ from what is written. In order to illustrate this kind of activity, Ahmad Khan invokes QS. 2: 58-9:

"And remember We said: 'Enter this town, and eat of the plenty therein as ye wish, but enter the gate in worship and say *hittatun* [forgiveness],[37] and We shall forgive you your faults and increase (the portion of] those who do good.' But the transgressors changed the word from that which had been given them, so We sent upon the transgressors a plague from heaven, for they infringed on [Our command] repeatedly."

In his commentary on this verse, Sir Sayyid does not directly refer to Razi, although it is quite possible that he was summarizing the latter's Jong discussion of this verse.[38] This verse, according to Ahmad Khan, refers to the deceit of the Jews at the time of Joshua. Ahmad Khan argues that it is clear that the alteration was verbal only (*sirf zabani*), the reading being

hintatun instead of *hittatun*, and that there was no effort to alter the written text.

Sir Sayyid also refers to QS. 3:78 which shows that the scripture readers were in the habit of twisting their tongues or, *layy alsina* and substituting words while reading. But the verse, he notes, does not show that there was any alteration with the written text itself. He justifies his view by quoting Razi who, interpreting this verse, says that *yalwuna alsinatahum* implies that the word was given a various grammatical inflection (*i'rab*), each having a different meaning.[39]

However, this last interpretation is, again, not Razi's but Qaffal's. Besides Qaffal, Razi quotes another interpretation of *layy al-lisan* on the authority of Ibn 'Abbas, who said, "There will be people whom God will not speak with them and see them in the Day of Judgment, [those who] wrote a book in which they muddled [*shawwasha*] the description of Muhammad and mixed it [book] with another other book containing the description of Muhammad, and then they said "this is from God.""[40]

A more careful reading will show also that Razi's interpretation of the verse *yalwuna al-sinatahum bi al-kitābi* has little to do with Ahmad Khan's immediate purpose that is, regarding the act of changing the words while reading and more to do with the reading of the *batil* book, which they produced, an interpretation that conforms to another verse: "*Fa-waylun li 'lladhi yaktubuna 'l-kitaba bi-aydihim thumma yaquluna hadha min 'indi llahi wa ma huwa mina 'l-kitabi.*" Ahmad Khan's theory of *layy*, therefore, contradicts that of Razi. Furthermore, Sir Sayyid does not regard composing and publishing a book as the inspired word of God as another kind of *taḥrīf*.[41]

The fifth kind of *taḥrīf*, or the second way to which Sir Sayyid adhered, is reading certain passages and omitting others. This kind of corruption might be classified under the notion of *kitman*. Ahmad Khan illustrates

kitman using the case of concealing the judgment of God concerning adultery (*zina*). Itis said that when asked about the penalty of adultery, a reader of the Jewish scripture concealed with his hand the passages which stipulate stoning (*rajm*) to death for the crime of adultery and read only portions of the page.[42]

From this illustration, Ahmad Khan learns that the reader hid the law about stoning, "but it is nowhere shown, or even hinted that the law was really struck out of the code. And it is found there to this day." For this he refers to the Old Testament *Leviticus* (20, 2-10) and *Deuteronomy* (22, 23-24).

Although the author of *Tabyin al-Kalām* does not clearly discuss what Jewish readers concealed from their scripture, the verses and *ḥadīth*s he quotes reveal that it was the description of the Prophet Muhammad, God's judgment and His commandment.[43] And Sir Sayyid was quite right when he said that *kitman* does not necessarily mean suppressing the Biblical text.

Another kind of corruption is instructing people in a manner contrary to God's teaching embodied in His holy word, but letting them believe that this instruction is the true word. To explain this, Ahmad Khan gives a single verse from QS. 9: 34 about the practice of the Jewish *rahibs* who take money from the people and obstruct the way of God (*yasuddu 'an sabili 'Ilah*). This type of *taḥrīf*, according to me, is not distinguishable from other types, especially the seventh and eighth, which are also to be combined under the heading of *labs*.

The last two modes, adopting an improper meaning of certain words and misinterpreting the passages (*ghalat ta'wil*), may be clarified through an interpretation of the QS. 2: 42; "*Wa la talbisu 'l-ḥaqqa bi 'l-batili wa taktumu 'l-ḥaqqa wa antum ta'lamuna.*" ("And cover not truth with falsehood, nor conceal the truth knowingly.") This verse, along with the similar QS. 3: 71, implies that the Jews used to falsify the true meaning of words and expression in the Old Testament and to misinterpret the sense of whole passages.[44] Included in this category, according to me, is the sixth mode i.e., instruction which may be contrary to God's teaching while claiming it to be His word. These three methods (sixth, seventh and eight) encompass the main ideas on the misinterpretation of the Word of God, but at the same time claiming it to be the true meaning of His Word.

Conclusion

From this study it is clear that Ahmad Khan does not hold that there was textual corruption (*taḥrīf lafzi*) of the scripture, but rather corruption of its meaning through word substitution during reading, concealment of passages and misinterpretation of the Word of God. Based on these findings, he concluded that the extant text of Bible is the authentic one which was put together by prophet Ezra.[45] It is true that Ahmad Khan's main source in *Tabyin al-Kalām* was Razi's *al-Tafsīr al-Kabir*. But this does not mean that he blindly imitated Razi. Many of his views, concerning *taḥrīf* and the list of eight ways in which the Bible may have been corrupted, are not found in Razi. Furthermore, Sir Sayyid disagreed with Razi's position that producing a book comparable to the sacred book is *taḥrīf*. Finally, the views Ahmad Khan presents in this work are not polemical or apologetic in nature, but rather part of his effort to foster mutual understanding between Christians and Muslims. It is not an exaggeration to claim that Ahmad Khan was a "forerunner for Muslims-Christian's dialogue in India."

Endnotes:

1. See F. Buhl, *"Taḥrīf,"* *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. H.A.R. Gibb and J.H. Kramers (Leiden: EJ. Brill, 1961), pp. 560-1. Besides *taḥrīf*, Hava Lazarus-Yafeh lists three more arguments used by Muslims against Bible *naskh* ("abrogation"), lack of *tawatur* ("reliable transmission") and Muslim Bible exegesis on the prediction of Muhammad and Islam. See Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds: Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), especially Chapters Two and Four. It is to be noted too that there was a polemic between Shi'ites and Sunnites concerning *taḥrīf* of the Qur'an. J. Eliash, "The Shi'ite Qur'an," *Arabica* 16 (1969), pp. 15-24: E. Kohlberg, "Some Notes on the Imamate Attitude to the Qur'an," *Islamic Philosophic and the Classical Tradition*, ed. S.M. Stern, A. Hourani and V. Brown (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1972), pp209-24.

2. For example, QS. 2: 75, 4: 46, QS. 5:13 concerning *taḥrīf*. QS. 2:59 on *tabdil*: QS. 2:146, 159 and 174, and QS. 3: 187 on *kitman*, QS. 2: 42, 3: 71 on the practice of *labs*: QS. 3:78 on *layy*, and QS. 5: 78 on *nisyan*. Robert Caspar has discussed these terms in "Textes de la tradition musulmane concernant le tahrrif [falsification] des ecritures," *Islamochristiana* 6 (1980), pp. 62-3.

3. Besides Caspar's article, there is Monsignor Ignazio de Matteo "Il 'taḥrīf od alterazione della Bibbia secondo I musulmani," *Bessarione* 26 (1922), which has been abbreviated and translated by M.H. Ananikian in Muslim World 14 (1924), pp. 61-84, entitled "*Taḥrīf* or the Alteration of the Bible According to the Moslems", and Camilla Adang, *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible* (Leiden: EJ. Brill, 1996), especially Chapter Seven.

4. See R. Arnaldez, "Ibn Hazm," E12, vol. 3, pp. 790-9.

5. For a summary of Ibn Hazm's argument, see Lazarus-Yafeh, Intertwined Worlds, p.28 ff; Adang, *Muslim Writers*, p. 238 ff; David S. Powers, "Reading/Misreading One Another's Scriptures: Ibn Hazm's Refutation of ibn Nagrella al-Yahudi," *Studies in Islamic and Judaic Traditions*, ed. Wiliam M. Brinner and Stephen D. Ricks (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), vol. 1, pp. 109-21. Powers argues that Ibn Hazm misread the Bible.

6. On the debate between the two parties, Adang, *Muslim Writers*, p-223ff.; Caspar, "Textes sur le *taḥrīf*," p. 78 ff.

7. Cf. notes, *supra*.

8. But see Christian W. Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan: a Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd., 1978), especially Chapter Three.

9. Rippin, "Interpreting the Bible through the Qur'an," *Approaches to the Qur'an*, ed. G.R. Hawting and Abdul-Kader A. Shareef (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 257. Christian W. Troll calls the author of this work "the forerunner of Christian Muslim dialogue." Troll, "Christian-Muslim Relations in India. A Critical Survey," *Islamochristiana* 5 (1979), pp. 125.

10. Translated into English as *The Mahomedan Commentary on the Holy Bible*. The *Tabyin al-Kalām*, used in this paper and the one which the author privately published in two volumes at Ghazeepore in 1862-1865. All the translations of the Qur'an used in this paper are from Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'an: Text Translation and Commentary* (Kuwait: Dhat al-Salasil, 1984), or otherwise stated.

11. Many modern scholars have studied his life and works: Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, J.M.S. Baljon, *The Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan* (Leiden: EJ. Brill, 1949), and Bashir Ahmad Dar, *Religious Thought of Sayyid Ahmad Khan* (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1957). The most important biography of Ahmad Khan is Altaf Husayn Hali's Hayat-i Jawid, translated into English by K.H. Qadiri and David J. Matthews (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyyat-Dilli, 1979).

12. Lawrence, "Mystical and Rational Elements in the early Religious Writings of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan," *The Rose and the Rock: Mystical and Rational Elements in the Intellectual History of South Asian Islam*, ed. Bruce B. Lawrence (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Programs in Comparative Studies on Southern Asia (and) Islamic and Arabic Development Studies, 1979), p. 62.

13. Scholars divide the development of Sir Sayyid's thought into two periods: before 1857 and after 1857. Agusni Yahya, "The Impact of Colonial Experience on the Religious and Social Thought of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Ahmad Hassan: A Comparison" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 1994), p. 16 ff. Baljon divides his life into three period: 1) 1842-1857, 2) time of Transition 1857-69, and 3) period of independent religious thought 1870-98. Baljon, *The Reforms and Religious Ideas*.

14. Lawrence is of the opinion that even in his later writings, Ahmad Khan was still influenced by Sufi tradition. Lawrence, "Mystical and Rational Elements," p. 84 ff.

15. For the discussion of this, see Troll, Sayyid Ahmad Khan, p. 112 ff.

16. Sheila McDonough, *Muslim Ethics and Modernity: A Comparative Study of the Ethical Thought of Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Maulana Maududi* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier U.P., 1984), p. 42.

17. See Ahmad Khan's, *Review on Dr. Hunter's Indian Muslamans: Are they bound to in conscience to rebel against the Queen?* (Lahore: Premier Book House, 1947).

18. See Hali, *Hayat-i Jawid,* p. 106.

19. See Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, p. 70-1, Lawrence, "Mystical and Rational Elements," p. 89. The first of ten discourses is not translated into English in the published *Tabyin al-Kalām*, but Lawrence translated it in the above article, pp. 847.

20. Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, p.70.

21. *Ibid*. Troll translated the text into English in "Sayyid Ahmad Khan on Matthew 5, 17-20," in *Islamochristiana* 3 (1977), pp. 100-5.

22. Lawrence, "Mystical and Rational Elements," p. 80.

23. Ahmad Khan, *Tabyin al-Kalām*, p. 64 ff.

24. Ahmad Khan, *Tabyin al-Kalām*, p. 64. This definition is actually not Razi's but al-Qaffal's. See Razi, *al-Tafsīr al-Kabir* (Cairo: al-Matba'a al-Bahiyya al-Misriyya, 1935), Vol. 3, p. 134. The text in *Tabyin al-Kalām* should be read *imalat al-shay' 'an haqqih* instead of *malat al-shay' 'an haqqih*.

25. Ahmad Khan, *Tabyin al-Kalām*, p. 64.

26. Ahmad Khan, *Tabyin al-Kalām*, p. 66. His eight ways in which the scripture may be corrupted are different from Razi's list, since the latter enumerates only three ways: a) changing a word with another word (*tabdil al-lafz bi-lafz akhar*): b) giving a wrong interpretation and shifting the word from its true meaning to fault meaning (*sarfal-lafz 'an ma'nahu al-haqq ila ma'na batil*), and c) altering the Prophet's speech after having heard his response to the question they (Jews of Medina) posed. See Razi, *al-Tafsīr al-Kabir*, vol. 10, pp. 117-8.

27. Ahmad Khan, *Tabyin al-Kalām*, p. 67.

28. Ahmad Khan, *Tabyin al-Kalām*, p. 66.

29. Ahmad Khan, *Tabyin al-Kalām*, p. 66.

30. Ahmad Khan, *Tabyin al-Kalām*, p. 66. See also Wali Allah, *al-Fawz al-Kabir fi Usul al-Tafsir*, translated from Persian into Arabic by Muhammad I'zaz 'Ali al-Diwabandi (Lahore: al-Maktaba al-Salafiyya, 1951), p.6.

31. Ahmad Khan, *Tabyin al-Kalām*, p. 70.

32. Ahmad Khan, *Tabyin al-Kalām*, p. 71. Ahmad Khan and Razi seem to be in disagreement with Ibn Hazm who criticized the Bible for its lack of *tawatur*. Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, p. 41 ff.

33. Ahmad Khan, *Tabyin al-Kalām*, p. 71; See also Razi, *al-Tafsīr al-Kabir*, vol. 8, p. 114.

34. Ahmad Khan, *Tabyin al-Kalām*, p.73.

35. Ahmad Khan, *Tabyin al-Kalām*, p. 75.

36. Ahmad Khan, *Tabyin al-Kalām*, p.75.

37. Abdullah Yusuf Ali does not state explicitly the term *hittatun* in his translation of the verse, see *The Holy Qur'an*, p. 31.

38. Ahmad Khan, *Tabyin al-Kalām*, p. 76. Cf. Razi, *al-Tafsīr al-Kabir*, vol. 3, pp. 87-94.

39. Ahmad Khan, *Tabyin al-Kalām*, p. 77.

40. Razi, *al-Tafsīr al-Kabir*, vol. 8, p. 114.

41. Ahmad Khan, *Tabyin al-Kalām*, p. 66.

42. Ahmad Khan, *Tabyin al-Kalām*, p. 80. Cf. Razi who discusses this story in his interpretation of QS. 4:51 *yuharrifuna 'l-kalima min ba'di mawadi'ihi*. See Caspar, "Textes sur le *taḥrīf*," pp. 70-1.

43. Caspar, "Textes sur le *taḥrīf*," pp. 80-4.

44. Caspar, "Textes sur le *taḥrīf*," pp. 86-7.

45. Because of this view, Ahmad Khan was opposed by many *'ulama'*, one of whom was 'Ali Bakhsh Khan (1821/22-1884), his outspoken critic. On the 'Ali Bakhsh Khan's accusation against Ahmad and the latter's response, see Christian W. Troll, "Sir Sayyid Ahmad

Khan, 1817-98, and His Theological Critics: The Accusations of 'Ali Bakhsh Khan and Sir Sayyid's Rejoinder," *Islamic Culture* 51 (1977), pp. 261-72; and *Ibid.*, 52 (1978), pp. 1-18. See also Shaista Azizalam, "Sayyid Ahmad Khan and the 'Ulama': A Study in Socio-political Context" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Institute of Islamic Studies, 1992), especially Chapter Three on "The "Ulama's Criticism of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan."

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