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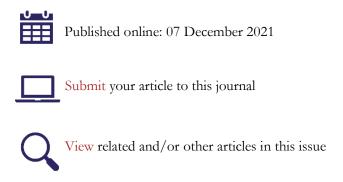Submit your article to this journal

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DON'T JUDGE A BOOK BY ITS COVER: CHRONOLOGICALLY READING IBN 'AṬIYYAH'S INTERPRETATION OF THE *ZAKĀH* PASSAGES

Muammar Zayn Qadafy[*]

Abstract: This paper traces a chronological interpretation of the Qur'ān in a synchronic *tafsir* work (*musalsal*-type). It investigates Ibn 'Aṭiyyah's commentary (*al-Muḥarrar al-Wajīz*) on seven *zakāh* verses (7:156, 27:3, 41:7, 2:43, 2:277, 5:55, 9:71), which represent the Meccan, early Medinan and late Medinan revelations, according to the traditional theory of chronology. The macro-analysis is carried out by approaching *al-Muḥarrar* as a commentary that gathers, abridges and refashions its six sources, including the *tafsir* books of: (1) Ṭabarī (d. 923), (2) al-Zajjāj (842-922), (3) al-Naḥḥās (d. 949), (4) Thaʿlabī (d. 1035), (5) al-Mahdawī (d. 1039) and (6) Ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 1046). This study finds, despite having wealthy traditional materials at hand, Ṭabarī and those who followed him did not possess diachronic awareness of them due to their loyalty to the synchronic methodology of displaying Qur'ānic commentary on the one hand and the structural analysis of the Qur'ānic verses on the other. In contrast, Ibn 'Aṭiyyah has maintained his chronological awareness by accommodating three meanings of the Qur'ānic *zakāh*, each of which corresponds to a different period of revelation.

Keywords: *display, medieval tafsir, Ibn 'Atiyyah, chronological reading of the Qur'ān, the zakāh verses*

PRESENTING A DIACHRONIC INTERPRETATION OF THE QUR'ĀN

A diachronic reading is one that sees the Qur'ān not as a flat literary work with a stable meaning in which all its units are assumed to be equally present all the time. Rather, it regards the Qur'ān as a one-of-a-kind work that emerged from a gradual process that is documented within itself.[1] This diachronic approach is divided into two camps: those who propose a temporary form in which the book may have existed prior to its ultimate shape, and

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[1]   Marianna Klar, "Text-Critical Approaches to Sura Structure: Combining Synchronicity with Diachronicity in *Sūrat al-Baqara*. Part One," *Journal of Qur'ānic Studies* 19, no. 1 (2017): 30, https://doi.org/10.3366/jqs.2017.0267.

those who propose a probable trajectory of theological or narrative growth as the text began to consolidate. Both viewpoints advocate for the "Qur'ān as a Process" movement, which promotes the notion of making the Qur'ān an active actor in late antiquity.[2] Because working on the first genre necessitates understanding late antiquity traditions and languages, which are complicated, it is no surprise that the second genre is more popular nowadays and that second sort of diachronic approach is what a chronological reading of the Qur'ān is all about.

This approach manifests in practical exegetical activities as a chronological reading of the Qur'ān (*al-tafsīr al-nuzūlī li-l-Qurʾān*), which always begins by rearranging the ʿUthmanic sequence of Qur'ānic chapters and verses into chronological order drawn from traditional Islamic treatises[3] or modern scholarly theories.[4] According to Wijaya's classification, the first type to arise in the Islamic world is the fractional chronological

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[2]   Two prominent scholars of this movement are Angelika Neuwirth and Nicolai Sinai. See: Angelika Neuwirth, *Der Koran. Band 1: Frühmekkanische Suren: Poetische Prophetie* [The Qur'ān, Vol. 1: Early Meccan Sūrahs: Poetic Prophecy] (Berlin: Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2011); Angelika Neuwirth, *Der Koran. Band 2/1: Frühmittelmekkanische Suren: Das Neue Gottesvolk: 'Biblisierung' Des Altarabischen Weltbildes* [The Qur'ān. Volume 2/1: Early Middle Meccan Sūrahs: The New People of God: 'Biblization' of The Old Arabic Worldview] (Berlin: Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2017); Nicolai Sinai, "The Qur'ān as Process," in *The Qurʾān in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qurʾānic Milieu*, ed. Angelika Neuwirth (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009); Nicolai Sinai, *The Qur'ān: A Historical-Critical Introduction*, the New Edinburgh Islamic Surveys (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017); Nicolai Sinai, "An Interpretation of Sūrah Al-Najm (Q. 53)," *Journal of Qurʾānic Studies* 13, no. 2 (2011).

[3]   Among them: al-Zuhrī, *Al-Nāsikh Wa al-Mansūkh* [The Abrogating and Abrogated Verses], ed. Ḥātim Ṣāliḥ al-Ḍāmin (Cairo: Muʾassasah-l-Risālah, 1998); Aḥmad Ibn Abī Yaʿqūb Ibn Jaʿfar Ibn Wahb al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh-l-Yaʿqūbī* [The History by al-Yaʿqūbī] (Leiden: Brill, 1883); Muḥammad Ibn Ayyūb Ibn-l-Ḍurais al-Bajalī, *Faḍāʾil-l-Qurʾān Wa Mā Unzila Min al-Qurʾān Bi Makkah Wa Mā Unzila bi-l-Madīnah* [The Merits of the Qur'ān and the Qur'ānic Parts that were Revealed in Mecca and Medina], ed. Urwah Budairī (Beirut: Dār-l-Fikr, 1987); Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq al-Nadīm and Riḍā Tajaddud, a*l-Fihrist* [The Index] (Tehran: Dār-l-Masīrah, 1971); Ibn Ḥabīb al-Nīsābūrī and Naurah Bint ʿAbdillāh al-Warathān, "al-Tanzīl Wa Tartībuhu" [The Revelation and its Order], in *al-ʿUlūm al-Tarbawiyyah Wa al-Dirāsāt al-ʾIslāmiyyah* [The Educational Sciences and Islamic Studies] (Riyadh: al-Mamlakah al-ʿArabiyyah al-Suʿūdiyyah, 2002); Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn-l-Ḥusain al-Baihaqī and ʿAbd-l-Muʿṭī Qalʿajī, *Dalāʾil-l-Nubuwwah Wa Maʿrifah Aḥwāl Ṣāḥib-l-Sharīʿah* [Evidence of Prophecy and Knowledge on the Circumstances of the Man of Law] (Beirut: Dār-l-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, n.d.); al-Jaʿbarī, *Qaṣīdah Taqrīb-l-Maʾmūl Fī Tartīb-l-Nuzūl* [A Poem of Estimating the Hoped Thing of the Order of Revelation], ed. Aḥmad Sālim (Mecca: Maktabah-l-Shinqīṭī li-l-Khidmāt al-ʿIlmiyyah wa al-Baḥthiyyah, 2013); ʿAlī Ibn Muḥammad al-Khāzin, *Lubāb-l-Taʾwīl fī Maʿānī-l-Tanzīl* [The Door of Interpretation on the Meanings of Revelation] (Beirut: Dār-l-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1995); Abū ʿAmr al-Dānī al-ʾAndalusī and Ġānim Quddawarī al-Ḥamd, *al-Bayān Fī ʿAdd Āy-l-Qurʾān* [The Explanation on the Numbers of Qur'ānic Verses] (Kuwait: Markaz-l-Makhṭūṭāt wa al-Turāth wa al-Wathāʾiq, 1994); Jalāl-l-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-ʾItqān fī ʿUlūm-l-Qurʾān* [Proficiency in the Sciences of the Qur'ān] (Beirut: al-Risālah, 2008); Abū ʿAbdillāh al-Zanjānī, *Tārīkh-l-Qurʾān* [The History of the Qur'ān] (Tehran: Munaḍḍomah-l-ʿĀlam al-ʾIslāmī, 1983); Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd-l-Karīm al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal Wa al-Niḥal* [Religions and Beliefs], ed. Aḥmad Fahmī Muḥammad (Beirut: Dār-l-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1992).

[4]   Gustav Weil, *Historisch-Kritische Einleitung in Den Koran* [Historical-Critical Introduction to The Qur'ān] (Bielefeld: Velhagen & Klasing, 1878); Gustav Weil, "An Introduction to the Qur'ān. III," trans. Frank Sanders and Harry W. Dunning, *The Biblical World* 5, no. 5 (1895); Hubbert Grimme, *Mohammed: Einleitung in Den Koran, System Der Koranischen Theologie* [Muhammad: Introduction to the Qur'ān, System of the Qur'ānic Theology] (Münster: Aschendorffsche Buchhandlung, 1895); Theodor Nöldeke et al., *The History of the Qur'ān*, Texts and Studies on the Qur'ān (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013); Hartwig Hirschfeld, *New Research into the Composition and Exegesis of the Qoran* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1902); Richard Bell, *Introduction to the Qurʾān* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1963); W. Montgomery Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qurʾān* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, n.d.); W. Montgomery Watt, "The Dating of the Qur'ān: A Review of Richard Bell's Theories," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1/2 (1957).

Qurʾānic commentary (*al-tafsīr al-nuzūlī al-tajzīʿī*), which works on the entire Qurʾān. This method, in which Qurʾānic commentary is based on verses (*al-musalsal*),[5] may be observed in the *tafsir* book by Muḥammad ʿIzzah Darwazah (1888-1984),[6] ʿĀʾishah ʿAbd-l-Raḥmān Bint-l-Shāṭiʾ (1913-1998),[7] Asʿad Aḥmad 'Alī,[8] ʿAbd-l-Qādir al-Dīzūrī,[9] al-Maidānī[10] and Quraish Shihāb.[11] Another approach, as demonstrated in Jābirī's (1935-2010) *Fahm-l-Qurʾān*,[12] divides the Qurʾānic verses into blocks before reading them chronologically (*al-Tafsīr al-Nuzūlī al-ʾIjmālī*). In terms of presentation, these works use a diachronic style while reconstructing the Qurʾān – in the most popular arrangement – from *sūrah* 96 (al-ʿAlaq) to *sūrah* 5 (al-Māʾidah).[13] They divide the Qurʾān into sections based on the stages of Muḥammad's prophetic mission.[14] Since their major goal is to situate the Qurʾān within the context of Muḥammad's career, their diachronic significance is limited to what they sought to accomplish. There is no flowing diachronic analysis of the evolving Qurʾānic terms in them, which is supplied afterwards by the second sort of genre: the thematic chronological Qurʾānic commentary (*al-Tafsīr al-Nuzūlī al-Mauḍūʿī*). Sayyid Quṭb's (1906-1966) *Mashāhid-l-Qiyāmah*[15] and Ibn Qarnās's *Aḥsan-l-Qaṣaṣ*[16] are two great examples of this type. All these books are organised in accordance with one of the chronological lists of Qurʾānic *sūrahs* contained in the classical Islamic texts.

Western academics have also put their mark on the genre. For example, Thomas O'Shaughnessy (1913-2000),[17] the most consistent user of this methodology I am aware of, conducted thematic chronological studies on a variety of topics, including the Qurʾānic spirit

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[5]   Wijaya uses the term *al-taḥlīlī* (analytical) instead of *al-musalsal* (serial). Aksin Wijaya, *Sejarah Kenabian Dalam Perspektif Tafsir Nuzuli Muḥammad Izzat Darwazah* [The Prophetic History According to Muḥammad Izzat Darwazah's Chronological Exegesis] (Bandung: Mizan, 2016), 46.

[6]   Muḥammad 'Izzah Darwazah, a*l-Tafsīr al-Ḥadīth: Tartīb-l-Suwar Ḥasba-l-Nuzūl* [The Contemporary Tafsir: Arranging the Sūrahs According to Its Revelation] (Tunis: Dār-l-Ġarb al-ʾIslāmī, 2008).

[7]   ʿĀʾishah ʿAbd-l-Raḥmān Bint-l-Shāṭiʾ, a*l-Tafsīr al-Bayāni li-l-Qurʾān al-Karīm* [A Rhetoric Interpretation of the Noble Qurʾān] (Cairo: Dār-l-Maʿārif, 1990); Sahiron Syamsuddin, "An Examination of Bint-l-Shāṭiʾ's Method of Interpreting the Qurʾān" (masters diss., McGill University, 1998).

[8]   Asʿad Aḥmad ʿAlī, *Tafsīr-l-Qurʾān al-Murattab: Manhaj li-l-Yusr al-Tarbawī* [The Interpretation of the Arranged Qurʾān: A Methodology for Educational Ease] (Damascus: Alsouaal Publishing House, 1979).

[9]   ʿAbd-l-Qādir Mallā Ḥuwash al-Ġāzī al-ʿĀnī, *Bayān-l-Maʿānī* [The Rhetoric of Meanings] (Damascus: Maṭbaʾah-l-Turqī, 1962).

[10]   Ḥasan Ḥabannakah, *Maʿārij-l-Tafakkur Wa Daqāʾiq-l-Tadabbur* [The Paths of Reflection and the Minutes of Contemplation] (Damascus: Dār-l-Qalam, 2002).

[11]   Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Qurʾān al-Karim: Tafsir Atas Surat-Surat Pendek Berdasarkan Urutan Turunnya Wahyu* [The Translation of the Noble Qurʾān: A Commentary of Short Sūrahs According to the Chronology of Revelation] (Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah, 1997).

[12]   Muḥammad ʿĀbid al-Jābirī, *Fahm-l-Qurʾān al-Ḥakīm: al-Tafsīr al-Wāḍiḥ ḥasba Tartīb-l-Nuzūl* [Understanding the Wise Qurʾān: A Clear Explanation According to the Order of Revelation] (Beirut: Markaz Dirāsāt-l-Waḥdah al-ʿArabiyyah, 2008).

[13]   In contrast, if a *tafsir* book follows the 'Uthmanic arrangement of the Qurʾān (from al-Fātiḥah to al-Nās), it is – in terms of style – synchronic.

[14]   They may differ from each other in determining these blocks. Instead of the famous three Meccan phases, al-Jābirī, for instance, divides the Meccan suras into six phases.

[15]   Sayyid Quṭb, *Mashāhid-l-Qiyāmah* [Scenes of the Hereafter] (Cairo: Dār-l-Shurūq, 2006).

[16]   Ibn Qarnās, *Aḥsan-l-Qaṣaṣ; Tārīkh-l-Qurʾān ka-mā Warada Min al-Maṣdar Maʿa Tartīb-l-Suwar Ḥasba-l-Nuzūl* [The Best Story: The History of the Qurʾān as Reported in the Source with the Sūrahs Arrangement According to the Revelation] (Beirut: al-Jaml, 2010).

[17]   Sources on his biography are very limited. The only certain things are the dates of his published articles that span from 1948 to 1986.

(1953),[18] hell (1961),[19] death (1969)[20] and youth-old age (2001).[21] Marilyn R. Waldman (1943-1996) worked on the concept of unbelief (*kufr*)[22] and Frederick M. Denny on the Qurʾānic *ummah*.[23] This thematic genre continues to grow with the emergence of fresh research of this type, typically based on Nöldeke's Qurʾānic chronology.[24] In this genre, once an exegete has identified key terms, he or she gathers all Qurʾānic verses containing them, arranges these verses in chronological order based on a certain theory and begins searching for the evolution of meaning. In the analysis, one could use other instruments. O'Shaughnessy, for example, incorporates Biblical and Midrashic materials in his study, while Waldman uses pre-*Jāhilī* poetry.[25]

The presentation of certain Qurʾānic commentary clearly has something to do with the ultimate composition's purpose. A chronological examination of the Qurʾān is more likely to be found in commentary that displays the text in chronological sequence. Does this imply such a thing cannot be discovered in commentary that follows the *'Uthmanic* arrangement? If the classical-medieval Qurʾānic commentaries were organised according to the synchronic order, does this mean they did not have diachronic awareness of the Qurʾānic meanings? These enquiries will be explored and answered in the following discussions. For the sake of arguing against the above assumptions, *al-Muḥarrar al-Wajīz* by Ibn ʿAṭiyyah, which was not composed based on the Qurʾānic chronological revelation, will be meticulously studied to reveal the author's awareness of the Qurʾān's diachronic meanings. The Andalusian's Qurʾānic commentary will be compared to its six sources: (1) *Jāmiʿ-l-Bayān* by Ṭabarī (d. 923)[26], (2) *Maʿani-l-Qurʾan*[27] by Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Sahl Ibn-l-Sārī al-Zajjāj (842-922), (3) *Maʿānī-l-Qurʾān*[28] by al-Naḥḥās (d. 949), (4) *al-Kashf wa al-Bayān*[29] by al-Thaʿlabī (d.

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18   Thomas O'Shaughnessy, *The Development of the Meaning of Spirit in the Koran* (Rome: Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1953).

19   Thomas O'Shaughnessy, "The Seven Names for Hell in the Qurʾān," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1961).

20   Thomas O'Shaughnessy, *Muḥammad's Thoughts on Death (A Thematic Study of the Qurʾānic Data)* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1969).

21   Thomas J. O'Shaughnessy, "The Qurʾānic View of Youth and Old Age," in *The Qurʾan, Style and Contents*, ed. Andrew Rippin (Aldershot, Hampshire; Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 2001).

22   Marilyn Robinson Waldman, "The Development of the Concept of Kufr in the *Qurʾān*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88, no. 3 (1968): 442, https://doi.org/10.2307/596869.

23   Frederick Mathewson Denny, "The Meaning of 'Ummah' in the Qurʾān," *History of Religions* 15, no. 1 (1975).

24   See, for instance, Peter G. Riddell, "Reading the Qurʾān Chronologically: An Aid to Discourse Coherence and Thematic Development," in *Islamic Studies Today: Essays in Honor of Andrew Rippin*, ed. Majid Daneshgar and Walid A. Shaleh (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017); Fadhli Lukman, "Asmāʾ al-Qurʾān Sebagai Self-Identity" (Masters diss., Sunan Kalijaga Islamic State University, 2015).

25   Waldman, "The Development of the Concept of Kufr in the Qurʾān."

26   Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ-l-Bayān ʿan Taʾwīl Āy-l-Qurʾān* [The Collection of Explanation About the Interpretation of the Qurʾānic Verses], ed. ʿIṣām Fāris al-Ḥarastānī (Beirut: Muʾassasah-l-Risālah, 1994).

27   Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Ibn-l-Sarī al-Zajjāj, *Maʿānī-l-Qurʾān* [The Significances of the Qurʾān], ed. ʿAbd-l-Jalīl (Beirut: ʿĀlam-l-Kutub, 1988).

28   Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Naḥḥās and Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Ṣābūnī, *Maʿānī-l-Qurʾān* [The Significances of the Qurʾān] (Mecca: Umm-l-Qurā University, 1988). Another work by Naḥḥās is: Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Naḥḥās, *Iʿrāb-l-Qurʾān* [The Grammar of the Qurʾān], ed. Ḫālid al-ʿAlī (Beirut: Dār-l-Maʿrifah, 2006).

29   Abū Isḥāq Aḥmad al-Thaʿlabī, *al-Kashf Wa al-Bayān* [The Unveiling and the Explanation], ed. Muḥammad Ibn ʾĀshūr (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ-l-Turāth al-ʾArabī, n.d.).

1035), (5) *al-Taḥṣīl li Fawāʾid Kitāb-l-Tafṣīl al-Jāmiʿ li-ʿUlūm-l-Tanzīl*[30] by Aḥmad Ibn ʿAmmār al-Mahdawī (d. 1039), and (6) *al-Hidāyah ilā Bulūġ-l-Nihāyah* by Makkī Ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 1046).[31]

IBN ʿAṬIYYAH AND *AL-MUḤARRAR AL-WAJĪZ*

The story of the ʿAṭiyyah's clan in al-Andalus began with the arrival of ʿAṭiyyah Ibn Khālid Ibn Khufāf Ibn Aslam Ibn Mukram al-Muḥāribī, who participated in the early Arab invasion of the Iberian Peninsula (711-712).[32] Al-Andalus was separated into two regions after the conquest. The southern part was for the Arabs, to whom ʿAṭiyyah Ibn Ḫālid belonged, while the rest was for the Berbers.[33] This great-grandfather of Ibn ʿAṭiyyah the exegete settled in the village of Qunainilah, Granada, Elvira province, and laid the economic and political foundations for his family's prominence.[34] With the passage of time, the ʿAṭiyyah clan evolved to become one of the most influential families in Granada, with its members well-known for their knowledge of Islamic law, *ḥadīth* and Arabic literature.[35] According to al-Nubāhī (1313-1390), a fifteenth-century Andalusian historian, Ibn ʿAṭiyyah's family was a home of wisdom (*bayt ʿilm*), merit (*faḍl*), splendour (*karam*) and intellect (*nabl*).[36]

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[30]   Aḥmad Ibn ʾAmmār al-Mahdawī, *al-Taḥṣīl li Fawāʾid Kitāb-l-Tafṣīl al-Jāmiʿ li ʿUlūm-l-Tanzīl* [The Compilation of the benefits of the Detailed Book, the Collection of the Sciences of Revelation], ed. Muḥammad Ziyād Muḥammad Ṭāhir Shaʿbān and Faraḥ Naṣrī (Doha: Wizārah-l-ʾAuqāf wa al-Shuʾūn al-ʾIslāmiyyah, 2014).

[31]   Makkī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, *Al-Hidāyah Ilā Bulūġ-l-Nihāyah* [A Guide to Reach the End], ed. Muṣṭafā Muslim (Mansaq Majmūʾah Buḥūth-l-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah, 2007); Makkī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, *Mushkil Iʿrāb-l-Qurʾān* [The Problematic Qurʾānic Grammar], ed. Ḥātim Ṣāliḥ al-Ḍāmin (Beirut: Muʾassasah-l-Risālah, 1984).

[32]   It is not clear whether he joined the first army led by Ṭāriq Ibn Ziyād in 711 or the second one by Mūsā Ibn Naṣīr a year later. ʿAbd-l-Wahhāb Fāyid, *Manhaj Ibn ʿAṭiyyah Fī Tafsīr-l-Qurʾān al-Karīm* [Ibn ʿAṭiyyah's Methodology of Interpreting the Noble Qurʾān] (Cairo: al-Hayʾah al-ʿĀmmah li Shuʾūn-l-Maṭābiʿ al-Amīriyyah, 1973), 13.

[33]   The land distribution was part of the process of ethnic division. The Arabs occupied the best lands and the Berbers were confined to the mountainous region of Galicia, Leon, Asturias and the arid region of Extremadura and La Mancha. See Roberto Marin-Guzman, "Ethnic Groups and Social Classes in Muslim Spain," *Islamic Studies* 30, no. 1/2 (1991): 43.

[34]   Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj al-Mudhhab fī Maʿrifah Aʿyān ʿUlamāʾ-l-Madhhab* [The Shiny Clothes on Knowledge of the Nobles of the School's Masters], ed. Muḥammad al-Aḥmadī Abū-l-Nūr (Cairo: Dār-l-Turāṯ, 1922), vol. 2, 57.

[35]   Fāyid, *Manhaj Ibn ʿAṭiyyah*, 17.

[36]   ʿAbdullāh Ibn-l-Ḥasan al-Nubāhī al-Andalusī, *Tārīkh Quḍāh-l-Andalus: Kitāb-l-Marqabah al-ʿUlyā fī-man Yastaḥiqqu al-Qaḍāʾ Wa al-Fatāyā* [The History of the Andalusian Jurists: A Book of a High Observation on those who have Right to Issue Legal Judgements and the Fatwās] (Beirut: Dār-l-Āfāq al-Jadīdah, 1980), 109. In a similar tone, Ibn-l-Ābār says his house is sweaty with knowledge (*baituhu ʿarīq fī-l-ʿilm*). See Ibn al-Ābār, *al-Muʿjam fī Aṣḥāb-l-Qāḍī al-Imām Abī ʿAlī al-Ṣadafī* [The Index of the Friends of the Jurist Abū ʿAlī al-Ṣadafī] (Dahir: Maktabah-l-Thaqāfah al-Dīniyyah, 2000), 260. Al-Suyūṭī says it was the house of knowledge and honour (*bait ʿilm wa jalālah*). Jalāl-l-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Buġyah-l-Wuʿāh fī Ṭabaqāt-l-Lughawīyyīn Wa al-Nuḥāh* [Seeking the Experts among the Linguists and the Grammarians], ed. Muḥammad Abū-l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: ʿĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa Shurakāʾ: 1965), vol. 2, 73.

Ibn ʿAṭiyyah was born in 1088 in Granada, two years after the battle of Sagrajaz (*Maʿrakah-l-Zallāqah*).[37] His full name was ʿAbd-l-Ḥaqq Ibn Ġālib Ibn ʿAbd-l-Raḥmān Ibn Ġālib Ibn ʿAbd-l-Raʾūf Ibn Tamām Ibn ʿAṭiyyah Ibn Khālid Ibn ʿAṭiyyah al-Muḥāribī.[38] Ibn ʿAṭiyyah lived during the reign of the three Almoravids rulers: Yūsuf Ibn Tashfīn (reigned 1061-1106), ʿAlī Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Tashfīn (reigned 1106-1143) and Tashfīn Ibn ʿAlī Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Tashfīn (reigned 1143-1145). He lived during a period when the Almoravid government sponsored academic endeavours actively, and as a result, education in al-Andalus was very vibrant.[39] The biographical writings show him as an enthusiastic student who carefully and patiently pursued his studies. Ibn Khāqān al-ʿAndalusī (d. 1135), a contemporary, praises his arduous attempts to master the sciences throughout his childhood, saying in an exaggerated style, that Ibn ʿAṭiyyah studied day and night with barely a stop.[40] The author also uses Ibn ʿAṭiyyah's poetry to demonstrate his dedication to his studies. He had no desire to have fun and play like other young people (*wa huwa yarkuḍu al-lahw bi ṭaraf jāmiḥ*), since he had a definite goal in life (*wa yanḍuru li-l-munā bi ṭaraf ṭāmiḥ*).[41] It is no surprise that he became well-known later on as a master of several traditional disciplines,[42] including *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, *tafsir*, *adab*, *shiʿr* (poetry) and grammar.[43] Ibn ʿAṭiyyah was a conscientious student and teacher. His book *al-Fihris* chronicles his remarkable journey in looking for sciences. For his teaching activities, a detailed catalogue of Ibn ʿAṭiyyah's pupils is provided by the editors of his *Fihris*, Muḥammad Abū-l-ʾAjfān and Muḥammad al-Zāhī.[44] Although one might be dubious of these Ibn ʿAṭiyyah's portrayals, but they are all we have in the way of biographical records.

The Umayyad Caliphs in al-Andalus adopted the Mālikī school of *fiqh*. This was true throughout the reigns of numerous kingdoms; *Mālikiyyah* texts remained vital references and

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[37]   For the battle of Sagrajaz, see ʿAbd-l-Wāḥid al-Marākishī, *al-Muʿjab fī Talkhīṣ Akhbār-l-Maġrib* [The Wonder of the Summarisation of the Western Tales], ed. Muḥammad Saʾīd al-ʿAryān and Muḥammad al-ʿArabī al-ʿIlmī (Cairo: al-Istiqāmah, 1949), 132-35.

[38]   There was a little controversy in the full list of Ibn ʿAṭiyyah's grandfathers. Fāyid has resolved the controversy by referring to Ibn ʿAṭiyyah's writings in the *Fihris*. See Fāyid, *Manhaj Ibn ʿAṭiyyah*, 15-16.

[39]   At that time, there were many madrasas in Cordoba, Granada, Murcia and Sevilla. Fāyid, *Manhaj Ibn ʿAṭiyyah*, 26.

[40]   It is said: "*wa lammā yanaḍḍu thaub shabābihi, admana al-taʿab fī al-sūdud jāhidan. ḥattā tanāwala al-kawākiba qāʾidan wa-ma-ittakala ʿalā awāʾilihi wa lā sakana ilā rāhāt bukarihi wa āṣālihi. Atharuhu fī kulli maʿrifah ʿalam fī raʾsihī nār wa ṭawāliʿuhu fī āfāqihā ṣubuḥ aw nahār* [And as his youth's garments expanded, he relished working hard in the dark until he reached the planets (knowledge) while seated, and he did not rely on his early days and did not relax day or night. His imprint is in every piece of knowledge, a flag in his mind is fire, and his omens are on their horizons, morning or day]." al-Fatḥ Ibn Muḥammad Ibn ʿUbaidillāh al-Ishbīlī Ibn Khāqān, *Qalāʾid-l-ʿIqyān wa Maḥāsin-l-Aʿyān* [The Golden Necklaces and the Virtues of the Nobles], ed. Ḥusayn Yūsuf Kharyūs (Urdun: Maktabah-l-Manār, 1989), 656.

[41]   Ibid., 657.

[42]   Ibn Bashkuwāl said Ibn ʿAṭiyyah had extensive knowledge (*kāna wāsiʿa-l-maʿrifah*) and mastered many sciences (*mutafanninan fī-l-ʿilm*). Abū-l-Qāsim Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Ṣilah fī Tārīḥ Aʾimmah-l-Andalus wa ʿUlamāʾihim wa Muḥaddithīhim wa Fuqahāʾihim wa Udabāʾihim* [The Connection in the History of Andalusian Leaders, Religious Scholars, ḥadīth Experts, Jurists and Poets], ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf (Tunis: Dār-l-Ġarb al-Islāmī, 2010), vol. 1, 487.

[43]   al-Andalusī, *Tārīkh Quḍāh-l-Andalus*, 109.

[44]   See ʿAbd-l-Ḥaqq Ibn ʿAṭiyyah, *Fihris Ibn ʿAṭiyyah* [The Catalogue of Ibn ʿAṭiyyah], ed. Muḥammad Abū-l-Ajfān and Muḥammad al-Zāhī (Beirut: Dār-l-Ġarb al-Islāmī, 1983).

were taught everywhere.[45] Ibn ʿAṭiyyah was appointed the judge of Almeria in 1135, at the age of his 48, with authority to enforce the law (*wa ʿadula fī-l-ḥukm wa aʿazza al-khiṭṭah*),[46] giving his people stability in their life.[47] Ibn ʿAṭiyyah's Qurʾānic commentary was composed at the pinnacle of his scholarly career, just before accepting the invitation to become a judge. Although his *tafsir* work was opposed to the group known as *Bāṭinī*, those who were primarily concerned in the esoteric interpretation of the Qurʾān,[48] it is important to note that Ibn ʿAṭiyyah did not want *al-Muḥarrar* to be unduly polemical towards other parties. Although he acknowledges disagreeing with the esoteric reading of the Qurʾān, his Qurʾānic commentary was not intended to be primarily a rebuttal to the Ṣūfīs.

CHRONOLOGICALLY READING THE *ZAKĀH* VERSES IN *AL-MUḤARRAR AL-WAJIZ*

In this chapter, the following strategies are applied: (1) gathering key Qurʾānic verses on the *zakāh*, using *al-Muʿjam al-Mufahras li-ʾAlfāẓ-l-Qurʾān al-Karīm* for the first step; (2) rearranging these verses in chronological order; and (3) reading Ibn ʾAṭiyyah's commentary chronologically. At least nine theories in nine books were developed prior to Ibn ʿAṭiyyah's time.[49] However, one fact about these theories will help us solve the dilemma of choosing; they do not greatly differ from one another. Even if there are discrepancies, such as the place of a particular *sūrah* before or after another, they are still located in the same block; therefore, not disrupting the chronological flow of the Qurʾānic narratives. I presume Ibn ʿAṭiyyah's knowledge of the Qurʾān's chronology did not differ from the information given by the three books closest to his lifetime: *al-Tanzīl wa Tartībuhu* by Ibn Ḥabīb al-Nīsābūrī (d. 1015), *al-Bayān fī ʿAdd Āy-l-Qurʾān* by al-Dānī (d. 1052) and *Dalāʾil-l-Nubūwah* by al-Baihaqī (d. 1066). That Ibn Ḥabīb's *al-Tanzīl wa Tartībuhu* was one source of Ibn ʿAṭiyyah's Qurʾānic commentary means the latter reads the former's book and considers it.[50] I therefore use Ibn Ḥabīb's chronology as the major instrument to chronologically orient my reading of

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[45]   Among the famous Mālikī judges in twelfth century Andalusia were Abū-l-Walīd Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Rušd (d. 1126), the grandfather of Ibn Rušd, the commentator (d. 1198), Abū-l-Qāsim Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ward al-Tamīmī (d. 1146) and Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbdillāh Ibn-l-ʿArabī (d. 1149). Fāyid, *Manhaj Ibn ʿAṭiyyah*, 28.

[46]   Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dībāj al-Mudhhab*, vol. 2, 57.

[47]   Khair-l-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām (Qāmūs Wa Tarājim)* [Names: Dictionary and Explanations] (Beirut: Dār-l-ʿIlm li-l-Malāyīn, 2002), vol. 3, 282; Ibn al-Abār, *al-Muʿjam fī Aṣḥāb-l-Qāḍī*, 260.

[48]   This view can be associated with Sufism, philosophy and Ismāʿīlīyah, separately or together. Maribel Fierro, "Bāṭinism in al-Andalus. Maslama Ibn Qāsim al-Qurṭūbī (d. 354/964), Author of the 'Rutbat Al-Ḥakīm' and the 'Ghāyah Al-Ḥakīm' (Picatrix)," *Studia Islamica* 84 (1996): 105-6.

[49]   They were *Tanzīl-l-Qurʾān* of al-Zuhrī (d. 742), *Faḍāʾil-l-Qurʾān wa Maʿālimuhu wa Ādābuhu* of Abū ʿUbaid al-Qāsim Ibn Sallām (d. 839), *al-ʿAql wa Fahm-l-Qurʾān* of al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 857), *Tārīḫ-l-Yaʿqūbī* (d. 897), *Faḍāʾil-l-Qurʾān* of Ibn-l-Ḍurais al-Bajalī (d. 907), *Fihrist Ibn-l-Nadīm* (995), *al-Tanzīl wa Tartībuhu* of Ibn Ḥabīb al-Nīsābūrī (d. 1015), *al-Bayān fī ʿAdd Āy-l-Qurʾān* of al-Dānī (1052) and *Dalāʾil-l-Nubūwah* of al-Baihaqī (d. 1066).

[50]   Just like Ibn Ḥabīb, who divides the Meccan revelation into three periods (beginning/*ibtidāʾ*, middle/*wasaṭ* and ending/*intihāʾ*) and assembled the Medinan verses into three similar fragmentations (*ka-dhālika*), Ibn ʿAṭiyyah did so. al-Nīsābūrī and al-Warathān, "Al-Tanzīl Wa Tartībuhu," 622; Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbdillāh al-Zarkashī, *al-Burhān fī ʿUlūm-l-Qurʾān* [The Argument in the Sciences of the Qurʾān] (Cairo: Dār-l-Ḥadīth, 2006), 135.

al-Muḥarrar. In some situations where an alternative of the chronology is required, I turn to al-Dānī because Ibn ʿAṭiyyah also admits to knowing Dānī's book.[51] The word *zakāh* appears 32 times in the Qurʾān.[52] From this number, I have selected seven occurrences that I believe are essential to highlight the chronological appearance of the word *zakāh* in the Qurʾān, as follows.

Table 1: The key chronological appearance of the word *zakāh* in the Qurʾān

Chronology	Location	Qurʾānic verse	Translation
First phase, Meccan	7:156	*…wa raḥmatī wasiʿat kulla shaiʾ, wa sa-aktubuhā li-l-ladhīna yattaqūna wa yuʾtūna al-zakāh wa al-ladhīna hum bi-āyātinā yuʾminūn.*	…but My mercy encompasses all things. I will specify it for those who act righteously and give the zakāh and those who believe in our sign".
	27:3	*Al-ladhīna yuqīmūna al-ṣalāh wa yuʾtūna al-zakāh wa hum bi-l-ākhirah hum yūqinūn.*	who keep up the prayer, give the zakāh, and believe firmly in the life to come.
	41:7	*Al-ladhīna lā yuʾtūna al-zakāh wa hum bi-l-ākhirah hum kāfirūn.*	who do not give the zakāh and refuse to believe in the world to come!
Second phase, early Medinan	2:43	*Wa aqīmū al-ṣalāh wa ātū al-zakāh wa-irkaʿū maʿa al-rākiʿīn.*	Keep up the prayer, give the zakāh, and bow your heads [in worship] with those who bow theirs.
	2:277	*Inna al-ladhīna āmanū wa ʿamilū al-ṣāliḥāt wa aqāmū al-ṣalāh wa ātū al-zakāh lahum ajruhum ʿinda rabbihim wa lā khauf ʿalaihim wa lā hum yaḥzanūn.*	Those who believe, do good deeds, keep up the prayer, and give the zakāh will have their reward with their Lord: no fear for them, nor will they grieve.
	73:20	*…fa-iqraʾū mā tayassara minhu wa aqīmū al-ṣalāh wa ātū al-zakāh wa aqriḍullāh qarḍan ḥasanan…*	… recite as much as is easy for you, keep up the prayer, give the zakāh, and make God a good loan…
Third phase, late Medinan	5:55	*Innamā walīyukumullāh wa rasūluhu wa al-ladhīna āmanū al-ladhīna yuqīmūna al-ṣalāh wa yuʾtūna al-zakāh wa hum rākiʿūn.*	Your true allies are God, His Messenger, and the believers– those who keep up the prayer, give the zakāh, and bow down in worship.
	9:71	*Wa al-muʾminūna wa al-muʾmināt baʿḍuhum auliyāʾ baʿḍ yaʾmurūna bi-l-maʿrūf wa yanhauna ʿan al-munkar wa yuqīmūna al-ṣalāh wa yuʾtūna al-zakāh.*	The believers, both men and women, support each other; they order what is right and forbid what is wrong; they keep up the prayer and give the zakāh; they obey God and His Messenger. God will give His mercy to such people: God is almighty and wise.

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[51]   See the preamble of Ibn ʿAṭiyyah's *tafsir* on *surah* 89. Ibn 'Aṭiyyah al-Andalusī and ʿAbd-l-Salām ʿAbd-l-Ṣafr Muhammad, *Al-Muḥarrar al-Wajīz Fī Tafsīr-l-Kitāb al-ʿAzīz* [A Brief Edition on the Interpretation of The Noble Book], 3rd ed. (Lebanon: Dār-l-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2011), vol. 5, 476.

[52]   I do not include its derivative words, such as *zakkā, azkā* and *tazakkā*. Muḥammad Fuʾād ʿAbd-l-Bāqī, *Al-Muʿjam al-Mufahras Li Alfāẓ-l-Qurʾān al-Karīm* [The Indexed Lexicon for the Words of the Noble Qurʾān] (Cairo: Dār-l-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, n.d.), 331-32.

NOTES ON CHRONOLOGY

The seven passages are from seven distinct Qur'ānic *sūrahs*: 7, 27, 41, 2, 73, 5 and 9. The chronological order of *sūrah* 7 (al-Aʿrāf) is disputed. While Ibn Ḥabīb and Dānī place it in the early stage of Muḥammad's preaching, between *sūrah* 38 (Ṣād) and *sūrah* 72 (al-Jinn), this *sūrah* is absent from Baihaqī's book. Nöldeke, on the other hand, believes this *sūrah* is Medinan.[53] Particularly at verse 156 where the term *zakāh* emerges, Nöldeke says, while the verse has numerous clues that betray a Meccan origin, this verse, together with the next two verses, are best seen as Medinan.[54] Ibn ʿAṭiyyah adheres to the traditional chronology, claiming all verses of this *sūrah* are Meccan (*wa hiya makkīyah kulluhā*).[55] There is no disagreement among the three versions of the chronology and Ibn ʿAṭiyyah on the chronology of *sūrah* 27, 41, 2 and 9. All accounts agree that *sūrah* 73 (al-Muzzammil) is from the early Meccan period. However, in the preamble, Ibn ʿAṭiyyah asserts that verse 20, which is considerably lengthier than the rest, is Medinan.[56] In terms of *sūrah* 5, Ibn Ḥabīb places it among the latest Medinan revelations, while the other two theories push the dating earlier. Although Ibn ʿAṭiyyah does not directly state anything in the preamble, he does describe three events that might be related to the revelation of this verse: the pact of Hudaibīyah (628), the conquest of Mecca (*fatḥ Makkah*) and the last pilgrimage (*ḥajj-l-wadāʿ*) (632). They occurred at the end of the Prophet's life. It is therefore reasonable to assume, according to Ibn ʿAṭiyyah, *sūrah* 5 is at the end of the Medinan period.

Another point worth noting is that virtually all references to *zakāh* are accompanied by references to prayer (*ṣalāh*). Only two of the preceding seven verses (7:156 and 41:7) do not share a similar pattern. The former associates *al-zakāh* with the *al-taqwā* (piety), while the latter associates it with faith in the afterlife. Both verses, as previously said, are among the early revelations. From the revelation of 2:43 onwards (from the beginning of the Medinan period), the Qur'ān has always mentioned *ṣalāh* and *zakāh* together. It is also worth noting that the last three verses in Table 1 introduce new elements, such as faith (*al-ladhīna āmanū*), good deeds (*wa ʿamilū al-ṣāliḥāt*) and a mutual call for good and prevention from evil (*al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa al-nahy ʿan al-munkar*). Although these subtleties are outside the scope of this research, they strengthen the sense that the Qur'ān recounts a process in and of itself and may be chronologically read.

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[53]   He divides this *sūrah* into five sections: verses 1-56 (the temptation of Adam and admonition addressed to the children of Adam), verses 57-100 (the sending of the ancient prophets), verses 101-173 (Moses and the subsequent fate of the Jews), verses 174-185 (on an anonymous enemy of God) and verses 186-205 (the Last Hour). Nöldeke et al., *The History of the Qur'ān*, 129.

[54]   Nöldeke says: "…the contrast between the prophets, who originated from Pagans and the People of the Book was of Less importance at Mecca; the Torah and the Gospel are never mentioned in Meccan Suras. Also, the word ʿAzzarūhu wa Naṣarūhu unmistakably indicate the Anṣār." All these make the three verses Medinan appendixes. See Nöldeke et al., *The History of the Qur'ān*, 129-30.

[55]   Ibn ʿAṭiyyah al-Andalusī, *Al-Muḥarrar al-Wajīz Fī Tafsīr-l-Kitāb al-ʿAzīz* [A Brief Edition on the Interpretation of The Noble Book], ed. Majd Makkī (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2003), 682.

[56]   Ibid., 1911.

ṬABARĪ

It is worth noting that works in the *tafsīr musalsal* genre typically follow a common pattern in the body of interpretation. The exegete always expends a significant amount of ink discussing a certain Qur'ānic concept in the first verse where it appears (in the ʿUthmanic order). This is one of the reasons why their explanation of the first *sūrahs*, notably 2 (al-Baqarah), 3 (Āli ʿImrān) and 4 (al-Nisāʾ), consume many more pages than their subsequent *surahs*.[57] It is common for an exegete to bypass the debate because he believes he has taken adequate notes previously, using reasons such as "*qad bayyannā ṣifatahā fī-mā maḍā bi-mā aġnā ʿan iʿādatihi*"/"We have explained it previously and there is no need for repetition." Ṭabarī says this in his commentary on *zakāh* in 7:156.[58] After stressing this, Ṭabarī adds only one narrative from Ibn ʿAbbās, claiming "*yuʾtūna al-zakāh*" in this context implies "obeying God and His Messenger"/"*yuṭīʿūnallāh wa rasūlah*." Ibn ʿAbbās, Ṭabarī continues, interprets (*taʾawwala*) *zakāh* as praiseworthy actions that can purify and cleanse the soul (*al-ʿamal bi-mā yuzakkī al-nafs wa yuṭahhiruhā min ṣāliḥāt-l-aʿmāl*).[59] This extra comment from Ibn ʿAbbās plays no important part in Tabari's interpretation. However, Ṭabarī recognises that Ibn Abbas' remark was intended to comment on this passage. In the second verse (27:3), Ṭabarī clearly states *zakāh* refers to compulsory almsgiving (*al-zakāh al-mafrūḍah*). Again, Ṭabarī mentions an alternative meaning offered by an anonymous authority (*wa qīla*) who prefers the broader meaning of *zakāh* (cleaning souls of the impurities of evil deeds).[60] He then repeats the synchronic formula that he does not need to explain what he has already expressed.[61]

Qur'ān 41:7 is our final *zakāh* verse of the Meccan phase. This verse attributes two characteristics to the polytheists (*al-mushrikūn*): they do not give *zakāh* and do not believe in the afterlife. Ṭabarī lists several interpretations. Ibn ʿAbbās' name reappears as a representative of those who claim the Qur'ān addresses individuals who do not believe in the oneness of God (*lā yuwaḥḥidūnahu*[62]) and do not undertake such actions that can purify their bodies.[63] Other exegetes argue the Qur'ān is targeting people who refused to pay the compulsory *zakāh*.[64] To supplement these two opposing viewpoints – the first based on the basic definition of *zakāh* as anything that purifies the soul and the second based on the terminological definition of *zakāh* as a certain portion of wealth that a Muslim must give after certain conditions are met – Ṭabarī presents several narratives about the high status of *zakāh* in Islam. He quotes Qatādah as saying that *zakāh* is the bridge of Islamic religion (*qanṭarah-l-Islām*). Ṭabarī also recounts Abū Bakr's tough attitude, which he took against the apostates

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[57] Despite that they are already long *sūrahs* with many verses.
[58] al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ-l-Bayān*, vol. 10, 487.
[59] Ibid., 488.
[60] He says: "*maʿnāhu wa yuṭahhirūna ajsādahum min danas-l-maʿāṣī.*" al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ-l-Bayān*, vol. 18, 6.
[61] "*wa-qad bayyannā fī-mā maḍā bi-mā aġnā ʿan iʿādatihi fī hādhā al-mauḍiʿ.*" al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ-l-Bayān*, vol. 18, 6.
[62] In the other narratives from Ibn Abbās and 'Ikrimah: people do not want to say that there is no God but Allah (*al-ladhīna lā yashhadūna (lā yaqūlūna) allā ilāha illallāh*). al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ-l-Bayān*, vol. 20, 379.
[63] "*maʿnāhu al-ladhīna lā yuʾtūnallāh al-ṭāʿah al-latī tuṭahhiruhum wa tuzakkī abdānahum.*" al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ-l-Bayān*, vol. 20, 379.
[64] Ibid.

when they refused to pay *zakāh*. At the end, Tabari states he prefers the terminological meaning of *zakāh*, rather than the generic one. According to him, interpreting "do not want to pay *zakāh*" in this verse as "do not want to acknowledge the oneness of Allah" overlaps with the verse's ending where the Qur'ān declares that those individuals "do not believe in the hereafter" (*wa hum bi-l-ākhirah hum kāfirūn*).[65]

The three samples I have shown here perfectly illustrate how Ṭabarī strictly uses the flat synchronic reading of the Qur'ān. He does not rehash what he has already elaborated on. This aids researchers in looking for Ṭabarī's views on issues. They can refer to his interpretation of the first verse that appears on a particular topic. Despite its ease, a synchronic writing mode is not intended to reveal the chronological development of the term's meanings. When it comes to the meaning of *zakāh* in these Meccan verses, Ṭabarī sees each of them as compulsory *zakāh*. Narratives that link this term with a broader connotation are also cited by him, but they have no bearing on his conclusion. As shown in the last case, Ṭabarī focuses on a structural study of Qur'ānic word construction rather than historical analysis based on existing narratives.

In Qur'ān 2:43 (the *zakāh* verses in the early Medinan phase), Ṭabarī provides a detailed explanation of the lexicographical definition of the term *zakāh*. To begin with, Ṭabarī claims that verse 43 and several preceding verses destroy Jewish priests who summon people to conduct prayers and pay the *zakāh* while they do not perform them. Ṭabarī then refers to Qatādah's remark that both actions are obligatory (*farīḍatāni wājibatāni*) before using again the magical synchronic statement to emphasise that he would not re-explain here the prayers (*ṣalāh*), which he has already described.[66] Ṭabarī understands the word *zakāh* to mean obligatory almsgiving (*al-ṣadaqah al-mafrūḍah*). He goes on to say that the term *zakāh* originally meant "growth, productivity, and wealth increase" (*namāʾu-l-māl wa tathmīruhu wa ziyādatuhu*). He provides numerous ancient poetries to back up his point. *Zakāh*, according to him, is taken from someone's wealth to serve as a reminder of God's kindness to him and purify his other assets. That is why the Qur'ān characterises someone who is sinless as a *zakkī* (18:74).[67]

In *sūrah* 2, the word *zakāh* appears five times. After repeating the synchronic formula,[68] Ṭabarī proceeds in verse 83 by detailing the customs of *zakāh* during the time of the *Banū ʾIsrāʾīl*. In his comments on verse 110,[69] he uses the synchronic formula once more. In verse 177, he explains the distinction between compulsory *zakāh* and *ṣadaqah* to clarify the meaning of "*wa ʾātā al-māl ʿalā ḥubbihī*."[70] Ṭabarī adds nothing to explain verse 277, except

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[65] Ibid., 380.

[66] The word *ṣalāh* initially appears in Qur'ān 2:3. See: al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ-l-Bayān*, vol. 1, 611.

[67] "And so they travelled on. Then, when they met a young boy and the man killed him, Moses said, 'How could you kill an innocent person? He has not killed anyone! What a terrible thing to do!'" al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ-l-Bayān*, vol. 1, 611.

[68] "*Qad bayyannā fī-mā maḍā qablu maʿnā-l-zakāh wa mā aṣluhā*." al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ-l-Bayān*, vol. 2, 198.

[69] "Keep up the prayer and pay the prescribed alms. Whatever good you store up for yourselves, you will find it with God: He sees everything you do." al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ-l-Bayān*, vol. 2, 425-26.

[70] "Who give away some of their wealth, however much they cherish it." al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ-l-Bayān*, vol. 3, 80-82.

an emphasis that *zakāh mafrūḍah* is meant here.[71] Our analysis of the five verses in *sūrah* 2 underlines the qualities of Ṭabarī's interpretation as a synchronic work even more. As a result, we may conclude that Ṭabarī, as a Qurʾānic commentator, possesses an extensive tradition. Despite the same term appearing in two or more verses, the narratives used to explain each of these verses are different. However, Ṭabarī lacks diachronic awareness of those many meanings. My reading of his interpretation on the remaining verses (73:20,[72] 5:55[73] and 9:91[74]) reveals no new finding. Ṭabarī is constrained by his synchronic approach.

POST-ṬABARĪ

Ṭabarī's contemporary, Zajjāj (842-922), makes no valuable remarks in any of the verses under consideration.[75] The evolution of the meaning of the word *zakāh* does not pique his interest, as though he believes his readers are already well-informed about it. His sole pertinent comment is on 41:7 (a Meccan verse in our dating), where Zajjāj states that *zakāh* is made mandatory here.[76] Al-Naḥḥās' (d. 949) book is identical to that of Zajjāj. Naḥḥās provides brief remarks on only two of the eight verses under consideration.[77] In 7:156, he claims that God has made prayers and *zakāh* obligatory (*katabahāllāh jalla wa ʿazza li-hādhihi al-ummah*[78]) while in 41:7 he quotes Qatādah as stating *zakāh* is the foundation of Islam: whoever pays it will be saved and whoever neglects it will perish (*al-zakāh fiṭrah-l-Islām, fa-man addāhā bariʾa wa najā wa-man lam yuʾaddihā halaka*[79]). Zajjāj and Naḥḥās are more ignorant of the Qurʾānic diachronic-chronological concept than Ṭabarī.

Thaʿlabī's (d. 1035) *tafsir* likewise does not offer any new nuances to the way the word *zakāh* may be treated chronologically; he just repeats Ṭabarī's explanations of the word *zakāh* in two verses. He maintains that *zakāh* in verse 43 is an obligatory almsgiving.[80] In 41:7, he quotes Ibn ʿAbbās' utterance that "*ʾītāʾu-l-zakāh*" here means witnessing there is no deity but Allah and he follows it with some accounts indicating that *zakāh* here is something connected to giving a share of someone's wealth. A quote from al-Ḍaḥḥāk and Muqātil indicates that *zakāh* is *al-nafaqah fī al-ṭāʿah* (charity in obedience to God). Thaʿlabī also inserts an account about how apostates (*ahl-l-riddah*) refused to pay *zakāh* after the death of Muḥammad. Ṭaʿlabī concludes his comments with a quote from al-Farrāʾ, stating the Quraiš who used to feed the pilgrims (*ḥujjāj*) did not do the same for those who believed in Muḥammad.[81]

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[71]   Ibid., vol. 5, 48.
[72]   Ibid., vol. 23, 398.
[73]   Ibid., vol. 8, 530-532.
[74]   Ibid., vol. 11, 556.
[75]   al-Zajjāj, *Maʿānī -l-Qurʾān*, vol. 2, 380; vol. 4, 107-108; vol. 1, 123-124; vol. 1, 257-259; vol. 5, 243-244; vol. 2, 183-184; vol. 2, 461-462.
[76]   Ibid., vol. 4, 380.
[77]   al-Naḥḥās and al-Ṣābūnī, *Maʿānī-l-Qurʾān*, vol. 5, 113.
[78]   Ibid., vol. 3, 89.
[79]   In Ṭabarī's commentary, the wording used in Qatādah's utterance is "*qanṭarah*," while in Naḥḥās' commentary, it is "*fiṭrah*." al-Naḥḥās and al-Ṣābūnī, *Maʿānī-l-Qurʾān*, vol. 6, 244.
[80]   al-Thaʿlabī, *Al-Kašf Wa al-Bayān*, vol. 1, 118.
[81]   Ibid., vol. 8, 286.

Following Zajjāj and Naḥḥās, Thaʿlabī makes no comments about the remaining Qurʾānic passages.[82]

As a commentator whose work is significantly influenced by Ṭabarī's exegetical materials, Ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 1046) has the opportunity to reverse the genre. In 7:156, he adds two *Isrāʾīliyyāt* tales from Zaid Ibn Aslam (d. 753) to Ibn ʿAbbas' assertion on the broad meaning of the term *zakāh*. The first story concerns the virtue of the devout and wise, while the second is about God's love for the tiniest actions of Muḥammad's followers.[83] Unfortunately, in 27:3 (belonging to the first phase in our chronology), Ibn Abī Ṭālib has already associated the word *zakāh* with forced almsgiving.[84] In 41:7, Ibn Abī Ṭālib like Ṭabarī elaborates on the different meanings of the word *zakāh*. In the end, he comes to the same conclusion as Ṭabarī.[85] In terms of Ibn Abī Ṭālib's remarks on the *zakāh* verses during the Medinan period, he primarily links them with obligatory almsgiving.[86] Only at 2:227[87] and 5:55[88] does he offer no comments. Without a doubt, Ibn Abī Ṭālib is well acquainted with Ṭabarī's book and he even uses it as the major source for his *al-Hidāyah*. Ibn Abī Ṭālib's understanding of the word *zakāh* is identical to that of Ṭabarī, whom he admires greatly. His remarks on 2:43, which summarise what Ṭabarī has said, are a real example of that point.[89] Just like Ṭabarī, Ibn Abī Ṭālib does not affirm the evolution of the meaning of the term *zakāh* in the Qurʾān. Unsurprisingly, Mahdawī's (d. 1039) approach to this topic is similar to that of Ibn Abī Ṭālib. We find another quote from Ibn ʿAbbās in Mahdawī's comment on 7:156[90] as well as a statement linking the word *zakāh* in 2:43 with obligatory almsgiving.[91] We also find one of Ṭabarī's typical explanations in Mahdawī's interpretation on 41:7,[92] while Mahdawī says nothing on the rest.[93]

IBN ʿAṬIYYAH

The following table shows Ibn ʿAṭiyyah's comments on each *zakāh* verses under discussion.

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[82]   Ibid., vol. 4, 291; vol. 7, 188; vol. 2, 284; vol. 10, 66; vol. 4, 79; vol. 5, 68.

[83]   Ibn Abī Ṭālib, *Al-Hidāyah Ilā Bulūġ-l-Nihāyah*, 2586-87.

[84]   Ibid., 5368.

[85]   Ibid., 6480-6482.

[86]   Ibid., 7810, 3067.

[87]   Ibid., 908.

[88]   There is a discussion on the verse's addressee. Ibn Abī Ṭālib, *Al-Hidāyah Ilā Bulūġ-l-Nihāyah*, 1787.

[89]   Ibid., 252.

[90]   al-Mahdawī, *Al-Taḥṣīl Li-Fawāʾid*, 107.

[91]   Ibid., vol. 1, 206-207.

[92]   Ibid., vol. 6, 8.

[93]   Ibid., vol. 5, 81-82; vol. 1, 600-601; vol. 6, 153; vol. 2, 468-469; vol. 3, 270-284.

Table 2: A chronological presentation of Ibn ʿAṭiyyah's interpretation on *zakāh* verses

Chronology	Verse	Ibn ʿAṭiyyah's comments	Translation
First phase, Meccan	7:156	وقوله : { ويؤتون الزكاة } الظاهر من قوله { يؤتون } أنها الزكاة المختصة بالمال وخصها هنا بالذكر تشريفاً لها وجعلها مثالاً لجميع الطاعات. وقال ابن عباس فيما روي عنه : ويؤتون الأعمال التي يزكون بها أنفسهم	And about his word (and they give the *zakāh*). The term '*yuʾtūna*' indicates outwardly that *zakāh* here relates to someone's wealth, and God specifically mentions it here to glorify it and make it an example for other sorts of obedience. Ibn ʿAbbās said in a report narrated from him: (*yuʾtūna al-zakāh*) means to conduct acts by which people can purify their souls.
	27:3	و { الزكاة } هنا يحتمل أن - تكون غير المفروضة لأن السورة مكية قديمة ، ويحتمل أن تكون المفروضة من غير تفسير ، وقيل { الزكاة } هنا بمعنى الطهارة من النقائص وملازمة مكارم الأخلاق	And the term (*zakāh*) here may refer to non-obligatory ones because the *surah* is from the early Meccan (period), but it, without further explanation, possibly also refers to the obligatory ones. It is said *zakāh* here means cleansing (the souls) from bad deeds and sticking to noble character.
	41:7	وقوله تعالى : { الذين لا يؤتون الزكاة } قال الحسن وقتادة وغيره : هي زكاة المال . وروي : الزكاة قنطرة الإسلام ، من قطعها نجا ، ومن جانبها هلك . واحتج لهذا التأويل بقول أبي بكر في الزكاة وقت الردة . وقال ابن عباس والجمهور : { الزكاة } في هذه الآية : لا إله إلا الله التوحيد كما قال موسى لفرعون : { هل لك إلى أن تزكى } [النازعات : 18] ويرجح هذا التأويل أن الآية من أول المكي ، وزكاة المال إنما نزلت بالمدينة ، وإنما هذه زكاة القلب والبدن ، أي تطهيره من الشرك والمعاصي ، وقاله مجاهد والربيع . وقال الضحاك ومقاتل : معنى { الزكاة } هنا : النفقة في الطاعة	And about His words (those who do not perform the *zakāh*). Al-Ḥasan and Qatādah and others said: it is the *zakāh* of wealth. And it is reported: *zakāh* is the bridge of Islam; whoever passes on it would be safe and whoever avoids it would perish. This interpretation is based on Abū Bakr's statements on *zakāh* during the apostasy periods. Ibn ʿAbbās and the majority said: the *zakāh* in this verse is (a declaration) that there is no god except Allah, or the *tawḥīd*, just like what Moses said to Pharaoh: 'would you be willing to purify yourself?' (al-Nāziʿāt:18). This interpretation is preferred by the status of this verse as early Meccan, whereas the *zakāh* verse that relates to one's wealth was revealed in Medina. Hence, this refers to the *zakāh* of heart and body, or cleansing them from associating partners with God and doing evil, as said by Mujāhid and al-Rabīʿ. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk and Muqātil also said: the meaning of *al-zakāh* here is the almsgiving that is given in the context of obedience to God.
Second phase, early Medinan	2:43	و { الزكاة } في هذه الآية هي المفروضة بقرينة إجماع الأمة على وجوب الأمر بها ، و { الزكاة } مأخوذة من زكا الشيء إذا نما وزاد ، وسمي الإخراج من المال زكاة وهو نقص منه من حيث ينمو بالبركة أو بالأجر الذي يثيب الله به المزكي وقيل { الزكاة } مأخوذة من التطهير ، كما يقال زكا فلان أي طهر من دنس الجرحة أو الاغفال ، فكأن الخارج من المال يطهره من تبعة الحق الذي جعل الله فيه للمساكين ، ألا ترى أن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم سمى في الموطأ ما يخرج في الزكاة أوساخ الناس .	And (*zakāh*) in this verse is the obligatory almsgiving with the evidence that there is a consensus on the obligation of this command. "*zakāh*" is taken from the *zakā* (verb) of a thing if it grows and increases, and the (charitable) giving of money is called *zakāh* to address shortage, and it brings increased blessing or reward which God gives to the performer of the *zakāh*. And it is said that *zakāh* is derived from purification, as it is said: so-and-so *zakā,* meaning that someone purifies himself from the defilement of a wound or omission. It is as if the expenditure of money cleanses him from the responsibility of right which God made it there for the poor. Don't you see that the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, named (as) in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* (of Mālik) what comes out in *zakāh* is people's defilement.

Chronology	Verse	Ibn ʿAṭiyyah's comments	Translation
	2:277	وخص ﴿ الصلاة ﴾ و ﴿ الزكاة ﴾ بالذكر وقد تضمنهما عمل ﴿ الصالحات ﴾ تشريفاً لهما ، وتنبيهاً على قدرهما ، إذ هما رأس الأعمال الصلاة في أعمال البدن ، والزكاة في أعمال المال	He pointed out "ṣalāh" and "zakāh", and he included them in doing "good deeds" to honour them and to emphasise their value, as they are the head of deeds, prayer in bodily deeds, and zakāh in monetary deeds.
Third phase, late Medinan	5:55	﴿ ويؤتون الزكاة ﴾ ، وهي هنا لفظ عام للزكاة المفروضة وللتطوع بالصدقة ولكل أفعال البر ، إذ هي تنمية للحسنات مطهرة للمرء من دنس الذنوب ، فالمؤمنون يؤتون من ذلك كل بقدر استطاعته	(And they give zakāh); It is here a general term for the obligatory zakāh and for voluntary charity and for all acts of righteousness, as it is the development of good deeds that cleanse one from the defilement of sins, so the believers give them all, according to the ability of each of them.
	9:71	قال القاضي أبو محمد : وبحسب هذا تكون ﴿ الزكاة ﴾ المفروضة ، والمدح عندي بالنوافل أبلغ ، إذ من يقيم النوافل أحرى بإقامة الفرض	Al-Qāḍī Abū Muḥammad said: the zakāh here is obligatory. Praise for the supererogatory is more appropriate to me, as the one who performs the supererogatory is more likely to perform the obligatory (zakāh).

Ibn ʿAṭiyyah says in his commentary on 7:156 that the term "*yuʾtūna*" indicates on the surface (*al-ẓāhir*) that *zakāh* here is something connected to wealth (*al-mukhtaṣṣah bi-l-māl*). This remark should not lead us to believe that Ibn ʿAṭiyyah has already associated the term *zakāh* in this verse with money, because he is only describing the impression readers may get when reading the word "*yuʾtūna*." Ibn ʿAṭiyyah follows his sources by quoting Ibn ʿAbbās' saying that *zakāh* in this context typically refers to actions that might purify souls (*al-aʿmāl al-latī yuzakkūna bihā anfusahum*).[94] The word *al-zakāh* in the initial phase of its appearance referred to "deeds" rather than "wealth." Qurʾān 27:3 is the second verse in the chronological order that I have determined. Just as with the previous verse, Ibn ʿAṭiyyah links the term *zakāh* here with "issuing wealth." However, unlike Ṭabarī, who claims this verse is connected to obligatory *zakāh*, Ibn Atiyyah says unequivocally that its status as an initial Meccan *sūrah* (*makkiyyah qadīmah*) brings it closer to un-obligatory almsgiving.[95] Ibn ʿAṭiyyah then adds another meaning that the word *zakāh* here means "to cleanse the spirit of vile traits and to become acclimated to doing good practices" (*al-ṭahārah min al-naqāʾiṣ wa mulāzamah makārim-l-akhlāq*).[96]

In his reading of 4:17, Ibn ʿAṭiyyah's demonstration of his diachronic understanding of the chronological meanings of Qurʾānic words becomes more evident. He begins by recounting Ṭabarī's argument that the *zakāh* here is *zakāh- l-māl*, based on a statement from Qatādah and the tale of how Abū Bakr raised his swords against the disavowals of *zakāh*.[97] If Ṭabarī (followed by Ibn Abī Ṭālib and Mahdawī) wants to keep this as an already established terminological meaning of *zakāh*, Ibn ʿAṭiyyah keeps its more general basic meaning as

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[94]   al-Andalusī, *Al-Muḥarrar al-Wajīz*, 749.
[95]   al-Andalusī, 1412.
[96]   al-Andalusī, 1412.
[97]   He also includes a quote that the *zakāh* is the bridge (*Qanṭarah*) of Islam. al-Andalusī, 1646.

"everything that purifies the soul." Basing his argument on Ibn ʿAbbās, who says *zakāh* here means *tauḥīd* (oneness of God) as contained in 79:18,[98] Ibn ʿAṭiyyah says:

> This interpretation (that the zakāh means the tauḥīd) is strengthened by the fact that the āyah is early Meccan (min awwal -l-Makkī), while the (verses on) zakāh-l-Māl were sent down in Medina. Hence, this refers to the zakāh of heart and body (zakāh-l-qalb wa al-badan), or cleansing them from associating partners with God (al-shirk) and doing evil (al-maʿāṣī), as said by Mujāhid and al-Rabīʿ. al-Ḍaḥḥāk and Muqātil also said: the meaning of al-zakāh here is the almsgiving that is given in the context of obedience to God (al-nafaqah fī al-ṭāʿah).[99]

Ibn ʿAṭiyyah uses chronology as the basis of his argument. For him, it makes more sense to refer the word *al-zakāh* in the early Meccan period to its broad meaning, rather than its narrow terminological meaning. By doing so, he exposes layers of Qurʾānic meanings. His historical consideration of the early history of *zakāh* practices enlightens him on the chronological historical meaning inherent in each Qurʾānic word. When he finds passages instructing individuals to give a specific portion of their wealth to other people, Ibn ʿAṭiyyah consistently employs this chronological line of thought. In 70:24,[100] he refuses to refer the *ḥaqq maʿlūm* to obligatory *zakāh* since *sūrah* 70 is Meccan and the endorsement and elucidation of *zakāh* only happened in Medina,[101] while Ṭabarī only lists all possible meanings without adding his judgement.[102] Ibn ʿAṭiyyah also refuses to associate the *ḥaqq* in 6:141[103] with the obligatory *zakāh*, merely because *sūrah* 6 is Meccan.[104]

Although it is obvious that Ibn ʿAṭiyyah possesses diachronic awareness, it is important to remember his book is written in a synchronic-*musalsal* style. A specific term or concept will be sufficiently elaborated by him in its first mention in the Qurʾān. In his commentary on 2:43, after demonstrating that *zakāh* refers to obligatory almsgiving (*al-zakāh al-mafrūḍah*), Ibn ʿAṭiyyah discusses two lexicographical interpretations for the word, which Ṭabarī had already explored.[105] Ibn ʿAṭiyyah just summarises Ṭabarī's explanation. A similar case occurs in Ibn ʿAṭiyyah's comments on 2:83[106] and 2:177.[107] However, Ibn ʿAṭiyyah never spells out the synchronic expressions in the lines under consideration. When he does not wish to say anything more about particular passages, he simply leaves them unexplained without warning the reader whether he has already covered similar discussions before. The most apparent example is his commentary on 2:110 in which he leaves no comment on the meaning of *al-*

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[98]   The verse declares that Moses says to Pharaoh: "*hal laka ilā an tazakkā*/have you a desire of attaining to purity?"

[99]   al-Andalusī, *Al-Muḥarrar al-Wajīz*, 1412.

[100] "*Wa al-ladhīna fī amwālihim ḥaqq maʿlūm*"/"and in whose possessions there is a due share, acknowledged."

[101] al-Andalusī and Muḥammad, *Al-Muḥarrar al-Wajīz*, vol. 5, 368.

[102] al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ-l-Bayān*, vol. 23, 270-271.

[103] In the phrase: *wa ātū ḥaqqahū yauma ḥaṣādih*/"So when they bear fruit, eat some of it, paying what is due on the day of harvest".

[104] al-Andalusī, *Al-Muḥarrar al-Wajīz*, 668.

[105] al-Andalūsī and Muḥammad, *Al-Muḥarrar al-Wajīz*, vol. 1, 136.

[106] Ibid., 173.

[107] Ibid., 243.

zakāh.[108] As for the last *zakāh* verse in *sūrah* 2, Ibn ʿAṭiyyah only says that *zakāh* and *ṣalāh* are the culmination of the deed (*raʾs-l-aʿmāl*). The first is the culmination of deeds of the body (*raʾs aʿmāl-l-badan*) and the second of deeds of wealth (*raʾs aʿmāl-l-māl*).[109]

Ibn ʿAṭiyyah's commentary of the *zakāh* verses of the last Medinan phase is also fascinating, especially when we consider that, on one hand, this is the final phase of the Qur'ān's revelation, and on the other hand, Ibn ʿAṭiyyah understands it well. According to him, the word *zakāh* in 5:55 is a general word (*lafẓ ʿāmm*) that can apply to what is compulsory (*al-mafrūḍah*), recommended almsgiving (*al-nafaqah li-l-taṭawwuʿ*) or all good acts (*li-kulli afʿāl-l-Birr*) because it is a reflection of the cultivation of qualities that can purify a Muslim's self from the impurities of sins (*idh hiya tanmiyah li-l-ḥasanāt muṭahhiratan li-l-marʾ min danas-l-dhunūb*). The concluding sentence by Ibn ʿAṭiyyah is crucial to my analysis. According to him, "believers can perform one of the three actions (min dhālika kullin) according to their abilities."[110] Only when we consider Ibn ʿAṭiyyah as having a chronological awareness can we comprehend how he accommodates three meanings for this passage. In a *tafsir* book that is produced with the author's chronological awareness of Qur'ānic meanings, all possible meanings that the word might have absorbed during its evolutionary phase will be included. Also, on 9:71, Ibn ʿAṭiyyah inserts the two former of *al-zakāh* he has already mentioned in 5:55.[111]

CONCLUSION

Instead of reading the Qur'ān chronologically, this paper does so via the medieval Qur'ānic commentary of Ibn ʾAṭiyyah, assuming, although it was composed in a synchronic style, the author has in his mind an awareness that the Qur'ānic concepts evolved gradually responding to the development of Muḥammad's preaching and the emergence of the Muslim community in Mecca and Medina. This paper shows, unlike Ṭabarī and those who follow him (who lack diachronic awareness of the Qur'ānic terms due to their loyalty to the synchronic methodology of displaying Qur'ānic commentary on the one hand and to the structural analysis of the Qur'ānic verses on the other), Ibn ʿAṭiyyah has a chronological awareness to the Qur'ānic meanings. He underlines the different connotations contained by the term under discussion, according to periods when it emerged. For him, *zakāh* in the Meccan phase means generally any actions that purify the soul and only the term *zakāh*, which appeared in the Medinan period meant obligatory almsgiving. Ultimately, in the last revelation period, the word covers the two meanings together.

What does Ibn ʿAṭiyyah's chronological mindfulness of the Qur'ān mean to our understanding of medieval Qur'ānic commentary on the one hand and on modern chronological readings of the Qur'ān on the other? First, we must be more cautious in

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[108]   Ibid., 197.
[109]   Ibid., 373.
[110]   "*Fa al-muʾminūna yuʾtūna min dhālika kullin bi-qadr istiṭāʿatihi.*" al-Andalusī and Muḥammad, *Al-Muḥarrar al-Wajīz*, vol. 2, 208.
[111]   Ibid., vol. 3, 58.

claiming that chronological interpretation is the enterprise of modern Qurʾānic scholarship. Although Ibn ʿAṭiyyah's Qurʾānic commentary is not written following the chronology of revelation, it accommodates a possibility to be read chronologically. When being treated so, it speaks and tells readers a story. Furthermore, since Ibn ʿAṭiyyah uses and summarises accounts of earlier commentators as a basis of his chronological reading of the Qurʾān, if one wants to use chronology as the main tool for understanding the Qurʾān, one needs to be familiar with the theory of chronology and to be willing to explore the exegetical traditions that are widely spread in classical and medieval commentaries. Second, this paper shows that a commentator's understanding of the Qurʾān is one thing, while the way they convey and embed their understanding in a *tafsir* book is another. A chronological Qurʾānic exegesis can be easily found in a book that is based on a chronology of revelation, regardless of whether it deals with the whole Qurʾān or only specific themes. Ibn ʿAṭiyyah's Qurʾānic commentary clearly does not follow one of two styles, yet it can still spoil readers with astonishing chronological details and analysis.

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