

## Genealogy of Power Relations in the Authority of Qur'anic Interpretation: Acceptance of Ibn Muhāysīn *Qirā'at Shadhdhah* from Michel Foucault's Perspective

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**Abstract:** *This examines the dynamics of the acceptance of Ibn Muhayṣīn's (d. 123 AH) qira'at within the Islamic exegetical tradition through the lens of Michel Foucault's genealogy. The study originates from a historical anomaly revealing a "Canonization Rupture" post-324 AH, where the initially authoritative figure of Ibn Muhayṣīn was transformed into a marginal entity categorized as Shadhdhah. Employing an archaeological-genealogical method across five authoritative tafsir works al-Ṭabari, Ibn 'Aṭīyyah, al-Qurṭubī, Abu Hayyan, and al-Alusi this research deconstructs the power mechanisms and regimes of truth that defined the boundaries of Quranic orthodoxy. The research identifies a phenomenon termed "Zoned Functional Acceptance," which uncovers a persistent normative-empirical gap. From a normative dimension, Ibn Muhayṣīn's readings underwent repressive exclusion from the ritual space (mihrab) for the sake of canonical stability through the disciplinary technologies of Rasm and linguistic standardization. Conversely, on an empirical level, these variants received productive inclusion as intellectual instruments and linguistic laboratories within the discursive space of exegesis (maktabah). This dynamic is mapped across three epistemic phases: the phase of authority (al-Ṭabari), the consolidation phase (Ibn 'Aṭīyyah, al-Qurṭubī and Abu Hayyan), and the disciplinary-normalization phase (al-Alusi). Findings demonstrate that qira'at authority is not merely a technical-transmissive issue but a fluid construction of power-knowledge relations. Exegetes utilized their intellectual agency to negotiate canonical dominance through linguistic, theological, and rhetorical arguments.*

**Keywords:** *Qira'at; Genealogy; Tafsir; Qur'anic Orthodoxy; Disqualified Knowledge*

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### A. Introduction

In Islamic scholarly discourse, *qira'at* (the diversity of Qur'anic readings) is often understood as a static and purely technical discipline. However, archaeological research (the excavation of buried historical evidence) into early manuscripts shows that before the canonization process, the practice of *qira'at* existed within a fluid and unconsolidated dynamic of power relations. One crucial point in this phase was *qira'at. shaadhdhah* Ibn Muhāysīn (d. 123 H), which in the early

*episteme* was not positioned as a deviant reading, but was recognized as an authoritative reading, even in several narrations it was said to have the status of *mujma'alaih*.<sup>1</sup>

This study proposes the thesis that the history of *qira'at* authority can be mapped through the central roles of three key figures, each of whom represents what this study classifies as the episteme of their time. In the First Episteme, the central figure is Abu Umar. 'Ubayd al-Qasim ibn Sallam (d. 224 H). Contrary to the common assumption that standardization only emerged later, Abu 'Ubayd has laid the foundations for the criteria for reading acceptance - including conformity with *Rasm 'Uthmani* as a binding orthographic convention<sup>2</sup> - but with an inclusive paradigm. In the view of Abu 'Ubayd, Ibn Muhāysin *qira'at* is categorized as *Qira'ah Maqbulah* (accepted reading) and is on a par with other imams.

This is confirmed by the history of Shibl ibn 'Abbad which states the central position of Ibn Muhāysin that *Qira'at* Ibn Muhāsin was labeled *ijma'* (consensus of scholars) of the people of Mecca.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, in his book, Abu 'Ubayd explicitly placed Muhammad ibn Muhāysin (d. 123 H) on an equal footing with 'Abdulah ibn Kathir (d. 120 H) as the authoritative representative of the *qira'at* of the Meccans.<sup>4</sup> This fact shows that in this phase, the criteria of *rasm* were understood flexibly: it functioned as a guide, not as a rigid instrument of exclusion. Ibn Muhāysin's *qira'at* was accepted not only because of its *sanad*, but because it was considered to meet the scientific requirements prevailing at that time, before finally being 'ousted' by the narrowing of the definition of *rasm* in the era of Ibn Mujahid.

This epistemic harmony collapsed when entering the Second Episteme, which was marked by a *rupture* (discontinuity) in the 4th century Hijri, when state intervention through the canonization project of Ibn Mujāhid (d. 324 H) drastically changed the face of the authority of the Qur'an. In contrast to Abu Umar, 'Ubayd who made *rasm* a flexible guide, Ibn Mujāhid with the full support of the Abbasid political authority transformed the orthographic criteria into a

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<sup>1</sup>The term *episteme* here refers to the discursive formation or building block of knowledge that forms the basis for the emergence of scientific statements and truth regimes in a particular period. The use of "Early Episteme" in this study specifically refers to the historical phase before the formalization of canonization by Ibn Mujahid (d. 324 H), where the authority of Qur'anic readings was still determined by the personal choice (*ikhtiyar*) of the imams and the recognition of the local intellectual community without being limited by rigid standards.

<sup>2</sup>In the terminology of Qur'anic science, *Rasm* is not just "writing", but a special writing convention. Muhammad 'Abd al-'Azim al-Zarqani in *Manahil al-Irfan fi 'Ulum al-Qur'an* defines it as *المُرَادُ بِرَاسْمِ الْمُصَحَّفِ: الْوَضْعُ* God willing *كِتَابَةُ كَلِمَاتِ الْقُرْآنِ وَحُرُوفِهِ* which means: "What is meant by *Rasm al-MuShaf* is: The rules (layout/conventions) agreed upon by 'Uthman may Allah be pleased with him in writing the words of the Qur'an and its letters." Meanwhile, Abu 'Amr al-Dani (d. 444 H), the central figure in the codification of the science of *Rasm* and *Qira'at* - gave the following definition: *إِلَى الْكُوفَةِ وَالْبَصْرَةِ وَالشَّامِ* God willing - *مَا خُطِّتُ بِهِ مَصَاحِفُ أَهْلِ* namely, "(*Rasm* is) what is written in the mushafs of the people of the big cities (*al-amSar*), which were sent by 'Uthman bin 'Affan may Allah be pleased with him to Kufa, Basrah, and Syria." See also; Abu 'Amr 'Uthman ibn Sa'id al-Dani, *al-Muqni' fi Ma'rifat Marsum MaSahif Ahl al-AmSar* (Damascus: Dar al-Fikr, 1983), 9-10 Preamble.

<sup>3</sup> Muhammad bin Muhammad Ibn al-Jazari, *Gayah al-Nihayah fi Tabaqat al-Qurra'* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 2006). Volume 2, 156.

<sup>4</sup> al-Qasim Ibn Sallam Abu 'Ubayd, *Buku al-Qira'at*, ed. Jasim al-Haji Jasim Muhammad al-Dulaymi (Baghdad: Markaz al-Buhuth wa al-Dirasat al-Islamiyyah, 2007). p. 56.

rigid instrument of exclusion. He limited the validity of readings to only the “gang of seven” (al-*Qira'at al-Sab'* a political move that effectively threw Ibn Muḥaysīn's readings outside the walls of orthodoxy to the status of *Shadhdhah*.<sup>5</sup> This was not simply natural selection, but rather the operation of *disciplinary power* in which variants that did not conform to the state standard were considered a threat to stability.<sup>6</sup> The culmination of this disciplinary mechanism was seen in the inquisition incident against Ibn Shanb uḥādh (d. 328 AH) one of the main figures of Ibn Muḥaysīn's *qira'at* who was tried and flogged by Wazir Ibn Muqlah for insisting on maintaining readings outside the official consensus.<sup>7</sup>

This consolidation of power reached its peak in the Third Episteme, under the scholarly architecture of Ibn al-Jazari (d. 833 AH). In this phase, Ibn al-Jazari standardized a strict binary classification regime between *Qira'ah Maqbulah* (accepted readings) and *Qira'ah Ghayr Maqbulah* (unaccepted readings). This dichotomy effectively locked Ibn Muḥaysīn's reading into the second category (*ghayr maqbulah*), permanently separating it from the liturgical realm (worship rituals).<sup>8</sup> However, a paradox emerged in the gap of this hegemony. Although ritually “deactivated”, Ibn Muḥaysīn's reading was intellectually “revived” in the exegetical tradition.

This phenomenon creates what is referred to in this study as the “Normative-Empirical Gap.” Formally, this reading is deemed *ghayr maqbul*; however, empirical investigation of interpretive practices shows its intensive use by several authoritative commentators, especially in linguistic and grammatical analysis. Interestingly, these commentators often legitimize their quotations by referring to the authority of the First Episteme, such as the expression: “*hadhaa ma ikhtarahu Abu 'Ubayd*” (This is what Abu chose 'Ubayd).<sup>9</sup> This pattern indicates that the resistance of the interpreters to the rigid standardization of *qira'at* was not carried out in a confrontational manner, but rather through a discursive strategy in the form of summoning the memory of more inclusive past authorities, so that the interpretation functions as a sanctuary for marginalized reading variants.

This highly structured classification has significant practical implications for determining the status and function of each reading in various contexts of use. Readings classified as *mutawatir* can be used in the context of ritual reading (prayer), in establishing *fiqh* laws, and of course in interpretation. However, readings classified as *Shadhdhah* have a more complex and contradictory status: normatively, these readings are rejected for use in rituals, but in the context

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<sup>5</sup> Ghanim Qadduri, *Rasm al-Mushaf: Dirasah Lughawiyah Tarikhiyyah* (Baghdad: al-Lajnah al-Wataniyyah, 1982). p. 625.

<sup>6</sup> Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980). p. 131.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn al-Jazari, *Gayah al-Nihayah fī Tabāqat al-Qurra'*, Volume 2, p. 54

<sup>8</sup> Muhammad bin Muhammad Ibn al-Jazari, *Munjid al-Muqri'in wa Murshid al-Talibin* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1999). p. 18.

<sup>9</sup> Muihammad bin Yusuf Abu Hayyan, *Al-Bahr al-Muhit fī al-Tafsir*, ed. Sidqi Muhammad Jamil (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 2010). Volume 7, 266.

of interpretation and linguistic analysis, they are still treated seriously and quoted by prominent commentators. This status creates an interesting paradox to explore academically.

Given the strategic role of the science of *qira'at* in interpretation, it is not surprising that the great commentators in the history of Islamic exegesis have extensively and systematically integrated alternative readings into their exegetical works. These commentators understood that alternative readings are not merely historical material documented, but rather intellectual tools that can open new dimensions of meaning in the interpretive process.

of the commentators who extensively utilized the treasury of *qira'at* science, Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari (d. 310 AH) occupies the most authoritative position through *his* magnum opus, *Jami' al-Bayan 'an Ta'wil Ay al-Qur'an*.<sup>10</sup> This work not only records the diversity of reading but also makes them an argumentative tool in interpretation. This tradition was then continued by Ibn 'Atiyyah al-Andalus i (d. 546 H) in *al-Muharrar al-Wajizi Tafsir al-Kitab al-'Aziz*, which displays a careful integration of alternative readings, morphological analysis, and nuanced interpretation, so that *qira'at* functions as a hermeneutical foundation, not just technical data.<sup>11</sup>

This dynamic is reinforced by the Qur'an (d. 671 AH) in *al-Jami' li Ahkam al-Qur'an which demonstrates* how alternative readings can be utilized productively for the purposes of *istinbat al-ahkam and fiqhiiyyah* arguments.<sup>12</sup> Entering the next period, Abu Hayyan al-Andalusi (d. 745 H) through *al-Bahr al-Muhit fi Tafsir al-Qur'an* shows extraordinary dedication to the utilization of extensive reading sources, but with a very strict linguistic disciplinary<sup>13</sup> power escort. Finally, al-Alusi (d. 1270 H) in *Rūḥ al-Ma'ānī fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Azīm wa al-Sab' al-Mathani* represents a modern encyclopedic synthesis that has a high awareness of the relevance of alternative readings in the context of contemporary interpretation.<sup>14</sup>

These five works of interpretation collectively demonstrate systematic variations in the use of *qira'at* knowledge for interpretive purposes. Placing these five figures within a single analytical framework allows for a genealogical tracing of the shift in standards of scholarly authority, from a phase when reading choices were within a relatively open space of legitimacy to a phase of increasingly strict and normative discipline of language and knowledge.

The extensive involvement of these commentators in the science of *qira'at* shows that this field does not merely present alternative readings as irrelevant historical material but rather

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<sup>10</sup> Muhammad Ibn Jarir Tabari, *Jami' al-Bayan 'an Ta'wil Ay al-Qur'an* (Cairo: Dar al-Hajr, 2001). This work is a key witness that records traces of the fluidity of the first *episteme*, where Ibn MuhaySin's variant readings still have a living space as *an ikhtiyar* or legitimate reading choice before the formalization of canonization.

<sup>11</sup> Abd al-Haqq bin Ghalib Ibn 'Atiyyah, *Al-Muharrar al-Wajiz fi Tafsir al-Kitab al-'Aziz* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 2001). This work is an exemplary example of efforts to save reading data amidst the strict standardization of the second period.

<sup>12</sup> Muhammad bin Ahmad Qurtubi (al), *Al-Jami' li Ahkam al-Qur'an* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, n.d.). He proved that variations in readings have very significant legal implications in determining various religious issues.

<sup>13</sup> Muihammad bin Yusuf Abu Hayyan, *Al-Bahr al-Muhit fi Tafsir al-Qur'an* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1993). Abu Hayyan is known as the most comprehensive language gatekeeper in filtering out rare readings.

<sup>14</sup> Mahmud bin Abdullah Alusi (al), *Ruh al-Ma'ani fi Tafsir al-Qur'an al-'Azim wa al-Sab' al-Mathani* (Beirut: Dar al-Ihya' al-Turath al-'Arabi, 1985).

becomes one of the most important methodological foundations in the process of understanding the text of the Qur'an in depth. The differences in readings studied by commentators often become a very valuable entry point to explore the meanings hidden behind the wording, to explain the specific contexts of a verse, and even to detail the legal differences that may arise from the variations in the wording. Thus, the contribution of the science of *qira'at* in classical exegetical literature shows its very real function as an important intellectual tool and cannot be ignored in the process of uncovering and understanding the multi-dimensional complexity of the meaning of revelation.

Historical developments show that during the time of the Prophet and his companions, diversity of readings was tolerated to facilitate the transmission of the Qur'an to the linguistically heterogeneous Muslim community. After the death of the Prophet Muhammad and the era of the companions and the periods that followed, many of the memorizers of the Qur'an also died. This created serious concerns among the companions that the Qur'an might be lost or damaged in its transmission. For this reason, Caliph Abu Bakr (may Allah be pleased with him) took the crucial initiative of ordering the compilation of the Qur'an into a single *mushaf* (standard codex), with the aim of preserving the sacred text and ensuring that it would not be lost in future generations.<sup>15</sup>

During the Caliphate of Uthman (23-35 AH), the diversity of readings began to create serious tensions within the Muslim community. Responding to this situation, Caliph Uthman made a strategic decision: to standardize the writing of the Qur'an through what became known as *Rasm 'Uthmani*. This decision marked a fundamental epistemic turning point. From then on, the criteria for accepting or rejecting reading shifted from the dominance of the *sanad* alone to considering its conformity to Rasm Uthmani as the primary standard.<sup>16</sup>

The unification efforts of Uthman triggered a *paradigmatic shift* in which *rasm* (standard orthography) began to replace the dominance of *sanad* as the main criterion of *maqbulah*. However, it is important to note that at this stage, this standardization was still flexible and not yet of a specific nature. This explains why in the thinking of figures like Abu 'Ubayd, he included Ibn Muhāysīn in the fifteen *qurra'* that can be followed.<sup>17</sup> Whereas on the other hand, Abu Ubaid requires *rasm* as one of the pillars for *qira'at maqbulah*.<sup>18</sup>

shift from *sanad*-based authority to *rasm* is a manifestation of *power relations* that works to redefine *epistemic standards* for the sake of the socio-political stability of the community. Strict regulation through state instruments only truly crystallized at the end of Episteme I, as seen in

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<sup>15</sup>The process of collecting the Qur'an during the time of Abu Bakr is narrated in various classical hadith sources; see Muhammad ibn Ismail al-Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, ed. Muhammad Zuhayr ibn Naser al-Naser, (Beirut: Dar Touq al-Najah, 2001), Volume I, 202, *Kitab Fada'il al-Qur'an*, Chapter *Jam' al-Qur'an*.

<sup>16</sup> Ibn Abi Dawud Sijistani (al), *Buku al-Masahif* (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyyah, 1937). p. 90-135

<sup>17</sup> Al-Sakhawi, Jamal al-qurra wa kamal iqra' tahqiq Ali Husain al-Bawwab, Makkah: Maktabah al-Turat, juz 2 p. 428

<sup>18</sup> al-Abbari, idhah al-waqfu wa al-ibtida tahqiq Muhyiddin Ramadan, Damascus: Majma' al-Lughah al-Arabiyyah, 1971, juz 1 p. 303



the incident of Ibn Shanb u dh (323 AH) a student of Ibn Muhāysīn who was sentenced to flogging by Wazir Ibn Muqlah for defending readings outside *the Uthmani rasm*.<sup>19</sup> This incident marked the operation of *disciplinary power*. (disciplining power) in totality in upholding a monolithic *régime de vérité* (*truth regime*).

Amidst the complex history of the science of *qira'at*, Ibn Muhaysin's *qira'at* is formally classified as *Shadhdhah*, primarily due to its inconsistency with *Rasm 'Uthmanī*, not solely due to problems of transmission or authenticity of the narration. In this context, Ibn al-Jazari's evaluation of the reading is very enlightening. Through his work *al-Nashr fi al-Qira'at al-'Ashr*, Ibn al-Jazari explicitly affirms the normative framework underlying the assessment of *Shadhdhah*, as reflected in his following statement:

*Ibn Muhaysin's readings are found in authoritative books such as al-Mubhij and al-Raudah. I have read the Koran with this reading. And if this reading does not contradict the Uthmani mushaf rasm, then I will equate it with the famous readings.*<sup>20</sup>

This statement simultaneously reveals two crucial points. First, Ibn al-Jazari who was relatively more objective in his criteria for accepting readings, personally acknowledged the quality of Ibn Muhaysin's reading and had even read it himself. Second, and more significantly, this statement implicitly communicates a fundamental conclusion: the only obstacle to the full acceptance of Ibn Muhaysin's reading is an external factor, namely its inconsistency with the Uthmani rasm, not due to inherent weaknesses such as the *sanad* problem, nor due to internal defects such as its inconsistency with one of the legitimate faces of Arabic language.

However, a paradoxical phenomenon emerges in actual interpretive practice: although Ibn Muhaysin's reading is formally classified as *Shadhdhah*, great exegetes such as al-Tabari, Ibn Atiyyah, Abu Hayyan, al-Qurtubi, and al-Alusi continue to use and quote this reading extensively in their exegetical works. This phenomenon creates what we call the "Normative-Empirical Gap" a systemic gap between formal norms (the rejection of a reading as non-canonical) and empirical practice (the exegetes' continued use of that reading). This gap indicates that behind the decision of acceptance or rejection, there are complex and hidden power relations that shape the boundaries of the legitimacy of knowledge within a scholarly tradition.

The selection of Ibn Muhaysin's reading as the primary focus of this research is based on three well-thought-out methodological considerations. First, its relevance and widespread acceptance: Ibn Muhaysin's reading is extensively cited in the works of major commentators, indicating that, despite being classified as *Shadhdhah*, it possesses recognized intellectual authority within the exegetical tradition. Its intensive use for the purposes of establishing law and enriching hermeneutical meaning empirically blurs the line between authoritative and marginalized readings. Second, its dual power in the *sanad* and linguistic dimensions: Ibn

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<sup>19</sup>Ibn al-Jazari, *al-Nashr fi al-Qira'at al-'Ashr* ..., p. 120.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid, p. 33; in this section Ibn al-Jazari provides a very important assessment of the status of Ibn Muhaysin's reading in the tradition of *qira'at* science.

Muhāysīnis known as *a reciter* with a strong *sanad* and as a highly skilled linguist, combining traditional authority and linguistic expertise. Third, its significant genealogical value: Ibn Muhaysin's reading displays the complex dynamics of power relations between linguistic authority and *sanad* authority, making it an ideal field to explore how marginalized knowledge persists and operates in the exegetical discourse despite its formal rejection.

a case study of Ibn Muhaysin's readings in five evaluated tafsir books: *Jami' al-Bayān 'an Ta'wīl Ay al-Qur'ān* by al-Tabari (d. 310 H), *al-Muḥarrar al-Wajīz* by Ibn Atiyyah (d. 546 H), *al-Jami' li Ahkam al-Qur'ān* by al-Qurtubi (d. 671 H), *al-Baḥr al-Muḥit* by Abu Hayyan (d. 754 H), and *Ruh al-Ma'ānī* by al-Alusi (d. 1291 H). The selection of these five tafsirs was based on three strict methodological criteria: first, the high intensity of citation of Ibn Muhaysin's readings identified through preliminary studies, thus providing a rich volume of data for analysis; second, the high scientific standing and academic authority of the authors in the tradition of interpretation across time; and third, the long chronological span across early to late *epistemes* which allows for a genealogical analysis of the transformation of acceptance of this reading across various historical periods.

With this measured selection, this study strives not to simply collect data randomly, but rather to employ a methodological and representative approach. Ibn Muhaysin's reading is placed as an object of study not because of its marginal position, but rather because this reading becomes a valuable space where various epistemic authorities the authority of language, the authority of the *sanad*, and the authority of interpretation meet, negotiate, and mutually shape one another. Through an in-depth investigation of the acceptance of this reading, this study seeks to trace how the power-knowledge relationship operates within the exegetical tradition to determine the boundaries between what is considered "acceptable reading" and what is considered "reading that must be rejected" in Islamic scholarly discourse.

## B. Methods

This research is designed as an interpretive-critical qualitative study rooted in Michel Foucault's genealogical approach. This library-based design is chosen because it fundamentally aligns with the character of the primary data, which consists of classical tafsir texts, thus demanding in-depth analysis of the context, meaning, and hidden processes behind them. Oriented towards enlightenment and transformative understanding, the research does not merely describe phenomena but strives to dismantle the power relations that shape them.<sup>21</sup> The core of the methodology lies in the integration of Foucault's genealogical-archaeological approach, which enables the tracing of the transformation of epistemic standards in *qira'at* science throughout history, the identification of moments of paradigmatic change (such as the shift in authority from

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<sup>21</sup> Juhri Jaelani, Tatang Hidayat, and Istianah, "Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Dalam Al-Qur'an (Studi Analisis Surat Al-Muddaṣṣir Ayat 1-7)," *ZAD Al-Mufasssir* 4, no. 2 (2022): 223–39.

*sanad* to the Uthmani rasm), and the analysis of concrete power mechanisms behind the dynamics of acceptance and rejection of a recitation.

The material objects of this research are five monumental tafsir works, purposively selected to represent a range of different epistemes, from al-Ṭabari (3rd-4th century AH) to al-Alusi (13th century AH). The data collection procedure is carried out through systematic textual reading using the al-Maktabah al-Shamilah application to identify all citations of Ibn Muhayṣin's recitation. Each citation instance is then extracted and recorded comprehensively, covering the context of use, mode of presentation, and the epistemic grounds articulated by the commentator.<sup>22</sup> To analyze this rich dataset, the research utilizes the genealogical analysis framework as the primary instrument, enriched by two supporting techniques: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to uncover linguistic strategies of legitimization at the micro-text level, and Social Network Analysis (SNA) to map the spatial-social dimension of the transmission network of knowledge.

Data analysis is conducted in three interlinked stages. The first stage is Systematic Thematic Analysis, which processes the data to identify main patterns and categories such as the intensity of use, purposes, and modes of presentation of Ibn Muhayṣin's recitation among commentators. These empirical patterns then become the foundation for the second stage, namely Multi-Dimensional Genealogical Analysis, which critically traces how standards of truth and power regimes shifted across three epistemic periods, and how these shifts shaped the marginal status and paradoxical function of the *Shadhdhah* recitation. The final stage is Hermeneutic and Reflective Analysis, which interprets the deeper meaning of the findings to extract transformative theoretical implications for the understanding of epistemic authority and the politics of knowledge within the Islamic scholarly tradition.

### C. Result and Discussion

This research reveals a complex dialectic in the attitudes of commentators (*mufasssirun*) towards Ibn Muhaisin's *Qira'ah Shadhdhah*. On one hand, many commentators, especially those of the narrative-based (*bi al-ma'thur*) school, theoretically reject *Qira'ah Shadhdhah* on the grounds of its non-conformity with the Uthmanic rasm. However, on the other hand, they often practically cite and utilize this *qira'at* in interpreting specific verses. Meanwhile, commentators with a linguistic (*lughawi*) or literary (*adabi*) inclination show a more open acceptance, viewing the *qira'at* as a linguistic treasure. This difference in attitude stems not only from the validity of transmission (*sanad*) but also from the methodological approaches and interpretative needs of each commentator. Thus, *Qira'ah Shadhdhah* retains a significant epistemological function within exegetical discourse. It is accepted not for liturgical purposes but as a tool for exploring

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<sup>22</sup> Hilmi Ridho and Baidlowi, "Membumikan Nilai-Nilai Keadilan Dalam Al- Qur'an Terhadap Sila Keadilan Sosial," *Humanistika: Jurnal Keislaman* 7, no. 2 (2021): 151–89.



meaning that enriches the understanding of the Quranic text. This phenomenon demonstrates the flexibility of the exegetical tradition in responding to recitational plurality.<sup>23</sup>

Empirical research leads this research to a finding that is not only surprising, but also challenges the established conventional historical narrative regarding the fate of *qira'a t Shadhdhah*. Based on data extraction of 349 data points spread across five authoritative interpretations across time - from the era of al-Ṭabarī to al-Alūsī - a structural anomaly is revealed that demands a deep philosophical explanation: the existence of a persistent and undeniable Normative-Empirical Gap ( *al-Fajwah bayn al-Qanuni wa-al-Waqi'i* ).

Normatively, the status of *Ibn Mujahid's qira'ah* in the *history of Qur'anic scholarship* seems final and tightly closed. Since the moment of the "Canonization Fault" initiated by Ibn Mujahid (d. 324 H), this reading has been judged as *Shadhdhah*. In the classical Islamic legal order, this label carries the consequence of total exclusion: it is prohibited from being read in prayer rituals, forbidden to be used as a standard for writing *mushafs*, and eliminated from the basic education curriculum of *qira'ah*. *The logic of law and linear history predicts* that with the existence of such a systematic exclusion mechanism supported by the authority of the Abbasid state and the consensus of scholars, this reading should have experienced extinction or at least fossilized into a mere dead historical footnote.<sup>24</sup>

However, the empirical reality found in this research corpus speaks otherwise. The data shows that Ibn Muḥāyyān's reading has an extraordinarily high vitality. It did not die; instead, it circulated dynamically in the intellectual network of interpretation for more than seven centuries after his death. The fact that Abu Hāyyān who lived at the height of Mamluk orthodoxy in the 8th century AH, actually recorded the highest spike in usage with 126 citations (reaching 33% of the total corpus data), as well as the fact that 19th-century AD scholars still cited it 90 times as a valid reference is empirical evidence that refutes the assumption that "formal illegality" is directly proportional to "intellectual death."

This anomaly raises a fundamental question that lies at the heart of the analysis: Why is a knowledge that is officially prohibited still maintained, reproduced, and even used as the basis for linguistic arguments by the same guardians of tradition (the interpreters) who label it as "deviant"? Is this phenomenon simply a form of personal inconsistency on the part of the ulama, or does it indicate a far more sophisticated strategy of power a mechanism in which "deviance" is maintained precisely because it serves a productive function for the rulers of the discourse? This gap serves as the starting point for a genealogical diagnosis.

To dissect the paradox above, the traditional descriptive-chronological historical approach is no longer adequate. Traditional history tends to seek continuity and *upspring* (pure origins),

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<sup>23</sup> Nita Fauziah et al., "Karakteristik Dan Nilai-Nilai Moral Dalam Qashashul Qur'an: Perspektif Etika Islam," *Al-Kainah Journal Of Islamic Studies* 10, no. 6 (2025): 177–87.

<sup>24</sup> See: Shady H. Nasser, *The Transmission of the Variant Readings of the Qur'an: The Problem of Tawatur and the Emergence of Shawadhdh* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 55-60.

which often fail to explain historical contradictions and ruptures. Therefore, this chapter adopts the Genealogical approach developed by Michel Foucault as its primary analytical tool. Genealogy does not aim to prove the theological truth of Ibn Muḥāyīn's reading but rather functions as a "history of the present"; it traces how the *régime de vérité* (regime of truth) we accept today was formed through a series of struggles, exclusions, and negotiations of power in the past.<sup>25</sup>

The application of this methodology in the context of Ibn Muḥāsyīn's *qira'āt* will focus on *uncovering the concrete* rather than abstract mechanisms that enable simultaneous exclusion and inclusion. This chapter will explore how interpretive authority is shaped through *disciplinary technologies* such as spatialization, hierarchical surveillance, and normalization. By mapping the transformation from the First Episteme to the Third Episteme, this analysis will uncover how the "status of the *shādhdhah*" is not a natural property of the reading itself, but rather a political label created to discipline the body of the people within the ritual space, while allowing intellectual freedom to exist within the closed academic space.

of Ibn Muḥāyīn's readings reveals that the status of truth in the Islamic tradition is not homogeneous across all aspects of life, but rather highly dependent on the location in which the discourse is uttered. This phenomenon, from a genealogical perspective, demonstrates the operation of differentiated *epistemic marginalization*. Power does not operate monolithically to destroy non-canonical variants but rather operates strategically through *spatialization*.

One of the most fundamental findings from the empirical data is the existence of a clear and impenetrable demarcation between the "prayer space" (mihrab) and the "intellectual space" (*maktabah*). This separation is not simply a functional division of tasks, but rather a manifestation of what Michel Foucault called "The Politics of Space." Foucault asserted that "space is fundamental to every exercise of power" because it is the organization of space that enables surveillance, discipline, and the formation of subjects.<sup>26</sup>

### The Mihrab Regime: Ritual Body Discipline and Total Exclusion

In the mosque, especially during congregational prayers led at the Mihrab, Ibn Muḥāsyīn's recitation experienced total exclusion. All the commentators studied, especially the Qur'an scholars and the Alusi scholars consistently emphasized the strict prohibition fatwa: "*Layajuzu al-salahbiha*" (prayer with it is invalid) or "*layuqra'ubiha*" (it should not be read as an act of worship).

In Foucault's analysis, this prohibition is a form of operationalization of *disciplinary power*. Congregational prayer is a public ritual that demands bodily order and uniformity of voice to create social cohesion. The introduction of foreign or non-standard reading variants such as the reading *an-thay-na-ka* instead of *a'taayn aka* is considered noise that can disrupt the solemnity

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<sup>25</sup>Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), p. 23-28.

<sup>26</sup>Michel Foucault, The Eye of Power, in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), p. 146-165.

and unity of the community. In this space, the primary function of the Qur'anic text is liturgical performative, so standardization is non-negotiable. The authority of *fiqh* acts as a gatekeeper, ensuring that "procedural truth" (*Rasm 'Uthmani*) trumps "substantial truth" (meaning or language) to maintain public order.<sup>27</sup>

**The Maktabah Regime: Power Productivity and Intellectual Inclusion**

On the other hand, when Ibn Muḥāysīn's qira'ah moved from the Mihrab to *the Maktabah* (the pages of the commentary), its ontological status changed drastically from "criminal" to "asset." In this intellectual space, power no longer works to suppress, but to produce knowledge. Foucault reminds us that we must stop describing power always in negative terms (prohibiting/negating); in fact, power produces the reality and ritual of truth.<sup>28</sup>

Within the “safe space” of tafsir, Ibn Muḥayyān’s readings were reproduced as valuable sources of knowledge. Abu Hāyyān used them to develop new morphological theories, while Ibn ‘Āṭīyyah used them to enrich theological insights. This spatial differentiation demonstrates that the Islamic epistemological system possesses a sophisticated mechanism of epistemic compartmentalization. It limits variations at the surface (ritual) level to maintain social stability but allows them to flourish at the deeper (academic) level to maintain intellectual dynamism. Ibn Muḥayyān’s *Qira’at* was “deactivated” in the practice of Salat to avoid confusion among laypeople but was “revived” as the Imam of Language to prevent the scholars from becoming stagnant.

Table 1. Binary Opposition Matrix: Spatial Politics in the Interpretation Tradition

Dimensions of Analysis	Ritual Room (Mihrab)	Intellectual Space (Maktabah)
Status of <i>Qira’at</i> Ibn Muḥāysīn	Illegal/Prohibited	Valid / Authoritative
Main Function of Text	Liturgy (Worship & Prayer)	Analytica (Law, Language, Theology)
Power Mechanism	Repressive (Suppressing deviation)	Productive (Producing discourse)
Target Subject	Obedient Bodies ( <i>Docile Bodies</i> )/ Laymen	Critical Minds / Scholars
Dominant Logic	Stability & Uniformity( <i>Unity</i> )	Exploration & Complexity ( <i>Diversity</i> )
The Fate of Variants	Discarded ( <i>Exclusion</i> )	Archived ( <i>Archival</i> )

The table above confirms that the fate of Ibn Muḥāysīn's recitation was entirely determined by where it was recited. What was considered an innovation in the mihrab became a scholarly sunnah in the *maktabah*.

<sup>27</sup>See: Wael B. Hallaq, *The Impossible State* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), pp. 90-95, on the role of law in disciplining public space.

<sup>28</sup>Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* \* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), p. 194.

If the spatial demarcation between the mihrab and the *maktabah* functions as a boundary wall, then the mechanism that keeps this boundary from being crossed is a system of continuous surveillance. In Michel Foucault's genealogy of power, this mechanism is explained through the metaphor of the Panopticon, an architectural structure in which the subject always feels watched by an invisible central authority, so that the subject ultimately disciplines himself. This analysis reveals how Ibn Muhaysin's reading was not simply "abandoned" due to its lack of popularity but was actively "monitored" and "punished" so that it did not appear on the surface of the ritual.

### *Canon Seven as the Watchtower*

In Foucault's Panopticon structure, the central element is the watchtower that casts a gaze over the prisoner's cell. In the social history of the Qur'an, this "watchtower" role is played by the Canon of Seven Recitations (*al-Qira'at al-Sab'ah*) system constructed by Ibn Mujahid. Before 324 AH, the landscape of Qur'anic recitation was polyphonic and decentralized; a reciter in Mecca or Kufa had the autonomy to choose which reading variant he considered valid based on his *sanad*, including Ibn Mujahid's reading. However, the moment of canonization fundamentally changed this landscape by creating a single standard of *readability* and *truth*.

This canonization was not simply a simplification of variation, but rather the installation of a hierarchical system of observation. By establishing the "Seven" readings as the sole valid standard, Ibn Mujahid effectively created an automatic detection mechanism for deviations. Any reading that seemed to deviate from the seven standard patterns such as Ibn Muhāysīn's readings that violated Uthmani rasm was immediately identified as an anomaly or *noise* that had to be disciplined. In this sense, Ibn Mujahid's *al-Sab'ah* functioned not simply as an instruction manual but as a "legal code" that enabled the overseers (judges, muftis, and laypeople) to distinguish between obedient citizens (readers of the *mutawatir qira'at*) and lawbreakers (readers of the *Shadhdhah qira'at*).

This mechanism creates what Foucault called *visibility is a trap*. Ibn Muhāysīn's recitation previously a revered local tradition in Mecca, suddenly becomes *highly visible not because of its virtue, but because of its stark difference from state standards*. This visibility makes it easier for disciplinary authorities to target and suppress its dissemination in public spaces. This supervisory authority is not held solely by the state but is distributed throughout the network of Islamic jurists who maintain the validity of prayers, making each mosque a small node in a vast network of panoptic surveillance.

### *The Spectacle of Punishment: The Case of Ibn Shanbudh as a Ritual of Truth*

This disciplinary mechanism does not operate in a vacuum but rather requires physical manifestation to assert its power. History records the trial of Ibn Shanbudh (d. 328 AH) as a crucial moment in which disciplinary power showed its most repressive face. Ibn Shanbudh, a prominent *qira'at* scholar in Baghdad who insisted on reciting non-canonical variants (including

those of Ibn Muḥāysīn) in obligatory prayers, was arrested and tried by state authorities supported by Ibn Mujāhid.<sup>29</sup>

This event can be analyzed as a *Spectacle of Punishment*. Ibn Shanbudh was forced too publicly repent, flogged, and imprisoned. From a genealogical perspective, the corporal punishment of Ibn Shanbudh's body was not simply retribution for misreading, but rather a political ritual to mark the boundaries of a new epistemic territory. Ibn Shanbudh's body became the site where the truth of the canon was established. By physically punishing the reciter, the authorities sent a clear message to the entire epistemic community: that the integrity of the public ritual (the unity of the recitation) was more valuable than the integrity of the historical *sanad* of the *Shadhdhah* recitation.

This case set a fatal legal precedent for the survival of Ibn Muḥāysīn's recitation in the ritual space. It asserted that the validity of the *sanad* alone was no longer sufficient to grant "permission to broadcast" a recitation in the mihrab. Without conformity to *rasm* and the consensus of the times (*ijma'*), even a historically valid recitation would be treated as a criminal act if practiced openly. This trial was the most draconian manifestation of the politics of space: Ibn Shanbudh was punished not because he studied the variant in his home (private space), but because he brought it into prayer (public space).

### Internalization of Discipline and an Obedient Body

The long-term impact of the panopticon and the spectacle of punishment was the internalization of discipline among subsequent generations of reciters and interpreters. Foucault explained that the goal of the panopticon was not to perpetually punish, but rather to create *Docile Bodies* subjects who disciplined themselves without the need for constant physical supervision.<sup>30</sup>

The post-Ibn Mujāhid episteme exhibits a subtle but significant shift in the way exegetes treat Ibn Muḥāysīn's readings. Rather than repeating the threat of physical punishment as in the early canonization phase, scholars such as al-Qurtūbī and al-Aluṣī *appear* to have internalized the limits of the qirā'āt canon *as part of their* habitus of fiqh and <sup>31</sup>tafsir. At the explicit level, the Qur'an several times criticized Ibn Muhaysin's reading with diction such as "عند النحويين، لا يجوز لحنٌ" ("قُلْ رَبِّ احْكُم بِالْحَقِّ") 109:109, or calling it "عَلَطٌ" in the case of al-istabraq (al-Rahman: 54), because it is considered inappropriate from the perspective of *I'rab* and linguistic rules ; but at the same time he also defended some of his readings such as "أَنْذَرْتَهُمْ أَمْ لَمْ تُنْذِرْهُمْ" or "هَذِي الشَّجَرَةُ" and "يَغْنِيهِ" detailed <sup>32</sup>*lughawi* arguments .

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<sup>29</sup>See: Shady H. Nasser, *The Transmission of the Variant Readings of the Qur'an: The Problem of Tawatur and the Emergence of Shawadhdh* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 60-70.

<sup>30</sup>Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), p. 135-169.

<sup>31</sup>Fuad Nawawi, "The Social Representational Power of Ibn Mujahid in the Canonization of the Seven Readings", *Ushuluddin Science* 11/2 (2022), 215-240; Shady Hekmat Nasser, *The Second Canonization of the Qur'an* (324/936): *Ibn Mujahid and the Founding of the Seven Readings* (Leiden: Brill, 2020).

<sup>32</sup>Al-QurTubi, *al-Jami ' li-Ahkam al-Qur ' an* 1:185, 1:304, 11:351, 19:146, 19:225.

Al-Alusi follows the same ambivalent pattern. In *Ruh al-Ma'ani* he notes Ibn Muhaysin's readings both as *ira'at variants* and as *alternative lughah* for example the reading "أَنْطَيْنَاكَ" in al-Kawthar: which he attributes to al-Hasan Talhah, Ibn Muhaysin, and al-Za'farani and which he explains as one of the Arabic dialects *'Arabiyyah* while still insisting that these readings are classified as *Shadhdhah* and do not fall within the corridor of *qira'at mutawatir*.<sup>33</sup> This pattern shows that the norm of ritual exclusion against *qira'at Shadhdhah* has become so pervasive that it is not always expressed through explicit formulas such as "لا تجوز القراءة بها"; what appears more frequently is linguistic assessment, marking the status of *Shadhdhah* and limiting the use of the reading to the realm of interpretation, *al-Istidlal al-Lughawi*, and *Istinbat al-Ahkām*.<sup>34</sup>

From a genealogical perspective, this situation can be read as a form of internalization of norms: sanctions and limitations that in the first phase of canonization were maintained by political pressure and threats of punishment, in the following centuries transformed into an epistemic disposition that worked from within the scholars they automatically distinguished between the use of *qira'at mutawatir* and *qira'at Shadhdhah* in the ritual realm, without having to always repeat the prohibition explicitly. The framework offered by Intisar A. Rabb regarding how legal rules and norms of *fiqh* moved from explicit fatwas to collective "habits of mind" through repetition, codification, and judicial practice provides a powerful theoretical lens for reading this transformation: the prohibition of the use of *qira'at Shadhdhah* in prayer became part of the taken-for-granted assumptions in the discourse of tafsir and fiqh, which is evident in the way the Qur'an and al-Alusi manage Ibn Muhāysīn's reading between criticism linguistic appreciation, and non-ritual utilization.<sup>35</sup>

At this stage, the mechanisms of oversight had shifted from external ones (threats of punishment and political intervention) to internal ones through disciplined theological and *fiqh* awareness. Ibn Muhāysīn's reading was not destroyed, but domesticated: it was allowed to live in the realm of tafsir and philological studies but placed in a position that was not dangerous to ritual uniformity. The scholars "supervised" this reading by attaching technical judgments *lahn*, *ghalat*, *Shadhdhah*, or the assertion that it was not included in *qira'at mutawattirah* whenever it was quoted so that lay readers would not mistakenly assume that the variant had the same authority as the canonical reading. Thus, the discipline of the ritual body became almost complete: the uniformity of sound in prayer was maintained not only by coercion, but by voluntary adherence to the established regime of truth.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>Al-Alusi, *Ruh al-Ma'ani fi Tafsir al-Qur'an al-'Azim wa al-Sab' al-Mathani* (Beirut: Dar Ihya' al-Turath al-'Arabi, tt), 1:131, 30:264.

<sup>34</sup>Abd al-Fattah al-Qadiri, *al-Qira'at fi Nazm al-Jazariyyah* (Cairo: Dar al-Salam, 2007), 95–110; Ahmad 'ISam' Abd al-Qadir, "Qira'at Shadhdhah wa Atharuha fi al-Tafsir", *TARBIYA ISLAMIA* 5/2 (2018), 155–180.

<sup>35</sup>Intisar A. Rabb, *Doubt in Islamic Law: A History of Legal Maxims, Interpretation, and Islamic Criminal Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 50–55.

<sup>36</sup>Al-Qurtubi, *al-Jami' li-Ahkam al-Qur'an* 1:185, 1:304, 11:351, 19:146, 19:225; al-Alusi, *Ruh al-Ma'ani* 1:131, 30:264; Fuad Nawawi, "The Social Representational Power of Ibn Mujahid in the Canonization of the Seven Readings", *Ushuluddin Science* 11/2 (2022), 215–240.



This panoptic-like system explains why, even though empirically Ibn Muḥamay's readings continue to be present and quoted in thousands of pages of tafsir and *qira'at* literature *he never managed* to penetrate the walls of the mihrab again. Disciplinary power has created a relatively permanent separation between knowledge that may be known and taught (in the maktabah halls) and knowledge that may be practiced ritually (in the mihrab hall), so that *qira'at Shadhdhah* functions as a source of discourse, but no longer as a voice in worship.<sup>37</sup>

If the mechanisms of the panopticon and the punitive spectacle operate through a logic of harsh repression to cleanse the ritual space of anomalies, then the third strategy identified in the history of the reception of Ibn Muḥāysīn's *qira'at* operates with a much more subtle but more persistent logic: the strategy of *containment* or domestication. Within Foucault's *governmentality framework* established power does not always operate by eliminating what is considered deviant. Instead, sophisticated power often chooses to manage such deviations, placing them in a safe quarantine zone, and utilizing them for productive purposes. Analysis of data on interpretations across centuries shows that the survival of Ibn Muḥāysīn's reading is the result of this epistemic risk management operation: it is not left to run wild in the mouths of society but is tamed within the pages of the tafsir books.

#### *The Transformation from a Dangerous Oral Tradition to a Safe Written Archive*

A crucial point in understanding this domestication is the change in transmission medium. In the First Episteme, Ibn Muḥāysīn's *qira'at* was a living oral tradition in Mecca. As an oral tradition, it had high subversive potential because it could be directly practiced in prayer by anyone, creating uncontrolled variations in sound in the public sphere. The case of Ibn Shanbudh is clear evidence of the dangers of this uncontrolled orality. The institutional response of orthodoxy to this danger was not the complete eradication of Ibn Muḥāysīn's memory but rather a forced transfer from the oral to the written medium.

This textualization process served as a mechanism of domestication. When Ibn Muḥāysīn's recitation was recorded by Ibn Jinnī in *al-Muhtasab* or quoted by Ibn 'Atiyyah in *al-Muharrar al-Wajiz* the recitation underwent a change in ontological status. It was no longer a "recitation" in the true sense of something recited for worship but transformed into "data" to be analyzed. Within the prison of the text, the variant lost its performative power. It became a silent, frozen object, accessible only to the educated elite who possessed the keys to high-level literacy.<sup>38</sup>

In this way, Islamic scholarly institutions have successfully achieved *containment*. The wild variants that once threatened the unity of the congregation have now been tamed into secure encyclopedic entries. The commentators act as jailers, keeping these variants confined to their

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<sup>37</sup>Intisar A. Rabb, *Doubt in Islamic Law: A History of Legal Maxims, Interpretation, and Islamic Criminal Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 50–55; Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage, 1977), 195–202.

<sup>38</sup>See the analysis of the oral-textual transition in Gregor Schoeler, *The Genesis of Literature in Islam: From the Aural to the Read* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), pp. 20–35.

textual cells and preventing them from escaping back to the imam's tongue in the mihrab. This strategy explains why a commentator of al-Qurtubi's stature felt safe citing hundreds of *Shadhdhah* variants in his tafsir; he knew that if they were bound within the text and surrounded by the fence of legal interpretation, they would not have any socially destructive power.

#### *Labeling as Quarantine Wall: The Discursive Function of the Term Shadhdhah*

In *containment strategies* labeling plays a vital role. The term *Shadhdhah* coined by Ibn Mujahid and passed on to subsequent generations of *qira'at* scholars, is not simply a statistical description of the rarity of narration. In discourse analysis, this label functions as an epistemic quarantine wall. By labeling Ibn Mujahid's reading as *Shadhdhah* the authority system creates a clear demarcation between "us" (the safe *mutawatir* reading) and "them" (the problematic <sup>39</sup>*shadh reading*).

However, unlike the label *maudu'* (false), which demands its removal, the label *Shadhdhah* contains a productive ambiguity. It indicates that the material is "procedurally flawed" (does not meet the requirements of *qira'ah maqbullah*) but may still possess "substantial truth" (derived from revelation or fluent Arabic). This ambiguity enables the mechanism of "inclusion through exclusion." Ibn Muḥāysīn's reading is excluded from the status of the Qur'an (as a ritual text) but is included in the corpus of Tafsir (as an explanatory text).

Whenever al-Alusi or Abu Hayyan cite Ibn Muḥāysīn's reading they often include this status label or place it after the discussion of the *qira'at sab'ah*. The tafsir's literary structure, which places the *Shadhdhah qira'at* as subordinate or a footnote to the *mutawatirah qira'at*, is a visual manifestation of the *containment strategy*. This subordinate position emphasizes the hierarchy of truth: Ibn Muḥāysīn's variant is permitted to be present only if it is "aware" of its lower position. It may speak, but only after the canonical reading has finished, and only to support or explain the canonical reading, not to replace it.

#### *Epistemic Safety Valves: The Utility Behind Damming*

Why does orthodoxy take the trouble to domesticate rather than completely eradicate? The answer lies in the principle of knowledge economy. Non-canonical variants such as Ibn Muḥāysīn's reading hold linguistic and legal riches too valuable to be discarded. If orthodoxy were to close the door to linguistic ijtihad by limiting itself to the "Seven," the Arabic language of the Qur'an would become impoverished and rigid.

*containment strategy* functions as an epistemic *safety valve*. The system allows the *Shadhdhah variant* to survive within the limited realm of interpretation to accommodate interpretive flexibility that the *mutawatir* readings cannot accommodate. The most obvious example is seen in the Qur'anic maneuvers in the case of legal verses. When the *mutawatir* texts do not provide the legal clarity desired by the Malikiyah school, the Qur'anic tradition often turns

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<sup>39</sup> Ibn al-Jazari, *Munjid al-Muqri'in wa Murshid al-Talibin* p. 15-20. .

to the *Shadhdhah* readings (such as the Ibn Mas'ud or Ibn Muḥāysīn variants) to seek corroboration. Thus, the domestication of Ibn Muḥāysīn readings is a utilitarian strategy. These variants are kept like wild animals in a zoo: they are caged for the safety of visitors (the laity) but are still fed and cared for so that they can be observed, studied, and exploited by experts (the ulama). Without this *containment strategy* the tafsir tradition would lose its bridge to the pre-canonized past, rich in plurality.

The archaeological and genealogical journey tracing the fate of Ibn Muḥāysīn's readings from the pre-canonization era to the modern era of museumification reveals a complex and often counterintuitive pattern of power. The linear narrative of the history of the *qira'at* often depicts the canonization process as a "cleansing" effort that consigned stray variants to the dustbin of history. However, the empirical data gathered in this chapter suggests a different reality: Ibn Muḥāysīn was never truly banished. Instead, he was carefully preserved on the fringes of tradition.

This concluding chapter aims to unravel the theoretical implications of this phenomenon. The main thesis proposed here is that the relationship between Orthodoxy (*Qira'at Sab'ah/ al-Ashr*) and Heterodoxy (*Qira'at Shadhdhah/ Ibn Muḥāysīn*) is not one of elimination, but rather a paradoxical symbiosis. Orthodoxy needs "The Other" to assert the boundaries of its identity, and conversely, the other gains its right to exist precisely through its status as a monitored entity.

One of the most significant findings of this study is the survival of Ibn Muḥāysīn's corpus of readings for over a millennium, despite being constantly plagued by state prohibitions (Ibn Muḥāhid) fiqh discipline (the Qur'ān) and administrative procedures (Ibn al-Jāzārī). How is it possible that a body of knowledge declared "illegitimate" and "marginal" has such a high *survival rate* even outliving the political dynasties that banned it?

The answer lies in the mechanism of *Inclusion Through Exclusion*. This concept, which resonates with Giorgio Agamben's analysis of the structure of the Ban explains that when something is prohibited or excluded by law, it is not automatically freed from the law. Instead, it is bound to the law through its relation of rejection. Something excluded remains within the orbit of power precisely because power continually designates it as "what is outside."

### The Logic of The Ban : Ibn Muḥāysīn as Homo Sacer

The framework of the genealogy of power, Ibn Muḥāysīn's position can be understood as *Homo Sacer* in the Islamic textual tradition an entity that may be "killed" (deprived of its ritual authority) but not "sacrificed" (erased from memory). When Ibn Muḥāhid issued the edict (+324 AH) and Ibn al-Jāzārī formulated the Three Pillars, they were implementing a "Structure of Banning." Ibn Muḥāhid was placed in the zone of *shādhah*. However, this zone is not a vacuum. It is a liminal zone deliberately constructed by orthodoxy as a "holding space" for variants that possess historical authenticity (*Sanad sahih*) but fail to meet political standards (*rasm*). This mechanism works paradoxically:

- 1) Naming: In order to be banned, Ibn Muḥāysīn had to first be identified, named, and recorded. The process of labeling him as a *shādhah* or *ghayr maqbūlāh* was an act of recognition. Without this label, he might have been lost to time like thousands of other nameless variants. The label "Rejected" became a lifeline that saved him from the sea of oblivion.
- 2) Eternal Surveillance: Its status as an "anomaly" compels the guardians of orthodoxy from the Qur'an to the Alusi to constantly cite it. Just as a prison needs prisoners to justify the warden's existence, the discipline of *qira'at* requires the category of *Shadhdhah* to justify the validity of *mutawatir*. Every time an exegete writes "Ibn Muḥāysīn reads thus, and this is *sha dh*" he is performing a ritual of *boundary maintenance*.

Thus, Ibn Muḥāysīn's exclusion was not an act of extermination, but rather an act of Arrest. He was captured by the orthodoxy system, stripped of his weapons (his ritual performative power), and then placed in a special cell (the books of tafsir and *qira'at*) as an "eternal prisoner" whose existence was crucial to defining what "freedom" (validity) was for other *qira'at*.<sup>40</sup>

#### *Functional Transformation: From Ritual Threat to Intellectual Asset*

A further implication of this inclusion-exclusion mechanism is the occurrence of a radical transformation of function. To survive within a structure that rejects it, Ibn Muḥāysīn must "mutate." It cannot survive as a liturgical text (prayer recitation), because that space has been monopolized by the Seven/Ten *Qira'at*. Therefore, it survives by transforming into philological data. As seen in the analysis of Abu Hayyān and al-Alusi in the previous sub-chapter, Ibn Muḥāysīn's ritually "illegal" variant has high intellectual value.

- 1) For linguists, it is a data warehouse of Arabic dialects untouched by standardization.
- 2) For theologians/legal experts, it is *corroborative evidence* (additional evidence) to strengthen doctrine.
- 3) For interpreters, it is a *hermeneutical tool* to resolve the ambiguities of standard texts.

Ibn Muḥāysīn was forbidden to enter through the "Front Door" (the Mosque Mihrab) because he was considered to be disruptive to the unity of the community, but he was warmly welcomed through the "Back Door" (the Madrasah Library) because he was considered to have enriched the treasury of knowledge. Orthodoxy preserved him not out of love for his story, but out of a need for his usefulness. This explains why the number of citations to him exploded after the ban: the Islamic knowledge system realized that discarding Ibn Muḥāysīn entirely would impoverish its own analytical apparatus.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup>Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), pp. 18-29; compare with Wael B. Hallaq's analysis of the structure of legal authority in *The Impossible State: Islam, Politics, and Modernity's Moral Predicament* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), pp. 45-50.

<sup>41</sup>On the concept of utility in the preservation of the post-classical exegetical tradition, see Walid A. Saleh, *The Formation of the Classical Tafsir Tradition: The Qur'an Commentary of al-Tha'labi* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 18-22.

### *The Economics of Scarcity: Prohibited Status as Symbolic Capital*

Muḥāyīn's survival paradox is explained not only through the political mechanism of "The Ban," but also through the economic logic of symbolic exchange. In the post-canonization Islamic intellectual market, the "forbidden" or "rare" status attached to the reading of *the Shadhdhah* transformed it into a highly valued commodity. This phenomenon can be analyzed using Pierre Bourdieu's concept of Cultural Capital.

In the competitive ecosystem of interpretation, understanding the standard variants (the *Qira'at sab'ah/Qira'at al-'Ashr*) is merely a basic competency. It does not provide distinction or comparative advantage for an interpreter. Conversely, the ability to present Ibn Muḥāysīn's variants which are often marginal and require access to specialized literature serves as a marker of High-Level Erudition (depth and breadth of knowledge that exceeds common standards).

al-Qur'an tubior al-Alusi quote Ibn Muhaysinīn, they are displaying "Rarity Capital." The quote signals to the reader that the author has access to a deep and extensive archive, beyond the standard curriculum. Ibn Muhaysinīn's variant, precisely because of its non-canonical status, becomes an *Epistemic Gem*. It shines not because it is permissible to practice, but because it is difficult to find.

orthodoxy restricts public access to these variants, the higher their exchange value in elite academic spaces. Ibn Muḥāysīn was saved from extinction because the elite scholars needed him as an instrument to establish their own expert authority. Discarding Ibn Muḥāysīn would be tantamount to discarding the asset that distinguishes an "encyclopedic scholar" from a mere "copyist."<sup>42</sup>

### *Archives as Sanctuary Spaces: Textual Heterotopias*

The spatial consequence of this inclusion-exclusion mechanism is the creation of a clear spatial separation. If Ibn Muḥāysīn was expelled from the Ritual Space (Mihrab/Mosque), where did he go? He did not disappear into the void but migrated to Textual Space (Book/Archive). From Foucault's perspective, tafsir books and compendiums of *qira'at* (such as *Al-Muhtasab* or *Al-Bahr al-Muhit*) function as heterotopias, a different space operating with rules that deviate from the normal space. Within the pages of these books, the prohibitions of the state and fiqh are suspended.

As a "sanctuary," the tafsir archive provided political protection for outcast variants. Within the book, Ibn Muḥāysīn was allowed to "speak" as freely as he pleased: he could change the law, correct grammar, and even differ from the Uthmani *rasm*. However, this freedom was conditional: it only applied as long as the variants remained confined within the text and did not attempt to emerge into bodily practice.

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<sup>42</sup>On the concept of scarcity as a constructor of symbolic value, see Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 22–29; its relevance in the tafsir tradition is discussed in Shahab Ahmed, *What is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), pp. 350–355.

The book of tafsir, then, is not merely a repository, but rather an Ennobling Prison. It protects Ibn Muḥaysīn from physical attacks (such as those experienced by Ibn Shanbūdḥ) but also isolates his explosive power. Ibn Muḥaysīn is permitted to live eternally as a “Text,” provided he is willing to die as a “Practice.” This is the fundamental compromise that maintains the stability of Islamic tradition: orthodoxy monopolizes the body of the people (through ritual), while heterodoxy is given sanctuary in the minds of the people (through intellectual insight).<sup>43</sup>

The paradox of “Inclusion Through Exclusion” asserts that the relationship between canon and non-canon is dialectical, not destructive. Ibn Muḥaysīn survives not “despite prohibition,” but “because it is prohibited.” The prohibition gives it a form, a name, and a scarcity value that make it indispensable *in* the Islamic knowledge economy. He is proof that in the history of ideas, nothing is truly discarded; everything is merely repositioned.

### Epistemological Implications: Challenging the Binary “Accepted vs. Rejected”

The genealogical findings outlined in this chapter have serious implications for the epistemological structure of the Qur’anic sciences. For centuries, the orthodoxy standardized by Ibn al-Jazari operated on a strict binary logic (0 = False and 1 = True): a reading must be either “Accepted” or “Rejected.” This logic presupposes a strict and impenetrable line of demarcation, with truth on one side and error on the other. However, the “half-lived” existence of Ibn Muḥaysīn’s reading within the corpus of exegesis challenges the validity of this dichotomy. A binary scheme (0=False and 1=True), but rather in a Gradational Spectrum. Ibn Muḥaysīn was never truly “Rejected” in the ontological sense; he merely experienced a “Suspension of *Status*” *in certain functions, while* still enjoying full validity in others.

### *Critique of the Logic of the “Excluded Middle” in Canonization*

The logic of canonization built on the Three Pillars operates similarly to the Aristotelian principle of *the Excluded Middle*: something is either A or not-A. In this scheme, if a variant fails to meet the requirements of *Rasm* then it automatically falls into the category of “Not Qur’an” and should be treated on a par with narration errors.

However, the historical data of the interpreters’ acceptance demonstrates the failure of this binary logic. Ibn Muḥayyīn although formally labeled *Gayr Maqbul* by Ibn al-Jāzārī’s orthodoxy in practice experienced a very high level of functional acceptance. He was treated very differently from the false variants (*mawdu’*). Each interpreter assigned him a specific “authoritative mandate”:

- 1) Ibn ‘Atiyyah treats it as a valid Hermeneutic Authority to open up alternative theological meanings (as in the case of *ghuluf* which reveals intellectual arrogance).
- 2) The Qur’an treats it as a Dogmatic Authority to confirm Sunni creed (as in the case of the attributes of Allah in At-Tawbah).

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<sup>43</sup>On the function of archives as spaces that regulate what may be said, see Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), pp. 128-131; on the concept of Heterotopia (other spaces that accommodate deviation), see Michel Foucault, *Of Other Spaces, Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1986): pp. 22-27.



- 3) Abu H ayy a n treated him as a Linguistic Authority who had the legitimacy to correct the understanding of standard dictionaries and defend the flexibility of Arabic.
- 4) Al- A lusi i treats it as a Historical Authority to embellish the narrative of the glory of the Prophet .

If Ibn Muḥāysīn were truly "Rejected" (valued 0), then it would be impossible for him to have the epistemic bargaining power to intervene in the interpretation of the "Accepted" text (valued 1). The fact that the interpreter selectively accepted the *Shadhdhah* variant to explain or expand the meaning of the *mutawatir* variant proves that Ibn Muḥāysīn *occupied a Liminal or threshold position*. He was a Barzakh entity: not the Qur'an in the ritual sense, but more than just a human interpretation.

This concept breaks down the thick wall between Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy. It turns out that the boundary between the two is porous. Orthodoxy (the text of the Mushaf) constantly requires nourishment of meaning from Heterodoxy (the variant of *the Shadhdhah* ) to avoid experiencing poverty of interpretation. Thus, the status of "Rejected" is merely an administrative fiction for the purposes of ritual standardization, which falls away when it enters the intellectual realm of interpretation.<sup>44</sup>

#### *Spectrum Epistemology: Qira'at Gradations of Truth*

As an alternative to limiting binary logic, this study proposes a Spectrum Epistemology model. In this model, the validity of reading is not singular and absolute, but rather contextual and multilevel. Ibn Muḥāysīn's truth is not a fixed truth, but rather a truth whose value shifts depending on the "epistemic market" in which it is exchanged. The following table maps this spectrum of truth, showing that Ibn Muḥāysīn has fluctuating validity values zero in one space, but full in another.

Table 2. Spectrum Epistemology Matrix: Gradations of Validity of ibn Muhaysin

Epistemic Space	Validity Status	Authority Values	The function of Ibn Muḥāysīn
Worship Room	Invalid	0%	Absolutely forbidden. Reading it invalidates prayer according to the majority of jurists.
Legal Space	Limited Validity	50%	Treated as equivalent to <i>Khabar Ahad</i> . It can be a legal basis if there are no opposing <i>qa t ' i</i> arguments (example: <i>kaffarat</i> oath).
Interpretation Room	Valid Complementary	80%	Functions as a <i>Prophetic Interpretation</i> or explanation of companions that clarifies the ambiguity of standard texts (example: Al-Alusi) .
Language Room	Full Valid	100%	Authority equal to Jahili Poetry. Can be used to justify linguistic rules or criticize dictionaries (e.g., Abu H ayy a n).

<sup>44</sup>On the concept of ambiguity in Islamic orthodoxy, see Shahab Ahmed's analysis of ' *Coherent Contradiction* ' in *What is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), pp. 300-315.

The table above demonstrates the failure of the *Maqbul / Mardud binary label*. This label only applies to the first column (Ritual Space). However, in the broader reality of Islamic discourse, Ibn Muhaysin's assertion enjoys a high degree of validity.

The theoretical implication is: The science of *Qira'at* and Tafsir does not actually dispose of "trash," but rather carries out Truth Zone Management. Ibn Mujahid and Ibn al-Jazari were not determining what is ontologically right and wrong but rather were regulating the Zoning Regime. They stated: "Ibn Mujahid is right in the library, but wrong in the mosque." Binarity, then, is merely a zoning tool, not a verdict of reality.

The consequence of this view is the need to reevaluate the definition of the "Quran" in academic studies. The Qur'an is no longer a monolithic entity limited only by two covers of the *Mushaf*, but rather a layered corpus. There is a core layer (*Mutawatir*) that functions as a ritual constitution, and there is a skin/peripheral layer (*Shadhdhah*) that functions as a memory archive and guardian of the richness of meaning. Ibn Muhaysin is the guardian of this peripheral layer. Without its existence, the core layer will lose its historical context and linguistic flexibility.<sup>45</sup>

### Genealogy as an Instrument for Criticism of Power

As the culminating conclusion of this chapter, the application of Michel Foucault's genealogical approach to the reception history of Ibn Muḥāysīn's readings proves to be more than a historiographical exercise, but rather a sharp instrument for conducting a Critique of Power. Genealogy does not aim to find *the ursprung* (pure origins) of the *qira'at*, but rather to trace *the herkunft* (descent) filled with historical accidents, struggles for dominance, and never-ending negotiations.

Through a search from the First to the Third Episteme, this research successfully demonstrates that the ontological status of "the Qur'an" and "not the Qur'an" is not a static metaphysical reality, but rather a product of *the Regime of Truth* which is constructed through disciplinary, administrative, and discursive mechanisms.

### *Denaturalizing the Canon: Debunking the Myth of "Natural Truth"*

The greatest theoretical contribution of this analysis is the Denaturalization of the *Qira'at sab'ah*/Ten canon. Traditional narratives often describe the dominance of *Qira'at sab'ah* as the result of natural selection that runs smoothly at the will of the people. However, genealogy reveals the "historical wounds" hidden behind the narrative.

The moment of Rupture 323 H (the Trial of Ibn Shanbudh) and the moment of Codification 833 H (the Three Pillars of Ibn al-Jazari) prove that this domination was established through the intervention of power. The shift in Ibn Muḥāysīn's status from "Followed Imam" in Mecca to "Rejected Residue" in Baghdad was not because the quality of his reading declined, but because the Political Map of Knowledge had changed.

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<sup>45</sup>On the concept of zoned truth and regimes of truth, see Michel Foucault, *Truth and Power*, in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings* (New York: Pantheon, 1980), pp. 131-133.

Thus, genealogy serves to undermine the myth of “Natural Truth.” It shows that the boundary between *mutawatir* and *Shadhdhah* is a political boundary drawn by Ibn Mujahid and emphasized by Ibn al-Jazari. This boundary is contingent (it could have happened otherwise), not necessary. If Ibn Shanb u dh had won the political battle of 323 AH, or if Ibn al-Jazari’s definition of *Rasm* had been looser, it is very possible that Muslims today read the *mushaf* with Ibn Muhāysīn variants. This awareness of contingency is the essence of the critique of power: realizing that “what exists today” is not absolute, but rather the result of the victory of one discursive regime over another.<sup>46</sup>

#### *The Productivity of Power: Beyond the Repressive Hypothesis*

The statistical findings regarding the “Discursive Explosion” (an even more significant increase in citations after the ban) force us to revise conventional understandings of power. In Islamic studies, state/clerical power is often understood through the Repressive Hypothesis: that power serves only to suppress, prohibit, and silence. However, the case of Ibn Muhāysīn confirms Foucault’s thesis that power is productive.

- 1) Ibn Mujahid’s prohibition did not kill the science of *qira’at*; on the contrary, it produced a new discipline called *‘Ilm al-Shadhdhah*.
- 2) The discipline of Qur’anic jurisprudence does not silence variants; on the contrary, it produces thousands of pages of legal analysis to distinguish between the valid and the invalid.
- 3) Hayyan’s resistance did not destroy orthodoxy; on the contrary, it produced a wealth of grammatical analysis (*nahwu*) that deepened the understanding of Arabic.

Ibn Muḥāysīn precisely because of his forbidden status, became a Discourse Generator. He fueled the intellectual productivity of the exegetes. Without the existence of the “deviant,” orthodoxy would have no mirror to define itself. Therefore, the critique of power in this context is not about “freeing” Ibn Muḥāysīn from power but rather about mapping how power used Ibn Muḥāysīn to produce the exegetical knowledge we enjoy today.<sup>47</sup>

#### *Insurrection of Subjugated Knowledges: Reviving Buried Voices*

Lastly, this dissertation itself, by taking Ibn Muḥāysīn as the main subject, is a form of genealogical practice as an Insurrection of Subjugated Knowledges. For centuries, Ibn Muḥāysīn’s voice was buried under technical labels: *shadh ghayr maqbul*. These labels were disqualifying mechanisms that made his knowledge considered unequal to official knowledge (*Qirā’āt Sab’ah*).

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<sup>46</sup>On the task of genealogy to dismantle what is considered eternal and show that it has a history, see Michel Foucault, Nietzsche, Genealogy, History, in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice* (Cornell University Press, 1977), pp. 139-145.

<sup>47</sup>On the productive nature of power that produces knowledge and discourse, see Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), p. 119; compare with the analysis of Incitement to Discourse in *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1*.

This research has excavated this disqualified knowledge. We have seen that behind the label of *Shadhdhah* there is a sophisticated theological rationality (al-Alusi) a solid linguistic argument (Abu Hayyān), and a rich historical flexibility (Ibn 'Atiyyah).

By reintroducing the internal logic of this marginalized knowledge, we challenge the singular harmony of the Ottoman Canon. We do not intend to replace the existing Qur'an, but rather to expand our epistemological imagination. We are invited to recognize that Qur'anic history is far more plural, more dynamic, and more human than the official version of history frozen in the museum of orthodoxy. Genealogy, ultimately, is an attempt to restore "sound" to a history that has been silenced by "writing."<sup>48</sup>

#### D. Conclusion

This survey concludes that the marginal status of Ibn Muhayṣin's reading is not the result of natural selection, but rather the dynamic construction of power-knowledge relations that produce the phenomenon of Zoned Functional Acceptance. This variant is practically excluded from the ritual space for the sake of canonical stability but is instead productively included in the discursive space of interpretation as a vital epistemic asset. The transformation of this acceptance evolves genealogically through three epistemes: from repressive sovereign power to contested disciplinary power, and finally to normalization through a governmental mentality. The relationship between canon and non-canon proves to be a paradoxical symbiosis of Inclusion Through Exclusion, where marginal variants are maintained as constitutive "others" for the definition of orthodoxy. Thus, the history of interpretive authority is essentially a history of the politics of selection and the economy of truth that manages diversity for the sake of socio-religious stability. The genealogy of authority in interpretation is not an attempt to find original purity, but rather a mapping of power strategies that continue to work to discipline differences and normalize truth.

Based on the research findings, it is recommended to reorient the Qur'anic studies curriculum to be more inclusive by integrating *qira'ah Shadhdhah* as an epistemic treasure. Academics are encouraged to adopt an interdisciplinary approach based on socio-critical theory to unravel power relations in Islamic intellectual history. For activists of religious moderation, these genealogical findings can serve as a narrative foundation for promoting internal tolerance by understanding that canonization is a historical process. Thus, the research findings are expected to contribute significantly to the development of Islamic studies that are critical, open, and relevant to the socio-community context.

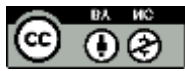
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<sup>48</sup>The concept of the ' *Insurrection of Subjugated Knowledges* ' is discussed in Michel Foucault, " *Society Must Be Defended* ": *Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-1976* (New York: Picador, 2003), pp. 6-9.

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